Ex Libris
Duquesne University

HISTORY OF THE POPES

VOL. XX.

PASTOR'S HISTORY OF THE POPES

THE HISTORY OF THE POPES. Translated from the German of LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR. Edited, as to Vols. I.-VI., by the late FREDERICK IGNATIUS ANTROBUS, and, as to Vols. VII.-XX., by RALPH FRANCIS KERR, of the London Oratory. In 20 Volumes.

Vols. I. and II.	A.D. 1305-1458
Vols. III. and IV.	A.D. 1458-1483
Vols. V. and VI.	A.D. 1484-1513
Vols. VII. and VIII.	A.D. 1513-1521
Vols. IX. and X.	A.D. 1522-1534
Vols. XI. and XII.	A.D. 1534-1549
Vols. XIII. and XIV.	A.D. 1550-1559
Vols. XV. and XVI.	A.D. 1559-1565
Vols. XVII. and XVIII.	A.D. 1566-1572
Vols. XIX. and XX.	A.D. 1572-1585

The original German text of the *History of the Popes* is published by Herder & Co., Freiburg (Baden).

THE

HISTORY OF THE POPES

FROM THE CLOSE OF THE MIDDLE AGES

DRAWN FROM THE SECRET ARCHIVES OF THE VATICAN AND OTHER ORIGINAL SOURCES

FROM THE GERMAN OF

LUDWIG, FREIHERR VON PASTOR

EDITED BY

RALPH FRANCIS KERR

OF THE LONDON ORATORY

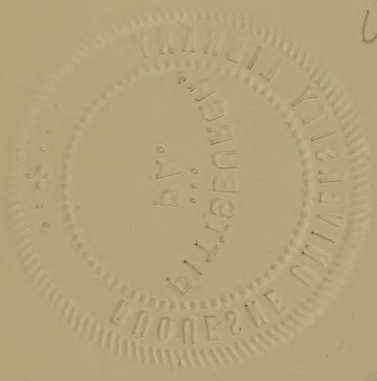
VOLUME XX

GREGORY XIII. (1572-1585)

B. HERDER BOOK CO.
15 & 17 SOUTH BROADWAY, ST. LOUIS, MO.
1930

P 282
P293
V.20

BX955
P35
1898
v.20



PRINTED IN GREAT BRITAIN BY THE DEVONSHIRE PRESS, TORQUAY

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XX,[1]

	PAGE
Table of Contents	ix
List of unpublished documents in Appendix	xxiii
The Revolt in the Low Countries. Decisive change in the situation in the Netherlands	1–24
The Catholic Revival in Germany. The German Congregation. Bavaria. The Tyrol. Salzburg	25–65
The Nunciatures of Portia, Gropper and Ninguarda in South Germany, Austria and Bavaria	66–126
Nunciatures in South-West Germany. State of Religion in Switzerland	127–186
The Catholic Revival in Germany	187–242
The " Declaration " of Ferdinand. Rudolph II and the Catholic Revival	243–283
State of Religion in North Germany	284–353
The situation in the Rhineland. Trêves, Aix-la-Chapelle, Cologne	354–384
The Catholic Revival in Poland	385–416
The Missions to Sweden and Russia	417–447
Foreign Missions. Japan. China. The Indies	448–480
Foreign Missions. The Turkish Empire. Africa. Spanish America	481–512
The Papal States. Brigandage. The Pope's care for Rome	513–556
Gregory XIII. and Art. New Churches and Buildings	560–606
Decorations at the Vatican. The Quirinal. Death of the Pope. Importance of his Pontificate	607–643
Appendix of unpublished documents	644–653
Index of Names	655

[1] For Bibliography see Volume XIX.

JUL 15 '32

9747

TABLE OF CONTENTS OF VOLUME XX.

CHAPTER I.

THE REVOLT IN THE LOW COUNTRIES.—DECISIVE CHANGE IN THE SITUATION IN THE NETHERLANDS.

A.D.		PAGE
	William of Orange the soul of the opposition to Spain	1
	Principal object of the Calvinists—brutal ferocity of their persecution of Catholics	1
1573	Orange formally becomes a Calvinist—but is denounced by the pastors as an atheist and that "he worshipped his own advantage as his God"	2
	Utter failure of Alba's regime, and he leaves the Low Countries (December 18th)	3
	The Pope wishes for a peaceful settlement with the rebels	3
	Requesens succeeds Alba—Orange does his best to make the task of Requesens difficult	4
	Increase of discontent even in the loyal Provinces	4
1576	Death of Requesens (March)	4
	The States General convoked—their demands	5
	The "Pacification of Ghent"	5
	John of Austria appointed Governor; he has authority to make great concessions, but does not win sympathy	6
1577	The "Perpetual Edict" (February 12th) confirms the "Pacification" and is approved by Philip II.	7
	The Pope sends Sega to the Low Countries to support the peace proposals and promote the Catholic restoration	7
	Orange takes the citadel of Namur (July 24th)	8
	The new Governor the Archduke Matthias of Austria is won over by Orange	8
	Renewed outrages upon Catholics—a storm of iconoclasm begun in churches and convents	9
	Ever growing anxiety in Rome	10
1578	The Pope once more attempts a peaceful intervention	11
	The charge of this given to Castagna	12
	The wild excesses of the Calvinists are distasteful to Orange	12
1578	The Walloons act with energy and form a Catholic League	13
1579	The Catholic "Union of Arras" (January 6th)	13
	The Calvinist "Union of Utrecht" (January 23rd)	13

A.D.		PAGE
	Alessandro Farnese sent as Governor	14
	He concludes the "Peace of Arras" (May 17th), which makes a decisive and important change	15
	Attitude of the Walloon States praised by the Pope	16
1581	The States General of Holland renounce allegiance to Spain	17
	Edict by Orange of December 20th—his hopes of assistance from France	18
	Anarchy in Flanders and Brabant	18
1584	Victory of Farnese, who promises an amnesty	19
	Murder of William of Orange (July 10th)	19
	Fall of Antwerp—restoration of churches	20
	The Catholics of the southern provinces: their mentality	21
	Quick recovery of the Church—The Jesuits	22
	Result of the victories of Farnese	23
1585	The Capuchins—Triumph of the Catholic revival	24

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN GERMANY.—THE GERMAN CONGREGATION.—BAVARIA.—THE TYROL.—SALZBURG.

	Interest of Gregory XIII. in Germany	25
1573	He gives new life to the German Congregation	26
	And seeks information as to the state of affairs in Germany	27
	Reports from Cardinal Truchsess, Delfino and Canisius	28
	Present a gloomy picture—the bishops—the clergy	29
	Lack of learned, capable, hard-working men	30
	Deplorable condition of the Chapters	31
	Election capitulations by the Canons	31
	Tie the hands of the bishops, who suffer the continuance of scandals	32
	Hostile suspicion of Rome becomes gradually less	33
	And some of the reports are hopeful—Protestant theologians becoming held in contempt	33
	Divisions and discord among the Protestants	34
	A great desire for religious revival—calls to the Pope for help	35
	Need for permanent nuncios	36
	And for the establishment of seminaries	37
	Care in appointing to canonries—less delay in replying from Rome to requests—wider faculties should be granted	38
	Suggestions from Truchsess and Portia	39
	The German nunciatures—The German College in Rome	40
1579	Gregory XIII. is its second founder	41
	Albert V. of Bavaria the pivot of Catholic hopes	42
	Attitude of the Bavarian dukes	43

A.D.		PAGE
	Albert V. becomes a stronger champion of the Church	44
	Takes energetic steps for religious instruction	45
	His firmness	46
	Promotes the Catholic restoration everywhere	47
	Wins back Baden to the Church	48
1573	State of religion in Baden-Baden	49
	The Pope's reliance upon Albert V.	50
1576	Especially in the struggle for the bishoprics of Northern Germany	51
	Sincere piety of William V., son and successor of Albert	52
	He refuses all concessions to the Protestants	53
	And does his utmost to give new life to religion	55
	His influence in the election of bishops	55
	Strong support of the Church in the Tyrol by the Archduke Ferdinand	56
	Bad state of religion in the Tyrol	57
	Energetic measures by Ferdinand	57
	The Francescan Johann Nas—his influence and work	58
	The Pope and the Imperial territories	61
	A beginning to be made at Salzburg—The mission of Ninguarda (1554-1573)	62
	Advice given by him	65

CHAPTER III.

THE NUNCIATURES OF PORTIA, GROPPER AND NINGUARDA IN SOUTH GERMANY, AUSTRIA AND BAVARIA.

1573	The appointment of Portia and Gaspar Gropper as nuncios (May 5th)	66
	Good reputation of Portia	67
	Instructions laid down for him	68
	Portia and the Archbishop of Salzburg	72
	From whom he obtains far-reaching promises	73
	But does not trust him over-much	74
	Ninguarda's opinion of the Archbishop	75
	Who hesitates in the matter of a synod	76
	Which however is at last held from August 26th to September 3rd	77
	Principal points of reform	78
	Efforts for establishment of seminaries	79
	Portia at Innsbruck	80
	Difficulty with the claims of the princes	81
	The episcopal election at Würzburg	82
	And Gurk	83
	Efforts of Portia in Wurtemberg	84
	Ninguarda in Salzburg	86
1572–1574	His visitations in the diocese	87
1574	Ninguarda and Duke Albert in Munich	88
	Condition of affairs in Freising and Ratisbon	89
	Question of the reform of religious Orders	91

A.D.		PAGE
	Description by Portia and Ninguarda of the monasteries and convents	93
	Ninguarda and the monasteries in Ratisbon	95
	State of religious houses in Austria	96
	Ninguarda in Vienna	97
	Is given full powers for his visitation	99
	And also the Imperial authority for exercise of them	100
1574–1576	Strenuous work of this visitation	101
1576	Ninguarda returns to Salzburg (March 20th)—The Synod	109
	Efforts to establish a seminary at Salzburg	111
1577	Ninguarda returns to Italy	112
	Memorials for reform from the Archduke Charles and some of the Bishops	113
	Special memorial by Ninguarda	116
	Instructions to Portia relating to seminaries and colleges	121
1573	Difficulties at Augsburg	123
	Death of Cardinal Truchsess (April 2nd) and election of the new Bishop	125
1575	Recall of Portia from Augsburg (May)	126

CHAPTER IV.

NUNCIATURES IN SOUTH WEST GERMANY.—STATE OF RELIGION IN SWITZERLAND.

1575	Nunciatures of Portia and Sporeno	127
	Sporeno in the Tyrol—Portia describes his new duties as impracticable	128
	Unsatisfactory state of the dioceses of the Upper Rhine —Portia and Sporeno arrive at Freiburg in Breisgau (October 4th)	129
	Visits to Sion, St. Gall, Strasbourg and Constance	130
1576	Sporeno remains with the Archduke Ferdinand (January)	131
	Journeys of Portia	131
	The University and Seminary at Freiburg	132
1575	Death of the Bishop of Basle and election of Blarer	137
	Which is confirmed in Rome	138
1575	Negotiations between Bishop Blarer and Portia	139
	Great work of Blarer in the diocese of Basle	141
	Lamentable conditions in Strasbourg	143
	Good will of the Bishop	144
	Insistence of the nuncio, Portia	145
	Whose efforts are seconded by the Bishop	147
	Influence for good of the parish-priest Rasser	148
1576	Work of Portia in the diocese of Spires	149
	State of the diocese—Diocese of Constance	153
1578	Death of Portia; he is succeeded by Ninguarda	154
	Labours of Ninguarda, 1578-1583	155
	His action in Bavaria and his complaints	159

A.D.		PAGE
1583	Assembly of the Bavarian Bishops	160
	The Concordat of Bavaria	161
	Ninguarda's nunciature in Switzerland	162
	Work of the Jesuits in Lucerne	164
	The Swiss dioceses	165
	Conditions in the Catholic Cantons	166
1578	Bonhomini in the Valtellina	168
1579	He is appointed nuncio in Switzerland	169
	The Helvetian College in Milan	170
	The Swiss visitation by Bonhomini	172
	Accusations against him	175
	His attitude towards these makes a great impression	177
	His energy and courage disarm opposition	179
	The difficulties about the diocese of Chur	180
	Jesuit College established at Freiburg—Journeys of Bonhomini	181
1581	End of his nunciature in Switzerland	183
	Importance of his work—The Jesuits are his auxiliaries	184
	He establishes the Capuchins, whose convents are a starting point for religious revival	185
	Charles Borromeo and Switzerland	186

CHAPTER V.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN GERMANY.

1573	Missions of Gaspar Gropper	187
1574	Alexander Trivius and Nicholas Elgard	188
	Travels of Elgard	189
	Decadent state of the diocese of Bamberg	190
	Quite different is the condition of Eichstätt	192
1573-1617	Bishop Julius Echter of Würzburg; his energy	193
	And great work of restoration	194
	The seminary and university of Würzburg	199
	And important charitable foundations	201
	The monastery and territory of Fulda	204
	Work of the Abbot Balthasar von Dernbach	205
	Fulda becomes "a Catholic fortress"—Protestant attack upon the Abbot	209
	His great difficulties—Action of the Pope	211
	And of the adversaries of the Abbot	213
	Who continues his work of reform	215
	Elgard at Fulda—his suggestions	216
1576	Steps taken by Balthasar	218
	The Bishop of Würzburg and the Abbot	220
	Violence to Balthasar at Hammelburg	221
	Demands of Gregory XIII.	223
	But Balthasar has to wait twenty-six years for reinstatement	225
	His exile	227

A.D.		PAGE
	Continued support of the Abbot by the Pope	229
	The Jesuits at Fulda—In the end Fulda is once more substantially Catholic	231
	Conditions in the diocese of Mayence	232
	Elgard's experiences in the diocese	237
	Resistance to the Catholic reforms comes from the nobles and inhabitants of the cities	238

CHAPTER VI.

THE "DECLARATION" OF FERDINAND.—RUDOLPH II. AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL.

	The so-called "Declaration of Ferdinand": variety of opinion as to its legal value	243
	The Elector Augustus of Saxony and the Declaration	245
	Protestant hope of its confirmation at the Diet of Ratisbon	248
1575	Which opens in October—its work	250
1576	The Pope sends Cardinal Morone to the Diet (April)	254
	Work of Morone—the advantage of his presence in Germany	256
	Salentin of Isenburg, Archbishop of Cologne	259
	The Duke of Bavaria and the Emperor	260
	Anxiety of Morone	261
	Split in the Protestant party	263
	Death of Maximilian II. (October 12th)—Result of the Diet	264
	The new Emperor, Rudolph II., a contrast to his father	265
	His action—Joy of the Catholics	266
1579	Melchior Klesl of Vienna and Catholic restoration	267
1581	Bonhomini nuncio to the Emperor—his activities	268
1582	The Diet of Augsburg—Cardinal Madruzzo as legate	269
	His memorial and plans	270
	His arrival at Augsburg and reception (June)	273
	Negotiations at the Diet	274
	Close of the Diet (September 20th); its results	281

CHAPTER VII.

STATE OF RELIGION IN NORTH GERMANY

	Difficult task of Gropper in the north of Germany	284
	Prospects for Catholic revival there	285
	Help hoped for from Bavaria	286
	Conditions in the diocese of Hildesheim	287
	Question of the succession to the bishopric	289
1573	At the death of Bishop Burchard (February 23rd) many claimants for the diocese arise	291
	Ernest of Bavaria is elected	291

A.D.		PAGE
1574-1575	He makes a long stay in Rome	293
	Trivius makes a visitation of Hildesheim	293
	Case of the diocese of Halberstadt	295
	It ceases to be a Catholic diocese	301
	Duke Julius of Brunswick becomes bishop	301
	Members of the House of Brunswick	303
	Johann von Hoya, Bishop of Münster	304
	Visitation of the diocese	305
	The Dukes of Jülich-Cleves and Münster	306
1573-1574	The nuncio Gropper at Münster	309
	His embarrassing position	311
1574	His instructions from Rome	313
	John William of Cleves, Bishop of Münster	315
1575	He resigns on the death of his eldest brother	315
	Candidates for the succession to Münster	316
1585	After a long struggle Duke Ernest of Bavaria becomes Bishop of Münster	346
	Condition of the diocese of Paderborn	347
	Instructions to Elgard who visits Halberstadt and Magdeburg—His report	348
1575	Trivius sent to Northern Germany	350
	His visit to Minden	351
	Bremen, Lübeck, Verden, and Hamburg	352
	Religious conditions in these places	353

CHAPTER VIII.

THE SITUATION IN THE RHINELAND.—TRÊVES. AIX-LA-CHAPELLE. COLOGNE.

1567-1581	Jakob von Eltz, Archbishop of Trêves	354
	His visitations and ordinances	355
	Religious state of the electorate	357
1574-1614	The struggle at Aix-la-Chapelle	359
	Importance to the faith of the electorate of Cologne	359
	The Archbishop Salentin of Isenburg	361
1577	His resignation—election of Gebhard Truchsess	362
	Character and conduct of Gebhard	364
1582	His apostasy	365
	The Pope takes action and sends Minucci on a mission to Cologne	368
	Candidates for the Archiepiscopate	370
1583	Gebhard marries Agnes von Mansfeld (February 2nd)	371
	His deposition by the Pope (April 1st)	373
	Ernest of Bavaria nominated archbishop (June 2nd)	374
	The war of Cologne	375
	Victory of the Catholic cause—its importance	379
	Necessity for a permanent nuncio in Lower Germany	380
1585	Bonhomini appointed to this post (January 19th)	382
	Importance of this nunciature	383

CHAPTER IX

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN POLAND.

A.D.		PAGE
1572	Death of Sigismund Augustus, the last Jagellon.	385
	Candidates for the crown—Commendone succeeds in averting the selection of a Protestant . .	386
1573	Henry of Anjou elected King (May 16th) . . .	387
	Confederation of Protestants at Warsaw . . .	387
1574	Henry returns to France on the death of Charles IX. .	388
1575	The candidates—Stephen Báthory elected (December 14th)	389
1576	Who is crowned and announces his election to the Pope	390
	Gregory XIII. recognizes him as King and sends Laureo as nuncio (November 6th)	391
	Great confusion of faith in Poland—The sects . .	391
	Báthory keeps his promise to the Confederation, but does his best to restore the Catholic Church .	393
	Is helped in this by Hosius, the Jesuits and the nuncios	393
1578	Sends to make his *obedientia* and appoints a permanent ambassador in Rome	395
	Báthory gives every possible support to Catholic restoration.	395
	And effectual help to the Jesuits	395
	Important works of the Jesuits in Poland	396
	Peter Skarga the "Canisius" of Poland . . .	401
	Energy of the Bishops of Ermland, Kulm, Wilna, Lemberg and Chelm	405
	Zeal of the nuncio Caligari, who sometimes lacks prudence	406
1581	He is recalled and replaced by Bolognetti . . .	407
	The vigorous and exemplary nunciature of Bolognetti.	408
1583-1584	Two Polish Cardinals created	411
	State of religion in Transylvania—labours of the Jesuits	412
	Pontifical seminaries established in Poland. . .	415

CHAPTER X.

THE MISSIONS TO SWEDEN AND RUSSIA.

	Hopes from the training of missionaries for Sweden .	417
	The Catholic wife of John III.—Antagonism of Eric XIV.	417
	John III. not so anti-Catholic as his predecessors. .	418
	His candidature for the throne of Poland . . .	418
1572	Negotiations opened with the Holy See . . .	419
	Gregory XIII. replies with courtesy but with firmness.	420
	The first missionaries to Sweden	421
1576	The King decides to send an embassy to Rome .	422
1577	The Swedish envoy La Gardie in Rome . .	423
	Possevino called upon to accept the mission to Sweden.	424
	Is La Gardie sincere ?	425
	Possevino reaches Stockholm on December 19th. .	426

A.D.		PAGE
1578	John III. accepts the Tridentine profession of faith and is absolved by Possevino who leaves Sweden on May 20th	427
	Plan for setting up a seminary for the northern countries	428
	Discussion on the concessions asked for by John III.	429
1579	Possevino a second time in Sweden	430
	His experience of the hesitation of the King	431
	Who is influenced by political motives chiefly	432
1583	On the death of the Queen and marriage (1585) of the King to a Protestant there is a great change for the worse	433
	Gregory XIII. and the Czar Ivan IV.	434
1581	Three envoys from Russia arrive in Rome	435
	Cunning of Ivan IV., who asks for a Papal envoy to Moscow	436
	Possevino is given this task	437
	His journey and arrival in August	439
	Diplomatic skill of the Russians	440
	Russia and Poland	441
1582	The discussion in the Kremlin on reunion	442
	Possevino and Ivan	443
	A second Russian mission to Rome	445
	Possevino's mission a failure—his memorials to the Pope	446

CHAPTER XI

FOREIGN MISSIONS.—JAPAN.—CHINA.—THE INDIES.

	Activity of Gregory XIII. in the matter of foreign missions	448
	The Japanese mission—zeal of the converts	449
	Perils and perseverance of the missionaries	451
	The Jesuits in Japan	452
	Interesting conversions—The new King favours the Jesuits	455
	Apostolate of Francis Cabral	456
	And of Alessandro Valignani—his great work	457
1582	The Japanese envoys to Rome start—their journey	460
1585	And arrival in Rome (March 23rd)	461
	The discourse of Consalvi to the Pope on Japan	462
	And the reply of Boccapaduli	463
	Edification given by the envoys	465
	Hopes for the faith in China	466
1574	Valignani starts for China	467
	His plans for organization of the mission	468
1582	Matteo Ricci in China	469
	His extraordinary work there	470
	The missions in Portuguese India	472
	The Jesuit province of the East Indies	473
	The Great Mogul Akbar and the Jesuits	475
	The Augustinians and Franciscans in the Philippines	478

CHAPTER XII.

FOREIGN MISSIONS.—THE TURKISH EMPIRE.—AFRICA.—SPANISH AMERICA.

A.D.		PAGE
1580	The Jesuit mission in Abyssinia	481
	Missions on the west coast of Africa—Dominicans in Mozambique and on the Zambesi	482
1569-1580	Condition of Catholics in European Turkey—Work of the Franciscans	483
1580	Visitation of the Balkan peninsula by Boniface de' Stefani	484
1584	And by Komulowic and the Jesuit Raggio produce good results	485
1573	Catholics in Constantinople—Efforts of Gregory XIII. for the union of Greek schismatics	486
1580	Mission of Cedulini to Constantinople—its difficulties—ill-will of the Venetians	487
	Cedulini's account of the Latin Church in Turkey	488
1583	Result of the reports of Cedulini to the Pope	490
1578	The Armenians, Jacobites and Maronites send envoys to Rome	490
	Jesuit missionaries sent to the Maronites	492
	Satisfaction of the Pope with result of this mission—He establishes the Maronite College in Rome	494
1583	Bishop Abel sent on a mission to the eastern patriarchs	495
	Negotiations with them	496
	Christianity in Spanish possessions in America	498
	The Catholic hierarchy there	499
	Franciscans and Dominicans in America	502
	Turibio, "the Apostle of Peru"	503
	Jesuit missions in Mexico	504
	And in Peru	505
	Importance of the work of José de Acosta	507
	Difficulties in Brazil—Dread of Portuguese colonists	509
	José de Anchieta, "the Apostle of Brazil"	510
1585	Missions in Japan restricted to the Jesuits	511
	Active part taken by the Pope in all that concerns the missions	512

CHAPTER XIII.

THE PAPAL STATES.—BRIGANDAGE.—THE POPE'S CARE FOR ROME.

	Heavy financial burdens on the Holy See	513
	Heavy revenue insufficient for extraordinary expenses	514
	Strong fiscal measures—examination of all title deeds	515
	This affects the great Roman families	515
1581	Many confiscations of fiefs	516
	The greater number submit, but there is some resistance	517
	Difficulty in the Romagna—Report of the president Ghislieri	158

A.D.		PAGE
	Rich natural resources of the Romagna—its government	520
	Witness of Ghislieri to the devotedness of the Romagnoli	521
	Political party feuds are very general	522
	Brigandage, a national scourge	523
	Bandits are protected by the land-owners	524
	The Pope relaxes severity and affairs become worse	525
	The brigand chiefs	526
	Bandits even in Rome itself	527
1580	The Pope complains of some of the Cardinals	528
	Severe enactments against all who aid or abet bandits	529
	Punitive expedition of Cardinal Sforza	531
1581	Death of Sforza—the bandits raise their heads	532
	Outrages by Piccolomini	533
	Malatesta, Valenti and the "Priest of Guercino"	534
	Murder of Francesco Peretti	536
1583	Serious disturbances in Rome—the Orsini—danger threatened by the bandits	537
	"No one dares go outside the gates"	538
1585	Failure of every attempt to suppress brigandage	539
	All Italy suffers—Avogadro, the Venetian bandit	540
	Increase in the population of Rome	541
	The Pope imposes no fresh taxes—his assiduity for the provisioning of Rome	542
	His efforts to preserve Rome from the plague	543
1580	His care for the sick in an outbreak of influenza	544
	Mendicants and vagabonds—Public morals	545
	Strictness of Gregory XIII. as to the Carnival	546
	Restrictions in theatrical performances	548
	Efforts to improve the ports of the Papal States	549
	Works at Ancona and Civitavecchia	550
	Terracina and Loreto	551
1580-1581	Description of Rome by Montaigne	552
	Plans of Rome by Du Pérac-Lafréry	554
	"Rome the most cosmopolitan city in the world" (Montaigne)	559

CHAPTER XIV.

GREGORY XIII. AND ART.—NEW CHURCHES AND BUILDINGS.

	The *mandati, registri*, etc. of Gregory XIII.	560
	Chief architects employed by the Pope: Vignola, della Porta and Lunghi	561
	And the painters: Vasari, Zuccaro and Muziano	562
	With them many others associated	563
	The artistic programme of Gregory XIII.	564
	One of his chief cares the completion of St. Peter's	565
	Unfortunate destruction of older remains	566
	The Gregorian Chapel	567

A.D.		PAGE
1580	Translation to St. Peter's of relics of St. Gregory Nazianzen	570
1581	Montaigne's account of the Gregorian Chapel	573
	Much restoration in the churches	574
	The Lateran, St. Mary Major and Aracoeli	575
	New Church of the Gesù	576
	And of the Oratorians: Sta Maria in Vallicella	580
	Many other convents and churches assisted	582
	The Greek Church and College of St. Atanasio	584
	The English College and that for Maronites	585
	The Roman College of the Jesuits	586
	Reconstruction of the Roman University	589
	Establishment of hospitals	590
	Erection of fountains	592
	Improvement of the streets and roads in view of the Jubilee of 1575	594
	New appoach to the Capitol—The Borgo Pio	595
	Restoration of the bridges	596
	But the removal of materials from ancient buildings continues	597
	Works at the Cancellaria and the Capitol	598
1574	The Pope issues a Constitution concerning building	600
	Previous enactments of earlier Popes	603
	What the Constitution aimed at and its provisions	604

CHAPTER XV.

DECORATIONS AT THE VATICAN.—THE QUIRINAL.—DEATH OF THE POPE.—IMPORTANCE OF HIS PONTIFICATE.

1576	Gratitude of the Romans to Gregory XIII.	607
	Statue and inscription in his honour	608
	Extensive works at the Vatican	609
	Frescoes by Vasari	609
	Also by Sabbatini, Sammachini and others	610
	Work in the Pauline Chapel and the halls	613
	And in the Loggie	614
	The Galleria Geografica	616
	The maps by Ignazio Danti	617
	The so-called "Tower of the Winds"	621
	Visits of the Pope to the villa of Cardinal Este on the Quirinal	622
1583	He decides upon the erection of a Papal residence there	622
1584	The works in the Quirinal	624
	Frequent visits of the Pope to Frascati	625
	Works at Fiumicino, Civitavecchia and Ancona	626
	Improvement of roads and bridges	627
	Benefactions to Loreto	628
	Number of schools and seminaries erected at the Pope's expense	629
	Vigour and strength of the Pope	630

A.D.		PAGE
1581	His recovery from an illness	633
1585	His activity in all affairs.	635
	Holds a consistory on April 8th, is taken ill and dies on the 10th.	636
	Burial in the Gregorian Chapel—the monument to him	637
	Estimate and importance of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.	638
	" His memory must always remain in benediction " .	643

LIST OF UNPUBLISHED DOCUMENTS IN APPENDIX.

		PAGE
I.	Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua . .	644
II.	Cleansing of morals in Rome, 1573-1582 . . .	644
III.	Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua . . .	647
IV.	Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua . . .	647
V.	Avviso di Roma of October 30th, 1577 . . .	647
VI.	Giov. Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua . .	648
VII.	Avvisi di Roma of August 6th and 10th, 1580 . .	648
VIII.	Audiences of Cardinal Santori with Gregory XIII. concerning the Greek Church of S. Atanasio .	649
IX.	Avviso di Roma of May 30th, 1584	649
X.	Avviso di Roma of June 6th, 1584	650
XI.	Notes on the pictures and buildings of Gregory XIII.	650

CHAPTER I.

The Revolt in the Low Countries. Decisive change in the situation in the Netherlands.

The politico-religious struggles in the Low Countries, which were closely connected with the disturbances in France, had occupied the attention of Gregory XIII. and his advisers since the beginning of the pontificate. The development of affairs there had been followed in Rome with the greatest interest because a triumph of Calvinism in the Low Countries would be of decisive importance to the future of the Church, not only in France, but also in England and Germany.

William of Orange, who was the soul of the opposition to Spain in Holland, was obviously principally influenced by political considerations. His sense of statesmanship clearly recognized the impossibility of drawing the whole of the seventeen provinces into united action against Philip II., which would have given a completely free hand to the Calvinists, whose principal object was the total destruction of the Catholic Church, whereas the majority of the people of the Netherlands still belonged to the latter. Not content with prohibiting Catholic worship, and the spoliation of churches and monasteries, the Calvinists practised the most brutal ferocity against the Catholic priests. They initiated a methodical persecution of them and the unfortunate men who fell into their power were put to death with every refinement of torture. "Never," wrote a contemporary on May 30th, 1572, "has the holy Church been so persecuted either by Goths or Turks."[1] A leading part in this was taken by the head of the Gueux, Count William von der Mark, Lord

[1] *Cf.* Blok, Verslag van onderzoekingen naar Archivalia in Italië, 's Gravenhage, 1901, 34 *seq.*; Holzwarth, II., 1, 496 *seq.*, II., 2, 63, 85 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, 133 *seq.*, 512; Pirenne, IV., 40 *seq.*

of Lumey, who on July 9th, 1572, at Briel, sent to the gallows, after many tortures, seventeen religious, for the most part Franciscans, and two lay-brothers, who had almost all fallen into the hands of the Gueux at Gorcum.[1] Such persecution of the Catholics involved Orange in the danger of losing, in his struggle with Spain, the southern provinces, which were almost entirely Catholic. He therefore wished, together with Calvinism, to tolerate the practice of Catholic worship as well, a plan the realization of which met with the greatest opposition on the part of Calvinist fanaticism. Since the Calvinists were Orange's strongest supporters, he formally joined their church in October, 1573, but, for political reasons, he was still unwilling to consent to the immediate suppression of Catholic worship, and at first would only countenance a division of the churches and of ecclesiastical property between the Protestants and Catholics. This brought down upon him the wrath of the Calvinist pastors, who denounced him as an atheist, and declared that the prince changed his religion as he would his coat, that all he cared about was considerations of state, and that he worshipped his own advantage as his God.[2]

A politician who was able so cleverly to draw advantage out of every circumstance was bound to prove an extremely dangerous enemy to Philip II. That all Alba's efforts had turned to the advantage of Orange alone was obvious to anyone who studied the situation at the moment when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne. The iron military dictatorship of the duke, and his system of taxation which threatened to bring

[1] See G. Estius, Hist. Martyrum Gorc., Douai, 1603; Acta Sanct. Iulii II., 754 *seq.*; Holzwarth, II., 2, 25 *seq.*, 47 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1867, II., 253 *seq.*, 457 *seq.*, 579 *seqq.*; Fruin in *Verspreide Geschriften*, II., 277 *seq.*; Meuffels, Les martyrs de Gorcum, Paris, 1908. G. Hesse, De Martelaren van Roermond, Sittard, 1911; *cf. Anal. Bolland.*, XXXVIII. (1920), 447 *seq.*

[2] See Pirenne, IV., 49 *seq.*, 143, 185. Even as late as 1578 Mass was being said in Orange territory, at Breda, to the great indignation of the Calvinists; see Bezold, Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Joh. Casimir I., Munich, 1882, 326.

ruin upon a people that was so rich in commerce and industry, had led at the beginning of 1572 to the insurrection of Holland and Zeeland. Although Alba remained for the moment master in the field, he was unable to subdue the cities of Holland. This unfortunate state of affairs, and the complaints which reached him from all parts, shook the confidence of Philip II., who, alarmed at the extraordinary cost of the war, at length resolved to change the governor. When, on December 18th, 1573, the duke left the Low Countries, the entire responsibility for the catastrophes which had occurred during his period of government was laid upon his shoulders. The hatred which his oppressive rule had aroused not only weakened the authority of the King of Spain, but also that of the Catholic Church. Later on the Bishop of Namur was of the opinion that Alba, in seven or eight years, had done more harm to the cause of religion than had been done by Luther, Calvin, and all their supporters together.[1] This was of course a great exaggeration, which nevertheless contained an element of truth.

It was also realized in Rome that the pacification of the Low Countries could never be brought about by the violent methods of Alba. Gregory XIII. wished for a peaceful settlement of the controversies between Philip II. and his subjects in the Low Countries, all the more so as the continuance of the rising made the necessary league against the Turks impossible, as well as the struggle against Queen Elizabeth of England.[2] The Pope therefore was disposed towards a peaceful settlement with the rebels, and said that they must not be afraid of treating with Orange himself.[3]

After the departure of Alba, Philip II. unfortunately refused to go in person to the Low Countries, as Pius V. had already several times advised him to do.[4] It was in vain that the theological faculty at Louvain appealed to his

[1] See GACHARD, Actes des États-Généraux, I., Brussels, 1861, 256.

[2] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., xxxvi. *seq.*

[3] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 68.

[4] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, pp. 10, 93.

feelings as a man and a Catholic, and adjured him to come to their country. Once again the government passed into the hands of an official who was always a Spaniard and looked down upon the Netherlanders; this was Luis Requesens, hitherto viceroy at Milan. The choice of this man, apart from anything else, cannot be described as a happy one: Requesens was indeed worthy of all respect and was a man of strong Catholic sentiments, but he was in bad health, hot-tempered and nervous, and proved himself by no means suited to his difficult task.[1]

Orange did his best to make the task of Requesens more difficult and to spread mistrust of him everywhere, because it was only by maintaining a state of unrest that he could attain his ends. He had the satisfaction of knowing that by the autumn of 1574 the new governor was already more hated than Alba.[2] The death of Requesens at the beginning of March, 1576, was for him a happy release. In consequence of his unexpected demise the government passed into the hands of the Council of State, whose position immediately became extremely difficult.

Even in the time of Requesens the discontent in the provinces which still remained loyal to the king and the Church had become so great, that they would have joined the insurgents of the north, if they had not feared the suppression of their religion on the part of the Calvinists. The general indignation was increased by the mutiny which broke out among the Spanish troops who were in need of money and the necessaries of life. This was turned to good effect by Orange, who was able so cunningly to conceal his real purposes that even many Catholic priests believed that he was still a Catholic at heart! With insidious devices the prince was put forward as the defender of the liberties of his country and the common saviour from the tyrannical government of the Spaniard.[3]

When the ground had been sufficiently prepared by means of an unscrupulous propaganda, Orange, who was the guiding

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 65 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 164 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 68.

[3] See *ibid.* 100.

spirit of the whole movement,[1] thought that the time had come to venture upon an act of violence. In the autumn of 1576 the members of the Council of State were arrested, and by means of the States of Brabant, Flanders and Hainault, the States General were convoked. Further revolutionary steps followed. Thereafter things moved swiftly along their beaten path. Simultaneously with the demand for the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, the assembly of the States General formed a national army which at once marched against the royal troops. The latter withdrew to the fortress of Antwerp. Incited by the delay in the discharge of their pay, they there began to sack and massacre, and as a consequence hastened on the conclusion of a treaty of alliance between the States General and Holland and Zeeland. The principal obstacle to this had lain in the religious question. The provinces of the north, where the Calvinists had obtained the upper hand, remained firm in their suppression of Catholic worship within their territories. Influenced by the cruelties practised at Antwerp and the threatening attitude of the masses of the people,[2] even the representatives of the Catholics of the south gave their consent. Thus the Pacification of Ghent was concluded on November 8th, 1576. The States of Flanders, Brabant, Hainault, Artois, Valenciennes, Lille, Douai, Orchies, Namur, Tournai, Utrecht, and Malines on the one hand, and those of Holland and Zeeland under Orange on the other, promised mutual assistance against their enemies, especially in driving out the Spanish soldiers. Later on the States General were to be summoned from *all* the provinces of the Low Countries in order to regularize what had been done. In the meantime all the edicts and enactments of Alba against the heretics were suspended, and the absolute authority of Calvinism in Holland and Zeeland was guaranteed, though these two provinces were not to undertake any

[1] See RITTER, in *Deutsche Zeitschr. f. Geschichtswissenschaft*, III. (1890), 28 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 20 *seq.*

[2] Catholics who resisted the complete confiscation of their churches were threatened with massacre; see Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, IV., 769 *seq.*

proceedings against the Catholic Church outside their own territories.[1]

A little while before the signing of the Pacification of Ghent the new governor at length arrived. This was the half-brother of Philip II., Don John of Austria. The victor of Lepanto came full of far-reaching plans. Armed with authority to make great political concessions, he hoped that he would very soon be able to smooth over the disturbances in the Low Countries, and then lead his forces in a bold *coup de main* across the Channel, liberate Mary Stuart, depose Elizabeth, and himself ascend the English throne with the Queen of Scots.[2] His passionate character made him totally unfit for his position, nor was he destined to succeed in winning any sympathies in the Low Countries. Orange made every effort from the first to oppose the Hapsburg prince, who had before anything else to engage in a struggle to obtain recognition as governor. In spite of this, after months of negotiation there was concluded on February 12th, 1577, the so-called Perpetual Edict. This confirmed the Pacification of Ghent, and approved the withdrawal of the Spanish troops, while on the other hand the States General bound themselves to recognize the royal authority and to maintain the Catholic religion everywhere, even in Holland and Zeeland.[3] This treaty, which was at once approved by Philip II., and was in striking contrast to the Pacification of Ghent, was a severe blow to Orange and the Calvinists. The news of its conclusion, which reached Rome in the middle of March, caused the greatest joy there.[4]

A month earlier the Pope had sent to the Low Countries

[1] Ritter, I., 496. Holzwarth, II., 2, 323 *seq.* Pirenne, IV., 109 *seq.* Blok, III., 208 *seq.*; Hubert, 35 *seq.*

[2] See Havemann, Don Juan, 186 *seq.*, 194 *seq.*; Kretschmar, 47 *seq.*; *cf.* Huybers, Don Juan van Oostenrijk, landvoogt der Nederlanden, 2 Vols, Amsterdam, 1915.

[3] See Holzwarth, II., 2, 362 *seq.*; Blok, III., 218 *seq.*, 224; Pirenne, IV., 126; Hubert, 36.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report, dated March 16, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua. *Cf.* also the Briefs in Theiner, II., 334 *seq.*

a special nuncio in the person of Filippo Sega, with instructions to support the peace proposals of Don John, to defend Catholic interests in the settlement of the various questions, and finally to further the expenditure against England, for which purpose he had been given a letter of credit for 50,000 gold ducats.[1] When Sega reached the Low Countries he found that one part of his mission, namely that which was concerned with Catholic interests, had already been fulfilled by the Perpetual Edict, but he could not fail to see how difficult was the position of Don John, since Orange was doing all in his power to reopen the quarrel, which had just been healed. Sega supported Don John both with his advice and by his actions. In view of the want of money felt by the new governor, he did not feel any hesitation in handing over to him the draft for 50,000 gold ducats, which had been intended solely for the war against Elizabeth of England. It was entirely in keeping with the intentions of the Pope when Sega also energetically promoted the cause of Catholic restoration by recommending to the bishops of the Low Countries their duty of residence.[2] In purely political matters the nuncio brought his influence to bear for the complete reconciliation of the provinces with Spain, though in this question, in accordance with the instructions which he had received, he maintained a wise reserve. In July came his transference to the nunciature at Madrid, rendered vacant by the death of Ormaneto.[3]

By this time it could already be foreseen that the

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 261 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 309; KTREZSCHMAR, 50 *seq.* The brief to Don John, dated February 11, 1577, regarding Sega's mission, in THEINER, II., 333. Sega's credentials also dated February 11, 1577, in PIOT, Corresp. de Granvelle, VI., 205 note. On the same day Grgeory XIII informed the Cardinals of Sega's appointment; see *Acta consist., Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. Sega was even expected to treat with Orange; see THEINER, II., 335.

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 262 *seq.*, 266; *cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 265.

[3] See *" Relatione compendiosa della negotiatione di Mgr. Sega " in the Inf. polit., 28, p. 309 *seq.* in the State Library at Berlin. See Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 352, n. 2.

restoration of peace was not to be expected from the Perpetual Edict. The Calvinists of Holland and Zeeland refused to accept the settlement unconditionally, because they were not willing to abandon their persecution of the Catholics. The agents of Orange were active in their efforts to stir up the southern provinces against the governor of Philip II., and in this they were successful beyond all expectations. Don John very soon realized that the ground was tottering under his feet. Having learned that Orange was preparing a blow in order to obtain possession of his person, he left Brussels. A bold stroke on July 24th, 1577, placed him in possession of the citadel of Namur. The cry of the perfidy of the Spaniards echoed throughout the country. The hour had come for Orange to reap the harvest of his anti-monarchical propaganda. Antwerp and Brussels hailed him joyfully as the "restorer of freedom and fatherland," and the States of Brabant chose him as the regent of their territory. Nor was his advantageous position in the least degree shaken by the choice as governor of the Archduke Matthias, the younger brother of the Emperor Rudolph II., which had been brought about by the jealous aristocracy. Orange was able with extraordinary cleverness to win over the young and inexperienced Hapsburg prince to his policy, and thus reduce him to a mere figurehead. The military and political direction of the insurrection remained in his own hands. Even in religious matters he gained an important victory by the union at Brussels of the seventeen provinces of the Low Countries, which took place on December 10th, 1577. Whereas the Perpetual Edict had obliged the States General to "support in every way and everywhere the Catholic religion," in this new agreement, the Calvinists and Catholics, in the interests of their struggle with the common enemy, guaranteed each other mutual toleration.[1] What this meant to the adherents of the Catholic Church was soon to be seen.

Deaf to the warnings of the Pope,[2] the majority of the

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 127 *seq.*, 135 *seq.*, 140 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*

[2] See the memorandum to the Netherlands episcopate of November 16, 1577, in THEINER, II., 336 *seq*

Catholics, out of hatred for Spain, had made common cause with the Calvinists, who, however, were not on that account at all disposed to abandon the destruction "of the papistical idolatry." After they had, even in 1577, taken every advantage of the political position in order to carry on an agitation in their own favour, and to perpetrate acts of violence, such as the arrest of the Bishops of Bruges and Ypres, at the beginning of the following year there broke out in several places a storm against the Catholic Church, which rivalled that of 1566.

The Calvinist preachers, and with them a horde from the Palatinate, and Netherlander priests who had fled to the Palatinate, with the violent Peter Dathenus at their head, made their way into Flanders and Brabant, and cleverly profiting by the political conditions, launched a campaign to the death against the ancient Church.[1] An oath was imposed upon Catholic priests to treat Don John as an enemy and not to preach against apostasy from the faith. Anyone that refused was subjected to every kind of persecution. In May the Jesuits and Franciscans at Antwerp were driven out, and their churches profaned. As early as January the Jesuits had had to fly from Utrecht, and the same thing happened to the Franciscans in April. At Amsterdam at the end of May the Calvinists made their way into the Rathaus, drove out the Minorites and pillaged the churches, in which Calvinist sermons were at once begun. Similar scenes took place at Haarlem. The fanatical mob carried out a terrible work of destruction at Ghent; as a result of the Calvinist preaching Catholic priests were not able by March to walk through the streets in their habits. In May a storm of iconoclasm was begun in the churches and convents. After the walls of the Catholic churches had been carefully washed and covered with whitewash, they were used for Calvinist worship. On June 28th six religious were burned alive on false charges. In a like manner in many other places in

[1] For what follows *cf.* HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 419 *seq*; RITTER, I., 536 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 256.

Flanders the Catholic priests were ill-treated and persecuted, their churches profaned, and church property put up for auction.[1] At the end of August Dathenus wrote that of the twenty-eight cities of Flanders twenty-four had received the "Gospel." He said nothing about the fact that his followers there "had sacked and devastated churches, convents, abbeys and hospitals with worse cruelties than Moors and barbarians." At Antwerp by the end of October six churches had been taken from the Catholics and handed over to the Calvinists.[2]

In Rome the course of events in the Low Countries was being followed with ever growing anxiety.[3] Now as before the Pope favoured a peaceful settlement of the disturbances that were taking place.[4] In view of the contradictory accounts that arrived of the complicated events, it was extremely difficult to decide whether it would be opportune to send a Papal legate for the restoration of peace. A special commission composed of Cardinals Morone, Galli, Granvelle, Sforza, Orsini, Madruzzo and Guastavillani was formed to treat of this matter.[5] Although the greater number of the Pope's advisers thought that "the appearance of the apostolic cross" in the rebellious provinces was premature,[6] nevertheless the nuncio in Germany, Bartolomeo Portia, received that charge at the end of 1577, with directions himself to obtain further information from the Low Countries. Prevented by the disturbances caused by the war from making his own observations on the spot, Portia was enabled, from the news which he received, to come to the conclusion that nothing

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 174 *seq.*; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 425 *seq.*

[2] See v. BEZOLD, Briefe, I., No. 115 note; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 455; RITTER, I., 537.

[3] See *Odescalchi's reports dated Rome, July 24, August 14, October 12, December 4, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] *Cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 173, n. 3, II., xxxviii.

[5] See MAFFEI, I., 267.

[6] Odescalchi reports this in his memorandum dated Rome, November 27, 1577, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

but armed force would be able to restore order in the Low Countries.[1] On the other hand the Pope was informed that the inhabitants of that unhappy country had become so alienated from Spain, that nothing but the mediation of a third power could restore peace; Gregory XIII., therefore brought his influence to bear upon Philip II. to accept the mediation of the Emperor.[2]

Statements of a similar nature confirmed Gregory XIII. in his desire to attempt once more a peaceful intervention in the disturbances in the Netherlands instead of the drastic procedure against the States General which was desired by Spain.[3] News of the negotiations of the Duke of Anjou with the insurgents decided the Pope in June, 1578, to take definite steps. First there came the mission of Frangipani to Henry III. to prevent the alliance between Anjou and the Netherlanders.[4] Then at the end of June Cardinal Madruzzo was charged to enter into negotiations with the Emperor Rudolph II. for the cessation of the disturbances in the Low Countries. The Pope's plan was built upon the fact that he believed, as did Philip II., that it was first of all necessary to remove the Archduke Matthias. The Emperor Rudolph must further forbid any assistance begin given to the insurgents within the Empire. But Gregory XIII. intended to carry out his real peace negotiations himself, by means of his legates.[5]

At the beginning of July 1578 Madruzzo set out; in order to obtain a happy issue to his mission the Pope ordered special prayers and processions by means of the promulgation of a

[1] See HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, I., 205, 214, 255, II., xxxviii *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 430 *seq.* and HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, II., xxxix.

[3] The opposition in Rome asserted that the "stati uniti" did wish to remain Catholic; see *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, April 5, 1578, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] See the *Relatione di Mgr. Sega in the Inf. polit., 28, p. 331, in the State Library at Berlin.

[5] See HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, II., XL *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 203 *seq.*

general jubilee.[1] Since neither the Emperor nor Philip II. raised any objection to the sending of a Papal representative to the discussions of the Assembly for the pacification of the Low Countries, at the end of August 1578 this charge was laid upon Gian Battista Castagna, a man who was in great favour at the court of Spain.[2] A long time nevertheless had to elapse before the negotiations between the representatives of the States General and those of Philip II. were opened at Cologne under the mediation of the Emperor.

In the meantime a change of great importance had begun to take place in the Low Countries. Since Orange wished to unite the whole nation against Spain the wild excesses of the Calvinists were bound to be very distasteful to him. But at the same time he had no means of restraining them, for the very reason that he would thus have lost his strongest support against Spain. The less successful were his attempts to curb the terrorism of the Calvinists, the less satisfied were the Catholics with his government, and they little by little became accustomed to the idea of a reconciliation with the Spanish power, which at any rate gave them assurance of personal safety and the defence of their faith.[3]

The Catholic Walloons in Hainault and Artois acted with the greatest determination. There for the first time a definite stand was made against revolutionary excesses. The leadership in this movement was taken by the Catholic Bishop of

[1] After the Pope had come to an agreement with the Cardinals and had obtained their consent in a consistory held on July 23, 1578 (see *Acta consist. Consistorial Archives of the Vatican) a Bull was prepared on July 30 (reprinted by THEINER, II., 431 *seq.*, and also to be found in *Compte rendu de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, V., 2 (1892), 465 *seq.*). *Cf.* also *Odescalchi's report of July 26, 1578, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua, and the Avviso di Roma of August 9, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 289, Vatican Library.

[2] See THEINER, II., 433 *seq.*; HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 218 *seq.* (reprint of the Instruction dated August 29, 1578); BROM, Archivalia, I., 223 *seq.*

[3] See BLOK, III., 256 *seq.*

Arras, Matthieu Moullart, Jean Sarrazin, the Abbot of Saint-Vaast, and the Catholic nobles.[1] They clearly realized the consequences that threatened them if the revolutionary movement should penetrate into their Catholic district, as it had especially succeeded in doing at Ghent.[2] As soon as this danger seemed to be imminent, they energetically took up an attitude of defence. In October, 1578, the States of Hainault and Artois planned the formation of a Catholic league, which had for its object the strict carrying out of the terms of the Pacification of Ghent, defence against "the barbarous and worse than Spanish arrogance of the secretaries and their accomplices" and the maintenance of the Catholic faith. The authors of this plan had taken their stand upon an absolutely legal basis, and no fault could be found with them if they were determined to defend themselves against the violation of solemn pledges given by the Calvinists.[3]

The Walloon provinces were successful in warding off a tyrannical Protestant government; first of all at Arras, and afterwards at Lille and Douai, their adversaries were defeated. Here, as in the whole of the remainder of the Walloon territory, an end was put, together with Calvinism, to the rule of the democratic masses, in favour of the aristocracy and the upper classes of the people. On January 6th, 1579, Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douai and Orchies formed the Union of Arras, the object of which was the defence of the Catholic religion and reconciliation with Philip II.[4]

The answer to this was the Union of Utrecht, which was formed on January 23rd, 1579, between the five northern

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 192 *seq.*, which shows that Ranke's statements (Päpste, II. [8], 63 *seq.*) need correction. For particulars of Moullart *cf.* Gallia christ., III.; for particulars of Sarrazin see HIRSCHAUER, Corresp. de J. Sarrazin, Arras, 1912.

[2] See Michele's report in ALBÈRI, I., 4, 400.

[3] According to PIRENNE, IV., 202.

[4] See HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 460 *seqq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 204 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 268; HUBERT, 39 *seq.*; BUSSEMAKER, De afscheiding der Waalsche Gewesten van der Generale Unie, II., Haarlem, 1896, 124 *seqq.*

provinces which had not surrendered, and from which was to emerge the republic of the Netherlands. Holland, Zeeland, Utrecht, Guelders, Groningen and Ommelande, to which there were soon joined Friesland and Overyssel, as well as Calvinist Ghent, Ypres, Antwerp, Bruges and Brussels, formed a union similar to the Swiss Confederation, for the defence of the national rights and the Pacification of Ghent. The decisions of the league on religious questions were naturally an obstacle to this alliance. Holland and Zeeland were to go on as they thought best, and the other provinces received a like liberty. The religious settlement which had been come to in July by Orange and the States General was urged upon them, according to which the right to practise any religion and the distribution of the churches between the Calvinists and the Catholics was made dependent upon the existence of a sufficient number of the adherents of the respective religions.[1]

After this events moved quickly. It was in vain that Orange attempted to prevent the reconciliation of the Walloon provinces with Spain. He met his match in Alessandro Farnese, in whom Philip II. had at length set a capable man at the head of affairs, after Don John, who was a soldier, but no diplomatist or politician,[2] had died on October 1st, 1578.[3] The high hopes with which Gregory XIII. hailed this appointment[4] were fully justified. Equally distinguished as a general and as a diplomatist, the son of Margaret, the former regent of the Low Countries, and of Ottavio Farnese, possessed all the qualities for resuming the struggle with Orange.[5]

[1] See HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 440 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 276 *seq.*; RITTER, I., 545.

[2] See FEBVRE's opinion, in Philippe II. et la Franche-Comté, Paris, 1914, 699.

[3] According to *Odescalchi's memorandum of October 18, 1578, "domenica sera" came to Rome by the "dolorosa nova" and caused much grief to the Pope. Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[4] Brief of December 3, 1578; see BROM, Archivalia, I., 225.

[5] See FEA, A. Farnese, Torino, 1886; HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 446 *seq.*; PIRENNE, IV., 243 *seq.*; BLOK, III., 282 *seq.*

Without paying any attention to the peace congress at Cologne, from whose deliberations,[1] which had been begun on May 7th, 1579, Farnese looked for no results, he brought to a conclusion the separate negotiations with the Walloon provinces. On May 17th a treaty was concluded at Arras between himself and the Walloon territories of Artois, Hainault, Lille, Douai and Orchies, by which those territories dissociated themselves from the insurgents, and submitted themselves to the crown of Spain. They naturally insisted upon a great measure of autonomy and freedom. Philip II. had to promise to protect the privileges of the States, to remove the foreign troops, and always to appoint as governor-general a member of his own family. In return an oath of obedience and of the preservation of the Catholic faith was taken.[2]

The decisive and highly important change which thus took place in the affairs of the Low Countries by means of the Peace of Arras, was principally owing to the Walloon clergy. They alone, from the commencement and throughout the course of the negotiations, which took place in the celebrated Abbey of Saint-Vaast, showed a complete understanding of the position, while the aristocracy and the States still hesitated for a long time in consequence of the deep-rooted antipathy for Spain. On April 27th, 1579, the ecclesiastical States had informed the Pope of their intention. In this document they pointed, as the reason for the attitude taken up by the Walloon States, to the misdeeds of the Calvinists, the destruction of the churches, and the banishment of the clergy in almost every part of Flanders. Whereas they had actually

[1] For particulars of the nugatory proceedings of the Cologne Peace Congress, and the attitude of Castagna see GACHARD, Corresp. de Guillaume le Taciturne IV., Introduction 98 *seq.*; KERVYN DE LETTENHOVE, Huguenots, V., 395 *seq.*; LOSSEN in *Hist. Taschenbuch*, V., 6, 277 *seq.*; HANSEN in the *Westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, XIII., 223 *seq.* and in the Nuntiaturberichte, II., lix. *seq.*

[2] See DUMONT, V., 350. Philip II. ratified the peace as early as June 29, 1579; see GACHARD, Actes des États Généraux, II., No. 1845.

carried out these cruelties there, in violation of the Pacification of Ghent, the Calvinists intended to do the same in Artois and especially at Arras, but had been prevented from doing so by the fact that the Catholics had plucked up courage, and had successfully adopted an attitude of self-defence. In order to prevent a recurrence of such acts of violence, and for the defence of the Catholic faith, the Walloon States had met, and were prepared to be reconciled to Philip II., if he, for his part, would guarantee liberal peace terms. To this end they asked for the help of the Pope.[1]

When, on May 18th, 1579, Gregory XIII., together with praise for the attitude taken up by the States, promised his assistance,[2] the peace, as the result of the prudent and restrained attitude of Farnese had already been settled, and in consequence, not only had an end been put to the tyranny and despotism which had prevailed hitherto, but the maintenance of the ancient Church in the aforesaid provinces had been assured. Even before the news reached Rome, the Pope had caused prayers to be said in all the monasteries and religious houses for a happy issue.[3] The peace, and the capture of Maestricht, which soon followed, filled Gregory with the greatest joy.[4] On August 1st the Walloon States were honoured with a special brief, and Alessandro Farnese was sent the blessed hat and sword.[5] After this the Pope felt that he could be at peace, which was very welcome to him;[6] thenceforward he could watch the development of

[1] See THEINER, III., 93 *seq.* *Cf.* also the *Letter of John Metellus Sequanus to Cardinal Sirleto dated Cologne, April 24, 1579, in which the Cardinal is asked to use his good offices with the Pope in favour of peace. Vat. 6190, 2, p. 411 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

[2] See THEINER, III., 94 *seq.*; *cf.* HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 329, 337.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of June 7, 1597, Urb. 1047, p. 186, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, *ibid.* 242.

[5] THEINER, III., 95 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 24.

[6] See the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives at Rome.

events in the Low Countries with renewed hope ; Bois-le-duc and other cities which were tired of the yoke of the Gueux, voluntarily returned to their obedience to Philip II.[1]

The sentence pronounced on Orange by the King of Spain was answered by the prince in his *Apologia*. On July 26th, 1581, the States General of Holland, Zeeland, Flanders, Guelders, Friesland, Utrecht, Overyssel and Malines solemnly renounced at the Hague their allegiance to the King of Spain.[2]

Now that the authority of the lawful king, which was set aside in accordance with the political principles of the Huguenots,[3] had actually passed into the hands of Orange, it became more and more clear that what was aimed at was the total destruction of the Catholic Church. Orange himself, for political reasons, was naturally opposed to a persecution of the Catholics, for, with the exception of Zeeland, Calvinism had not been successful in obtaining absolute dominion in any of the northern provinces.[4] In all that part of the country, especially in Utrecht and the west, the Catholics still formed the majority ;[5] in consequence, however, of the influence of the spirit of Erasmus, they, like that scholar, were confused, uncertain and weak ; moreover they had no one to lead them, since their bishops had been taken away from them, and the spirit of Catholic reform had not as yet penetrated among them.[6] Thus it is not surprising that but few of them

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 224 *seq.* ; BLOK, III., 279.

[2] DUMONT, V., 413.

[3] See RILLER, I., 489, 547 *seq.*

[4] See BLOK, III., 321.

[5] See *ibid.* 380. The opinion held by RANKE (Päpste, II.[8] 68) and others that the northern provinces were " completely protestant " is untenable.

[6] The great deterioration of the clergy in many places, notably in Utrecht, Maastricht and Roermond can be seen from BLOK, III., 378 (*cf. Katholik*, 1871, I., 708 *seq.*) and FRUIN, Verspreide Geschriften, III., 's Gravenhage, 1901, 254 *seqq.* where emphasis is also laid on the change for the better which took place towards the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., when the energetic S. Vosmeer infused a new spirit into the clergy of northern Holland (see *ibid.* 286 *seq.*).

showed any readiness to undergo danger and sacrifice for the Catholic faith. Frightened and intimidated, they remained partly crushed, partly indifferent, while a noisy minority tried to trample upon their religion. And this state of affairs gradually grew worse. Thus in 1573 Catholic worship in private was still permitted, and Catholics were only forbidden the public exercise of their religion. But after the renunciation of allegiance to Philip II., the more zealous Calvinists brought fresh pressure to bear, and Orange gave way to them completely. An edict published by him on December 20th, 1581, prohibited in the strictest way, both in the cities and in the country districts, any meeting whatever in the churches or private houses in Holland for the purpose of "papistical usages," such as masses, sermons, etc.; nor was it any longer lawful to wear sacerdotal vestments.[1]

In his war against Spain Orange placed his chief hopes in the assistance of France, but from the Duke of Anjou he met with nothing but disappointment. In the meantime the fortune of war was favourable to Farnese. On November 30th, 1581, he captured Tournai, and on July 5th, 1582, Oudenarde. The terms which he granted to both these cities excited general surprise by their moderation. Farnese wished to win over his opponents by his leniency.[2]

The question of the possession of Flanders and Brabant, which were situated between the Catholic confederation of the south and the Calvinist rule in the north, was still in doubt. The political anarchy which prevailed in those provinces had been made use of in the cities by the Calvinist minority for the suppression of Catholic worship. At Brussels, Antwerp and Ghent the adherents of the ancient faith were ill-treated in defiance of all law and right, and driven into exile. The Catholic priests who had the courage to remain were obliged

[1] See H. J. ALLARD, Een Encycliek van Willem den Zwijger, Utrecht, 1884. *Cf.* also DÖLLINGER, Kirche und Kirchen, 64; KNUTTEL, De Toestand der Nederlandsche Katolieken ten tijde der Republiek, I., 's Gravenhage, 1892, 2 *seq.*; HUBERT, 61; FRUIN, *loc. cit.*, 271 *seq.*

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 251 *seq.*

to say mass with closed doors, as was the case later on in France, at the time of the great revolution. In 1584 even this was forbidden at Brussels.[1] At last the persecution ceased with the victory of Farnese. After Ypres and Bruges had fallen at the beginning of 1584, Ghent too was forced to surrender in September. When this news reached Rome a mass of thanksgiving was celebrated in S. Giuliano, the national church of the Flemings.[2]

Already the question was being discussed in Rome of the mission of a distinguished prelate to support the work of Catholic restoration in the Low Countries, but it was decided that the propitious moment had not yet come.[3] With far-seeing policy Farnese promised a general amnesty; even the Calvinists of Ghent, who had committed so many crimes against the Catholics, were granted a period of two years to decide whether they would in future live as Catholics. In the meantime the insurgents had lost their leader by the murder of Orange (July 10th, 1584).[4] Brussels capitulated

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 222 *seq.*

[2] See *Odescalchi's report of October 20, 1584, in the Gonzaga Archives at Mantua.

[3] *Agebatur nec non de mittendo aliquo authoritatis praelato in Flandriam qui conversos confirmaret et quos posset ad meliorem reduceret mentem, sed rebus adhuc fluctuantibus expedire non est visum quod, ut credo, fiet postea. Report of F. Sporeno to the Archduke Ferdinand dated Rome, September 22, 1584, Government Archives at Innsbruck.

[4] For particulars of the murderer Balthasar Gérard and of his execution, see GACHARD. Corresp. de Guillaume le Taciturne, VI., and *Bullet. de l'acad. roy. de Belgique*, XXIII.; also FREDERIKS, Oorspronkelijke Verhalen en gelijktijdige Berichten van den moord gepleegd aan Prins W. v. Oranje, 's Gravenhage, 1884. For particulars of earlier murder plots of Philip II., the best authority is PLATZHOFF, Mordbefugnis, 67 *seq.* RANKE (Päpste, II.[6] 71) still maintains that "a Jesuit of Trêves supported" B. Gérard in his murderous designs. This assertion was proved to be a calumny as long ago as 1764 by REIFFENBERG (Hist. prov. ad Rhen. inf., 296 *seqq*; a work which Ranke himself quotes a few pages further on!); and later on, MARX (Geschichte des

on March 10th, 1585. The siege of Antwerp, the second capital of Brabant, proved extraordinarily difficult,[1] but it fell at last on August 17th. The time granted to the Protestants there for their acceptance of the Catholic faith was extended to four years, on account of their great number.[2]

Then there began everywhere the restoration of the Catholic churches, many of which had been converted by the Calvinists into warehouses, and even into stables.[3] Filled with renewed courage the champions of the Catholic restoration returned to their task, which had been interrupted by the revolution.[4]

Erzstiftes Trier, II., 2 [1862], 513 *seq.*) draws particular attention to this fact. But all this did not prevent WENZELBURGER (*Hist. Zeitschr.*, LIII., 63 *seq.*) from referring to Orange's murderer as: "armed with the blessing of a Jesuit confessor." Droysen speaks in the same strain. For the opposite point of view *cf.* DUHR, Jesuitenfabeln, 724. The *Relatione del successo della morte di Guilelmo de Nassau (Inf. polit., XII., 280-287, State Library at Berlin) has been over-rated by Ranke. As GACHARD points out (*Compte rendu de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, IV., 1 [1873], 61 *seq.*), it contains nothing new about the deed. FORNERON (*Rév. de France*, May 15, 1881) calls B. Gérard "un fou." The news of Orange's death reached Rome in the beginning of August; see F. Sporeno's report dated August 2, 1584. On October 6 *Sporeno reports that he handed to the Pope a picture of B. Gérard's execution. Government Archives at Innsbruck. For particulars of a letter of Baronius about B. Gérard see FRUIN in *Verslagen en mededel. der K. Akad. van Wetenschapen*, XI., Amsterdam, 1882.

[1] *Cf.* MOLTKE's opinion on the subject in *Ges. Schriften*, II., 21.

[2] See PIRENNE, IV., 267 (*cf.* 259); HUBERT, 41.

[3] See *ibid.* 485.

[4] What great obstacles eminent bishops like Francis Sonnius and William Lindanus had to contend with in their efforts for reform, *cf.* HOLZWARTH, II., 2, 265 *seq.*; *Katholik*, 1871, II., 103 *seq.*, 442 *seq.*; HABETS, Gesch. van het Bisdom Roermond, II., Roermond, 1892. Two memoranda of Lindanus, written in the year 1578, and preserved in the Secret Papal Archives (Nunziat. di Germania, 91, p. 88 *seq.*) have been published by BROM in the *Publicat. de la Société hist. dans le duché de Limbourg*, 1892. They give us a picture—often a sad one—of ecclesiastical conditions in the Netherlands.

This was, especially at first, extremely difficult, because the Catholics of the southern provinces, who were still under the influence of the ideas of Erasmus, displayed such indifference and weakness as to afford a striking contrast to the zeal and activity of the Calvinists in the north. In the case of the majority of the inhabitants of the southern provinces the Catholic faith was rather a matter of habit than a real conviction. Men followed their religion merely externally "as a usage which was deeply rooted by long custom."[1] In view of such tepidity and indifference about religion, it is hardly surprising that when political disturbances broke out men should have turned their backs upon the ancient Church merely in order to combat the Spanish dominion. Strenuous labours were needed in order to win back such apostates, and restore a true religious life to the tepid.[2]

After their separation from the north had removed the danger of Calvinist rule from the Walloon provinces, it was soon seen that the material losses were greater than the moral. The majority of the people, especially in the country districts, were still, as before, attached to the ancient Church.[3] Therefore Gregory XIII., who even in the time of the war in the Low Countries had devoted special attention to the work of Catholic restoration,[4] was able to hope for the best results,

[1] See PIRENNE, IV., 171.

[2] A memorandum *Remedia pro instauranda in Belgio religione catholica, dated Louvain, September 8, 1574, suggests: "Accuratior populi in fide per concionatores doctrina cum visitatione ac reformatione cleri ac potissimum cathedralium ecclesiarum secundum canones." State Archives at Naples.

[3] See PIRENNE, IV., 172 *seq.*, 486.

[4] See *supra*, p. 7 in the matter of the commissions entrusted to Sega. See also HOLZWARTH (*Katholik*, 1871, II., 665 *seq.*) where he deals with the unfulfilled project of founding a seminary which should serve as a training school for good clergy for the northern provinces. The University of Louvain, in 1580, sent Gregory XIII. a present of 2,000 gold ducats; see de RAM, Considérations sur l'hist. de l'université de Louvain, Brussels, 1854, 92.

all the more so as he was zealously supported by the government. It was obviously a disadvantageous circumstance that many of the bishops were not suited to their office. Requesens had repeatedly complained of the supineness and lack of courage of some of the bishops,[1] in whose case the wise decrees which had been approved by the synods of 1570 and 1574, on the basis of the decrees of the Council of Trent, had remained to a great extent a dead letter.[2] If, in spite of this, the Catholic Church quickly recovered from its state of decadence, and began to flourish more than ever,[3] this was in no small degree to be attributed to the activity of the Jesuits.

At first the Jesuits in the Low Countries belonged to the Rhenish province of the congregation, until the General, Francis Borgia, formed a special Belgian or Flemish province on September 24th, 1564. Its development was hindered, not only by the insurrection in Holland, but also by the fact that Alba, who was a strong supporter of cesaropapalism, showed an obvious antipathy for the Society of Jesus.[4] In spite of this the Society found many protectors. Better times came with Requesens, who fully realized the services which the Jesuits could render to the country, and therefore extended to them his full sympathy.[5] After his death a further period of difficulty for the members of the Society of Jesus ensued, with the so-called Pacification of Ghent. The steadfastness with which they refused in 1578 to take an oath which was incompatible with the rights of the lawful sovereign and the interests of the Church led to their expulsion.[6] The Calvinists

[1] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 306, 350.

[2] See *ibid.* 307; PIRENNE, IV., 484.

[3] According to PIRENNE, IV., 486.

[4] See Vol. XVIII., page 104 of this work.

[5] See Corresp. de Philippe II., ed. GACHARD, III., 21; FRUIN in *Verslagen en mededel. der K. Akad. van Wetenschappen*, XI., 322; PIRENNE, IV., 498.

[6] See A. PONCELET, La Compagnie de Jésus en Belgique, Anvers, 1907, 2. Interesting particulars in the *Litt. ann.*, especially 1582, p. 206 *seq.*, 1584, p. 237 *seq.*

instinctively recognized in them their most dangerous enemies, and wherever they obtained the upper hand the fathers had to go away.[1] They repaired to Louvain, where Bellarmine taught theology between 1570 and 1576.[2] As Louvain at that time was ravaged by a terrible plague the Jesuits undertook the care of the sick; four of the fathers succumbed there in the performance of this work of charity, and seven others died in other places as victims to their love for their neighbour.

The victories of Alessandro Farnese, which were so decisive for the restoration of the ancient Church, were all the more gratifying to the Jesuits because friendship for the Order of Loyola was a family tradition with the Farnese. Under the protection of the victorious general the Jesuits returned immediately. They, and in this Philip II., who in other respects had shown but little favour towards the Jesuits, was in complete agreement with Alessandro Farnese, were to secure the spiritual results of the victory. Courtrai had scarcely been occupied when the Jesuits appeared there; they also quickly made their way to Bruges, Ypres, Ghent, Antwerp and Brussels.[3] In 1583 Farnese busied himself with the establishment of a Jesuit college at Mons, and the Order owed to his intervention with Philip II. the fact that in 1584 its right was recognized to acquire and hold property under ecclesiastical jurisdiction, as well as that of making free use of the privileges granted to it by the Apostolic See.[4]

A special protector of the Jesuits was the Bishop of Liège, Gerhard von Groesbeek, who also supported in every possible way the needs of the work of Catholic restoration. He nevertheless in this met with so much opposition on the part of the clergy of Liège, that he was only able to obtain small results.[5] His successor, Ernest of Bavaria, who was appointed

[1] *Cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 499 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* COUDERC, Card. Bellarmin, I., Paris, 1893, 92 *seq.*; FRENTZ, Kard. Bellarmin, Freiburg, 1921, 35 *seq.*

[3] See SACCHINI, V., 189.

[4] See SACCHINI, V., 189; *Bullet. de la Commiss. d'hist. de Belgique*, V., 2 (1892), 160-1.

[5] See PIRENNE, IV., 410 *seq.*

in 1581, was more fortunate. It is worthy of note that it was especially under this worldly bishop that the Catholic reform made great strides.[1] The principal credit for this belongs to the Jesuits, who had great influence with him.

In the autumn of 1585 the first Capuchins joined the Jesuits in that part of the Netherlands which was subject to Spain.[2] They too co-operated vitally in recovering for the Catholic Church the nation that during the rebellion had become a playground for the heretics, supported by France, Germany and England.[3] If the Capuchins have been called "the Jesuits of the Poverello," this is especially true in the case of the Spanish Netherlands.[4] Of great importance, too, for the ecclesiastical life of that people was the apostolic nunciature established at Cologne by Gregory XIII., which, in October, 1584, was filled by the capable Bonhomini.[5] Thus the Pope, at the close of his pontificate, in the midst of the anxieties occasioned by the state of France, could at least look with joyful anticipations to the neighbouring territories held by Philip II. in the Netherlands. The restoration of political order by Farnese could not fail to assist in the triumph there of the religious revival.

[1] See *ibid.* 428 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BOVERIUS, II., 165 *seq.*; ROCCA DA CESINALE, I., 367 *seq.*; ALENÇON, Documents (Paris, 1894), 89 *seq.*

[3] See Sega's opinion in his report of August 2, 1578, in HANSEN, Nuntiaturberichte, II., 212 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PIRENNE, IV., 515.

[5] See MAERE, Origines de la nonciature de Flandre in the *Rev. d'hist. ecclés.*, VII., 577. *Cf. infra* p. 382 *seq.*

CHAPTER II.

THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL IN GERMANY.—THE GERMAN CONGREGATION.—BAVARIA.—THE TYROL.—SALZBURG.

The second year of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. had hardly begun when news reached Cologne from Rome that the new Pope had especially taken the interests of Germany to heart, that he was thinking of enlarging the German College at Rome, and that a special congregation of ten Cardinals had been appointed to discuss the question of the best way of assisting Germany.[1]

This was that German Congregation which, projected under Pius IV.,[2] had been formed in 1568 by Pius V., but which,

[1] Document dated June 30, 1573, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 648.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten xi. A *Consilium pro restituenda Germania (Graziani Archives at Città di Castello, Instruz., I., 224) also gives, first and foremost, the following advice: "Congregatio instituatur, per quam S. D. N. iuvet Germanium in spiritu apostolicae mansuetudinis ac veritatis orthodoxae in Christo Iesu ad maiorem Omnipotentis gloriam. Necessitatem congregationis metiri possumus ex interitu aeterno tot animarum, ex calamitate nationis christianae, ex S. D. N. obligatione. Tempus opportunum ex electione tam pii, tam sapientis, tam mansueti pontificie, ex sectis et pugnis mutuis haereticorum, unde pax ecclesiastica consequatur, ex pace christianorum principum, ex spe concepta a piis omnibus. Ad congregationem cardinales eligantur, qui pietate, sapientia, dignitate sint excellentes, quibus congregatio adiungatur ex selectis iureconsultis et theologis, qui congregationi sint a consiliis. Iurisdictio nulla sit congregationi ordinaria, sed summa auctoritas et gratia apud S. D. N. et omnes statue ecclesiae, quod efflagitat negotii magnitudo et difficultas. Misisteria congregationis: Primum ut curet concilium oecumenicum celebrari. Reformationem item universalem expediri efficaciter. . . ." The approximate date of this document can be

on account of the unfavourable circumstances, had held its meetings "with but little result."[1] At the beginning of 1573 Gregory XIII. gave it new life; for its members he chose by preference the German Cardinals, Truchsess, Mark Sittich von Hohenems, Hosius, Cristoforo and Lodovico Madruzzo; of the Cardinals on the congregation who were not of German origin, Morone, Zaccaria Delfino, Farnese and Santa Croce had known Germany as nuncios, while Tolomeo Galli, as secretary under Pius IV., had had to make himself acquainted with conditions there.[2] Truchsess died in this same year, and Commendone took his place.[3]

When the hope of being able to strike a powerful blow at the Turks had been proved to be impossible of fulfilment,

fixed from the remark about the council and also from the sentence: "In editione librorum observetur cathalogus editus Romae sub Paulo IV. cum emendatione S. D. N. (Pius IV.)"; *cf.* the above sentence about the "electio tam *pii* pontificis" which had only just recently taken place.

[1] Cardinal Truchsess in the *Nuntiaturberichten*, III., xviii.; *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 247 of this work.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xv *seq.* SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, xvii *seqq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xv *seq.*; Bernerio on March 6, 1574, *ibid.*, 366. The session of January 7, 1573, of which both Truchsess and Cusano give a report (SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xvii) is also mentioned by *Aurelio Zibramonte who says that the following cardinals were present: Morone, Truchsess, Farnese, Delfino, Galli, Madruzzo, Hosius and F. Boncompagni (letter of January 16, 1573, addressed to the Duke of Mantua: Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). The protocols of the meetings of the German Congregation from May 18, 1573, to February 28, 1578, from a manuscript in the Borghese Library, are reproduced by SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 73-131. These reports are supplemented by some loose sheets, originally prepared for the state secretariate and bound up with the volumes of the *Nunziat. di Germania*. Such reports of single sessions are to be found in Vols. XCI. and CII. They begin just where the Borghese manuscript stops, i.e. with the session of April 17, 1578 (Vol. XCI., 18), and continue up to the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.

Gregory XIII. felt doubly inclined to pay all possible attention to events in Germany. It was the Cardinal of Augsburg who tried to turn to the advantage of his own country the plans that had proved vain as far as the east was concerned.[1] In every way Otto Truchsess intervened on behalf of his own country; when, in July, 1572, the immediate return of Commendone from Poland was erroneously expected, Cardinal Otto proposed that Commendone should be employed at Vienna for the religious revival in Germany.[2] Cardinal Hosius of Ermland, too, intervened with the Pope on behalf of Germany; he specially urged that steps should be taken to bring about the return of Saxony to the Church.[3] It was also possible to obtain information as to the state of affairs in Germany from the Dominican, Feliciano Ninguarda, who was in Rome until September 1572, as the representative of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg.[4] Peter Canisius was expected in April, 1573, to take part in the election of the new General of the Jesuits; in the meantime he was charged to obtain information from the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the princes of the Tyrol and Bavaria, as to what would be in their opinion the best way to further the interests of religion.[5] The Secretary of State, Galli, soon found himself called upon to make a definite statement that it was intended to make use of none but peaceful means; at the news of the meeting

[1] Seb. Beretarius in M. RADERUS, De vita Petri Canisii (1614), 139.

[2] SCHWARZ in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, IV. (1890), 40-3. The ideas developed in this article will be met with again in Otto's later memorandum (see *infra* p. 28).

[3] SCHWARZ. Zehn Gutachten, xvi.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xiv.

[5] *Ibid.* xxi *seqq.* *Brief to the Archbishop of Salzburg, dated January 24, 1573: "Volumus dil. fil. Petrum Canisium tecum agere nonnullis de rebus ad hanc quam diximus curam pertinentibus; cuius verbis fidem adhibebis et quid tibi spiritus s. in animum immittat expones, cupimus enim tuam sententiam cognoscere, quam propter prudentiam et pietatem tuam plurimi facimus." Consistorial Archives, Salzburg.

of the German Congregation the rumour had been spread, especially in Vienna, that Rome was planning a massacre of St. Bartholomew against the religious innovators in Germany. Galli replied to the request for enlightenment from the nuncio in Vienna that there was not the least idea of armed intervention nor of violent measures "which are no longer suited to these times, and in no way represent the intentions or ideas of the Pope."[1] Cardinal Otto, too, wrote at the beginning of 1573 to Duke Albert V.:[2] Gregory XIII. intends to devote his attention to Germany "in all kindness and gentleness," "zealously and in all seriousness"; if only he knew what to do, how hard he would work!

What serious efforts were being made at that time in Rome to obtain detailed information as to the state of affairs in Germany, is clear from a whole number of written opinions intended for the use of the German Congregation, and which go in great detail into the means to be adopted in coming to the assistance of Germany.[3] The Cardinal of Augsburg had already expressed his views on this question to Pius V. in 1568. He now, at an audience, in January, 1573, laid his opinions before the new Pope with certain unessential alterations.[4] Zaccaria Delfino, who was at that time nuncio in Vienna, made a speech before the German Congregation on the same subject before January 7th, 1573,[5] while Peter Canisius made a report concerning the information which, in accordance with the instructions he had received, he had obtained from the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Duke of Bavaria as to the best procedure of reform.[6] Canisius had handed on the task of consulting the Archbishop of Salzburg on the subject to Ninguarda,[7] whose report, however,[8]

[1] Galli on March 7, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xxi.

[2] On January 31, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xxiv.

[3] Printed *ibid.* 1 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 1-19. For the date of this and the following memorandum, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xviii.

[5] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 19-28.

[6] *Ibid.*, 29-33. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xxi *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.* xxv *seq.*

[8] Of February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 106-9.

represents his own ideas rather than those of the archbishop. Lastly there are a number of reports from unknown writers.[1]

The accounts of the state of Germany which are given in these reports present a gloomy picture. Any improvement in the state of affairs must start with the bishops, in so far as they are still men of good will. But, as Cardinal Otto Truchsess points out, the clergy resist the smallest attempt at reform, and reject the decrees of Trent, relying on pretended privileges. The bishops do not dare to interfere by means of synods, visitations or strong measures. If an immoral priest is removed by his bishop, he goes to a neighbouring diocese and there meets with a ready welcome on account of the scarcity of priests, or, as happens every day, he goes to the Protestants, from whom he is certain to receive some prominent and well-paid office. It is impossible to fill the place of such fugitives except by men who have given public scandal, or at any rate, have fallen under manifest and grave censures. A bishop finds himself in the difficult position of having to tolerate against his will parish priests and others who are simoniacal, unsuitable, scandalous, excommunicated, and the like; he must keep his parishes filled in some way, for otherwise the danger will arise of the parishioners turning to the Protestants in order to have a preacher.[2]

Moreover there are a great number of Protestants even in the territories of the ecclesiastical princes.[3] Even among the counsellors of the bishops there are some who, either openly or in secret, favour the new doctrines.[4] The blame for this rests with the Protestant universities, whence, according to the view of an experienced witness, almost all the errors as

[1] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 33-70. No. VII: "Abusus Germaniae" (*ibid.*, 50-2) is by the nuncio B. Portia (*cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 473-5); No. VIII. is given in a German translation in *Katholik*, 1900, II., 440 *seqq.* A memorandum of May 1, 1573, by Rhetius for the German Congregation in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 644-7.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 4.

[3] *Ibid.*, 34.

[4] Mainzer Gutachten, *ibid.*, 37.

to faith have come.[1] Catholic high schools in Germany are very few in number, and these few are in a deplorable state.[2] Academic degrees, to which great importance is attached in Germany, are conferred there as elsewhere indiscriminately, upon learned and unlearned, good and bad, Catholics and Protestants.[3] The bishops are very badly provided with trustworthy assistants, both for the government of their temporal territories and for their ecclesiastical administration; there are in fact hardly any men in Germany who are learned, honourable, capable, hard-working or God-fearing.[4]

It is a perpetual menace to the German church that in filling canonries preference is given to men of noble birth.[5] Since the young nobles are aware that their birth opens to them the way to canonries, prelacies, and the episcopal and archiepiscopal dignity, they care nothing about study or piety, but pass their time in drinking, hunting, and with women. Even the deans, provosts and archdeacons give for the most part the worst possible example. The prelates are rarely to be seen in the churches, and the canons hardly ever. If in the course of the year there should be some special or rich distribution of gifts, they walk about chattering outside the choir while their representatives perfunctorily go through the office.[6] At the office itself they think it beneath their dignity to sing even one antiphon or one verse of a psalm; in their opinion it is far more fitting for a noble to make a great show in the streets with military trappings and arms, very often

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, 37.

[4] *Ibid.*, 4.

[5] *Cf.* ALOIS SCHULTE, Der Adel und die deutsche Kirche im Mittelalter (*Kirchenrechtliche Abhandlungen*, edited by U. STUTZ, 63-4), Stuttgart, 1910; A. L. VEIT in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXIII. (1912), 323-58, where, on page 325 *seq.*, further literature on the subject is given. Examples of the absence of the burgesses from the chapters, in LOSSEN. Kölner Krieg, I., 19; FIEDLER, Relationen, 69; SUGENHEIM, Bayrische Kirchenzustände, 96.

[6] SCHWARTZ, *loc. cit.*, 65.

with gold chains round their necks, and amuse themselves with dogs and horses. The revenues of the richest churches, so they say, are intended by the will of the founders only for the maintenance of the nobles, and the divine office for the lower classes; whence has come the proverb: "the vicars go to church for the canons, and the canons go to hell for the vicars."[1] Deans, archdeacons and others must, it is true, when they take possession of their benefice, take an oath to receive sacred orders within a given period, but they evade this oath in various ways. Thus it comes about that in the greater churches it is rare to find a priest among the canons, and this example is only too often followed in the smaller churches.[2] For the rest, most of the burgesses can obtain admission to the chapters if they have the doctorate, but every effort is made to exclude them altogether, which has already been the case in some churches. Cologne provides an exception; there the cathedral chapter still contains eight doctors, all men of distinction; these have the same right of voting in the chapter as the nobles, but they cannot obtain prelacies.[3] Besides their own canonries the noble canons obtain possession of all the rich benefices of the whole diocese, so that there is no prospect of advancement for other priests, no matter how pious or learned they may be.[4]

Before the election of the bishop the canons draw up an election capitulation by means of which they strive to protect themselves as far as possible against the authority of the future bishop and to minimize their own obligations. They do not intend, as they say, like common priests, to have launched against them visitations, improvement of morals or reforms, nor to be hampered by canons and regulations like monks, nor to become Jesuits. Each one must take an oath that in the event of his being elected bishop he will observe this election capitulation, that he will not ask to be dispensed

[1] *Ibid.*, 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, 66 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 68 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 65 *seq.*

from his oath, and that he will not give information as to this arrangement to anyone, not even the Pope.[1]

The bishops who are chosen from among such people, naturally, after the life they have led, know nothing about the administration of their office, nor do they take any interest in it, nor do they dare, on account of the election capitulation, to touch the plague-spot of their canons, and suffer shocking scandals to go on. They hand over the care of the diocese to a representative, who, however, has not the necessary authority to obtain obedience to his orders; while they, for their part, strive to raise and enrich their own families, amuse themselves with a display of luxury and worldly pomp, and strive to be looked upon as princes rather than bishops.[2] The outcome of all this in many dioceses has been either that the bishop himself has apostatized from the Church, or that the chapter has elected a Protestant as bishop, unless they have preferred to make no election at all, and to place the civil administration of their hitherto ecclesiastical territory in the hands of a Protestant prince.[3]

The salvation of the German Catholics could not, under these difficult circumstances, come from the bishops, but only from the centre of the universal Church, and nothing short of this extraordinary means of salvation seemed to hold out any real prospect of success. The evil, so states a report of about 1576, seems to be almost incurable, for the very reason that ecclesiastics and prelates are no longer willing to listen to the mother and mistress of all the churches, the Roman Church.[4] Among many German Catholics, Rome has a bad name, says a priest who was probably educated in Rome; the reply is made, if they speak of reform in Germany, that they might well make a beginning with Rome itself; if the suggestions for reform, be they mild or be they strong, bear the stamp of Rome, they are condemned as harsh and unsuitable, and it is only under the pressure of necessity that the appearance of

[1] *Ibid.*, 66.
[2] *Ibid.*, 67.
[3] *Ibid.*, 68.
[4] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 57.

union with the Roman See is still maintained.[1] The Protestants, for their part, among whom the very name of Rome is as much hated as that of the Turks,[2] speak in quite another way: the conviction of the infamies of the Roman See is with them the foundation and pivot of all their doctrines, and anyone who could remove this conviction would have healed Germany of all her ills.[3]

It is only by taking into consideration such expressions of opinion that the importance of the reforms that were carried out at the Roman court by Pius V. can be estimated.[4] In spite of the hostile suspicion with which the news of this initial reform was at first received, it gradually acquired greater force.[5] The hope that some day God would raise up a Pope who would take Germany to his heart, had been awakened among the better disposed.[6]

On the other hand some of the reports are full of expressions of hope. A report on the condition of Protestant Saxony deems that the princes are wearied of the quibbles of their theologians, that the nobility are deriding their shallowness, the townsfolk holding them in contempt, and the countryfolk extolling the bygone days on account of their purity of morals and their piety. If to-day the prince-elector of Saxony or of Brandenburg were to join the Catholic Church, the nobles, townsfolk and countryfolk would flock into it on the same day.[7] The Cardinal of Augsburg, who saw a special miracle of Providence in the fact that Germany had not fallen into complete ruin, was also of opinion that if the necessary zeal

[1] *Ibid.*, 38, *cf.*, 48.

[2] *Ibid.*, 33.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54.

[4] "Boni vero gaudent maxime Deo gratias agentes, de bona fama iam de V. S. (Pius V.) sparsa et de studio V. S. reformandi et emendatione Romanae curiae." Otto Truchsess to Pius V., 1568, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, n. 2.

[5] "Ut vel invitis Germanorum auribus religiosa Romanorum fama influeret," *ibid.*, 40.

[6] Otto Truchsess, *ibid.*, 2.

[7] *Ibid.*, 56.

and earnestness were employed, the salvation and improvement of the majority might without doubt be looked for very quickly.[1] We still have Catholic princes. It is true that the bishops hesitate at the magnitude of the work of reform, but they hope for assistance on the part of the Pope and the Emperor; some provinces and cities have remained true to the Catholic faith, as have innumerable prelates, counts, barons and nobles who rule over huge territories. Many who are doubtful and undecided would very easily be won over with gentle correction. Division and discord have made their way into the ranks of the Protestants, and they are fighting fiercely among themselves.[2] Their strength is very much weakened; their dealings with foreign powers are no longer very active, and there is much mutual mistrust. Their adherents are weary of the everlasting divisions and changes of religion, and every year more of them are inclined to turn to the ancient Church. If they could but see the Catholics free from at anyrate public scandals, and if they had hard-working priests, there is no doubt that every day a large number would be won back.[3]

According to the author of a memorial from Mayence the Catholics in the Empire were stronger than the Protestants, if not perhaps in numbers,[4] at any rate in power; but they were naturally over timid, because no one encouraged or revived their still actual living faith.[5] A sign that was full

[1] *Ibid.*, 4.

[2] The religious disruption had come to such a pass, that, in 1574 the Venetian ambassador in Vienna, Giovanni Corraro, was of opinion that chaos itself (l'istessa confusione) could be more easily described than the number of religions in Germany, most of which no longer knew what they ought to believe. *Fontes rerum Austriacarum*, XXX., 331.

[3] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 4-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 35. If one counts as Protestants all those who made use of the so-called evangelical freedom in the ordering of their lives, then, without doubt, this kind of Protestant was certainly more numerous than the number of those who kept to the laws of the Church.

[5] *Ibid.*, 34.

of promise was the fact that the Protestants were asking to hear the word of God. The errors that were holding them back from the word of God, could not last for long, if the Church could only provide learned ministers, who were skilled in word and deed. Even in the Protestant districts there were still a number of Catholics who, by their words and writings, and by their good lives and example, were encouraging the doubtful, reclaiming those who had been led away, or at anyrate causing them to question their false beliefs. Lastly there was among all Catholics, from the Pope downwards, a great desire for the religious revival of Germany. Whence could this come, except from the fact that God wishes a renewal of the struggle against error ?[1] "Now is the time to awake from sleep," Truchsess cries to the Pope. "The cause of Christ is astir in us, of whom your Holiness is the representative on earth. Your Holiness must trust in God, and gather together men of action and experience, as well as the necessary means, nor feel any doubt that God is still strong enough to produce saving grace and the most abundant fruits in the vineyard of Germany, which implores so insistently the help of its pastor Gregory."[2]

In spite of all the discontent occasioned by the behaviour of the prelates and the authorities in Rome the conviction of the divine institution of the Papacy was still alive among the Catholics, for whom even in Germany Rome still possessed a power that could in no way be passed over. All the reports sent to the German Congregation look for salvation in the religious affairs of Germany from the intervention of the Holy See.

The necessity of having more representatives of the Pope in Germany, besides the nuncio at Vienna, is again and again brought out in the reports from all parts. On account of the long interruption in their relations with it, the Cardinal of Augsburg was of opinion that the German princes, both Catholic and Protestant, had become distrustful of the Apostolic See; they thought that Rome no longer cared

[1] *Ibid.*, 34-5.

[2] *Ibid.*, 17.

about them, and the Protestants let no opportunity slip of widening the breach by their invectives, calumnies and falsehoods. Therefore there was need of more representatives of the Pope in the various districts, to whom they could make known the needs of the country, and from whom they could seek advice and help, or at anyrate consolation.[1] Before we can think of converting the heretics, says Delfino, we must before everything else be sure of our own prelates. And how can this be possible if we are not definitely and thoroughly informed as to the means available, and the method of government, the zeal and the negligence of each prelate? "It is certainly a great evil that we know so little as to the state of affairs in Germany. It is the result of this ignorance if in the years that have elapsed so many ecclesiastical offices have been so ill provided for."[2] The greater number of the metropolitan and cathedral chapters in Germany have for years past been filled with Protestants, not only through the neglect of the bishops, but also because the officials of the Dataria in Rome have not paid sufficient attention to the matter. Every bishop ought therefore to be obliged to send a list of the persons who are suited to fill such offices.[3] As things are to-day, it is stated in another report,[4] the Romans and Germans take no trouble to know anything about each other; the German prelates only go to Rome to obtain the confirmation of their appointment, and then hardly give another thought to the Apostolic See; their confirmation itself is only looked upon as a matter of payment.

Another report, on the then burning question of seminaries, aims at showing what great difficulties could be obviated by the presence of permanent nuncios.[5] All reasonable men in Germany see in these institutions the most efficacious means of reform, and anyone that refuses to come to the assistance of Germany in that matter, was refusing to help her altogether.

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 1 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 20.
[3] *Ibid.*, 28.
[4] *Ibid.*, 36, 42.
[5] *Ibid.*, 43-4.

The bishops and princes, who had not moved a finger in that direction, would be more likely to be aroused by the spoken word than by any number of letters. Many of them, moreover, are men of good will, but now some of them write to Rome in one sense on the subject of the seminaries, and others in another, and thus the question becomes more and more involved, and drags on interminably; in the end nothing is accomplished, or else the Protestants get to know of the plans of the Catholics and circumvent them. For example, if the question were to be raised whether the seminaries were to be established by means of the contributions of the clergy, then immediately all would cry out that on account of the bad times they had not enough to live upon, although in many cases it was manifest that the opposite was the case. But if it was suggested that the abandoned monasteries and their revenues, which were, moreover, being turned to very bad use, should be made over to the seminaries, then there would be another outcry, some saying that the monasteries were being destroyed, while others would think that it was intended to seize the property of the monasteries, not for the seminaries, but for some private purpose. It was therefore very difficult for Rome to decide who was to be believed. The supporters of the project grew weary or else died, while the heretics robbed the monasteries and educated their children with the money of the Catholics. If there were nuncios at hand, they would at once be able to come to a decision in accordance with the information they had themselves obtained. "In a word" so the writer concludes, "it is necessary to establish more seminaries, and more quickly, and better ones than at present, for otherwise all negotiations for reform will be vain and useless.[1]

It is further recommended in these plans of reform that care should be taken for the instruction of the faithful by means of suitable books, and that Rome should therefore encourage capable writers,[2] at the same time subjecting the

[1] *Ibid.*, 44, *cf.* 13-4, 31, 37, 57, 63-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 39, 60. "Capable writers should be assembled together in one spot where they could devote themselves to the composition

printing and spread of heretical works to severe penalties with the help of the Catholic princes.[1] The penetration of Protestants and doubtful Catholics into the cathedral chapters might be prevented if in future no canonry were to be conferred upon anyone who had not sworn to the Tridentine profession of faith.[2] To put a stop to the loss of the bishoprics, an attempt should be made to bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor never to grant to bishops-elect the investiture of their civil rights, unless they were prepared to accept the Papal confirmation, make the profession of faith, and receive sacerdotal orders.[3]

Rome should show itself ready to favour the Germans and show itself friendly towards them, and therefore be quick to give effect to the requests which came from Germany. Only a short time before a German abbot had had to wait for three years, and at great expense to himself, for his confirmation. In consequence of this delay and this dragging on of affairs, prelates had themselves installed in their benefices by lay authority, without seeking the confirmation of Rome, and having thus become disobedient in one point to the Apostolic See, they soon became so in others, and in the end even became filled with hatred of Rome.[4]

Lastly, very wide faculties must be granted for Germany in certain cases so as to mitigate the severity of the ecclesiastical laws, and for the remission of sins and ecclesiastical penalties, the absolution of which is in itself reserved to the Apostolic See. The bishops, says the Cardinal of Augsburg, must have in greater measure than they have at present the right to

and spread of literature" (*ibid.*, 49). On September 1, 1574, Canisius made a similar suggestion to the General of his Order. NADAL, Epistolae, III., 821.

[1] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 38, *cf.* 35 *seq.* See also P. M. BAUMGARTEN in *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXXI. (1910), 88 *seq.* For particulars of similar suggestions made in the year 1566, see O. BRAUNSBERGER, *ibid.*, XXX. (1909), 62-72.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 12, 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, 11.

[4] *Ibid.*, 46.

appoint learned priests who, in cases of heresy and other sins which are to-day very common in Germany, have full authority and power to absolve. Daily experience shows that neither the clergy nor the people can be induced to have direct recourse to either the bishop or the Apostolic See for absolution.[1] The bishops themselves are not uncommonly as much involved in ecclesiastical censures as they are,[2] and must find in the nuncio someone to admonish them. "In this way many grave evils which at present seem incurable might be removed."[3] It seemed better to others, however, that such powers should be given only to the nuncios, because the German bishops had not the necessary knowledge of canon law.[4] Cardinal Truchsess, too, in the end limited his suggestions, to the extent of desiring that only bishops who had proved themselves fit should be given these extraordinary powers.[5]

The wishes and suggestions of the Cardinal of Augsburg (who died on April 2nd, 1573), which were also expressed in similar terms by the nuncio Bartolomeo Portia,[6] made a great impression in Rome; in the course of the year 1574 briefs were sent to Cardinal Otto's successor at Augsburg, as well as to the Bishops of Würzburg and Ratisbon, in which his suggestions were to some extent accepted.[7]

The desire of the German Catholics to have in their midst, in addition to the nuncio at the Imperial court, a larger number of representatives of the Holy See, was also acted upon by Gregory. As early as 1573 he sent one such to Upper Germany, and another to Central Germany, and especially for the North.[8] Both these nuncios, contrary to the custom of the time, were not accredited to any definite court, but were sent to all the

[1] *Ibid.*, 12, *cf.* 18, 48.
[2] *Ibid.*, 58.
[3] *Ibid.*, 12 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 60.
[5] *Ibid.*, 18. *Cf.* MERGENTHEIM, I., 134-45.
[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 315-7.
[7] MERGENTHEIM, I., 91 *seqq.*, 145.
[8] See *infra*. p. 66.

princes in their district. The nunciature of Upper Germany was discontinued after ten years and that of Lower Germany after five. But the latter had a successor after 1584 in that of Cologne, which lasted for two centuries. Already (in 1580) a permanent representative of the Holy See had been sent to Graz. The above-mentioned nunciatures were distinguished from those of former times, most of which had been embassies intended for the transaction of political business, by their religious purpose; in their case politics became a purely subordinate consideration.

In the reform plans laid before the German Congregation it had been strongly insisted upon that the German College in Rome must be enlarged and that it must revert entirely to its original purpose. It has happened, says one of the reports,[1] that excellent young men, who wish to devote themselves to the priesthood, but met with opposition from their parents, have fled to Rome, but, on account of the poverty of the German College, have not been able to obtain admission there, and have been obliged, with many difficulties, to return to toil and drudge in their own country. In the end the college had come to be German in little more than name. If every year ten or twelve good priests could be sent to Germany it would produce very great results. Since they had been educated in Rome these priests, in whatever part of Germany they were, would look to the Roman Church as their mother, and could, in the capacity of eye-witnesses, refute the constant calumnies against the Pope, the Cardinals, and the state of Rome. Even though there were seminaries in Germany, they should cause some of their students to be educated in Rome; in that case they would be removed as far as possible from the danger of infection, and they would learn the truth far better in Rome by what they saw, than they would in Germany from books, to which must be added the enthusiasm which would be enkindled in an unspoiled German youth by receiving his education in a place where everything would speak to him of the foundations of the true faith. The German

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 41.

College, says another report, ought to be increased to at least 100 students ;[1] if, against this[2] the objection were raised of the cost of living in Rome, and the unfavourable climate for Germans, in favour of seminaries on German soil, the practical Cardinal Truchsess refused to accept these objections,[3] and said that experience had shown that it was impossible at the moment to carry into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent in all the dioceses ; they must therefore turn their attention to a general seminary, and for this purpose it was impossible to think of Germany, but rather, and above all, of Rome. The more students were received there, the better it would be ; in course of time the good repute of such a universal German college in Rome would induce many even of the nobles to send their sons there to be educated.

Otto Truchsess, as well as Cardinal Hosius, Canisius and Albert V., had many times during his life vainly given expression to such desires, but now, when he expressed them for the last time, only a short time before his death, he met with a response far greater than he could ever have hoped for. A pamphlet of 1579 speaks of Gregory XIII. as the second founder of the German College, a Pope who was truly "German," who from the first had with the greatest kindness devoted special attention to "our" Germans ; in the German College he was maintaining 130 youths ; in Austria and Bohemia he had established two colleges, and had raised two Austrians to the cardinalate.[4] Another contemporary thinks that it may be said that Gregory has "a German heart," and that there is no nation to which he devotes so much attention as Germany ; in every mass, the same writer says, he recommends to God the German Church.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 49 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 57 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 13 *seq.*, *cf.* 17.

[4] "Est enim hic Gregorius vere Germanicus Pontifex, qui inde ab initio Germanos nostros summa est humanitate complexus magnamque illorum rationem semper habuit, ut de illis possit bene mereri." MORITZ, 8, n. 1.

[5] Perneder from Rome, January 2, 1586, JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16] 193.

Among the secular princes of Germany whose assistance for the German College had been especially sought by Peter Canisius, only one gave any proof of acquiescence and favourable dispositions,[1] the man who, in the opinion of Paolo Tiepolo,[2] was the only one of the princes of Germany whom Gregory XIII. could trust at the beginning of his pontificate; this was the Duke of Bavaria, Albert V. Bavaria was indeed at that time the pivot of Catholic hopes. It is true that Canisius also speaks of the Archduke of the Tyrol, Ferdinand, as being, in 1567, a pioneer of Catholicism together with Albert,[3] but he too gives the first place to the Duke of Bavaria, as being a man who had no equal in Germany in his zeal for religion.[4] His view of the importance of Bavaria was justified by the event. The example of Albert V. and his son inspired courage in the ecclesiastical princes who were his neighbours; by means of the daughter of Albert V., Mary, the wife of the Archduke Charles of Styria, the princes of Austria were stirred up to zeal for the Catholic faith; the intervention of Bavaria in the war of Cologne saved the bishoprics in the north of Germany, and assured the continuance of the Catholic Empire.

Already in the time of Luther, William IV., the father of Albert V., had resisted all temptations to apostatize from the Catholic faith. The Lutheran princes naturally did all they could to induce the powerful prince of Bavaria to follow their example.[5] At the same time even at Munich men saw

[1] STEINHUBER, I., 49. CANISII Epist., VI., 290. GOETZ, Beiträge, V., n. 469. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*

[2] ALBÈRI, II., 4, 228.

[3] "duos et praecipuos illos Catholicorum heroes (to Hosius on September 7, 1567, CANISII Epist., VI., 37). It is these same two that Commendone also calls "le principali colonne de la fede cattolica in Germania" (to Canisius on October 6, 1568; *ibid.*, 225).

[4] To Francis Borgia on August 27, 1567; CANISII Epist., IV., 25. Under Ferdinand I. he called Bavaria and Austria Catholic countries (to Otto Truchsess on January 17, 1556; *ibid.*, I., 596).

[5] REIZLER, IV., 309.

with feelings of envy how many nobles and princes, by their acceptance of the new doctrines, had got into their own hands so many bishoprics and abbacies.[1] Even though the attitude of William IV. towards the great political changes had not always been without blame from the Catholic point of view,[2] and his zeal for religion had to some extent been held in suspicion even by a Papal nuncio,[3] none of these things alters the fact that it was that prince who might, more easily than the others, have enriched himself by the confiscation of seventy Bavarian monasteries,[4] who resisted that temptation from conscientious motives.[5]

In spite of everything, however, even in Bavarian territory the tendency towards the new doctrines made some progress at first. The nobility were for the most part inclined towards them,[6] and the abuses among the Catholics paved the way for them.[7] In the first years of his reign, Albert V., the son and successor of William IV., was wanting in resolution as to matters of religion ;[8] he sought to find salvation in concessions, especially in granting the chalice to the laity, and allowing

[1] *Ibid.*, 308 ; *cf.* 152.

[2] *Ibid.*, 76, 240, 251.

[3] *Ibid.*, 307.

[4] *Ibid.*, 96, 307.

[5] "That the dukes had been led into the Roman camp by motives of self-interest is one of those historical fairy-tales which it seems impossible to eradicate. . . . If pure selfishness, without any religious motive, had decided the ecclesiastical policy of the Bavarian princes, then the dice would have fallen quite differently. For as things soon shaped themselves, desertion to the Protestant camp promised incomparably greater advantages to the Bavarians than did supporting the old Church." Thus REIZLER, IV., 93 *seq.* Concerning Christopher von Schwarzenberg, *cf. ibid.*, 75 *seq.* and N. PAULUS in the *Hist. polit. Blättern*, CXI. (1893), 10-32 ; CXII., 144-54.

[6] RIEZLER, IV., 348, 501, 524.

[7] DOEBERL, I., 385-90.

[8] JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.[15-16] 112 *seq.* *Cf.* Eisengrein to Cromer on February 29, 1568, in PFLEGER, 150 ; DOEBERL, I., 438 *seq.*

the marriage of priests.[1] Already, far-seeing Catholics felt the most serious apprehension; Austria they said has already failed us, if Bavaria too should apostatize, the ancient religion in Germany is finished.[2]

By the time that these apprehensions had found expression, an important change had already taken place in the views of the duke. As early as 1557 Albert declared that he would rather come, with his wife and children, to a state of misery than make any further concessions in the matter of religion.[3] After 1563 he steadily became a stronger and stronger champion of the ancient Church. His chancellor, Simon Thaddeus Eck, who was a convinced Catholic, the half-brother and disciple of the theologian, Johann Eck, but above all the influence of the Jesuits and the impression made by the Council of Trent, which had at length been brought to an end, may explain this change.[4] Certain experiences which he had had on the occasion of the so-called conspiracy of the nobles at Ortenburg in 1564, and above all the correspondence that was confiscated at the trial, convinced him that all his leniency had not prevented the Protestant nobles from describing their duke as Pharoah, and his efforts for the chalice and the marriage of priests as the work of a madman and inspired by the devil.[5] Further, the trial broke the resistance of the

[1] See Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 115; SCHWARZ in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XIII. (1892), 144 *seq.* For Ormaneto's mission to Bavaria, *cf.* the official documents in ARETIN: Bayerns auswaertig Verhaeltnisse, Records, 6-16.

[2] Canisius to Lainez on October 14, 1569, CANISII Epist., VI., 533; *cf.* RIEZLER, IV., 499 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 507.

[4] *Ibid.*, 497. The words of the Roman Breviary: the Apostles 'Peter and Paul, O Lord, have taught us Thy law" were applied by Albert V. to himself with reference to Peter Canisius and Paul Hoffaeus. A. BRUNNER, Excubiae tutelares, Munich, 1637, 551.

[5] RIEZLER, IV., 528, *cf.* 525. There was no real conspiracy although there was a well-founded suspicion of such. See DOEBERL, I., 442 *seq.*

nobles, and left the duke a free hand in the matter of religion.[1]

Whereas in 1563 Albert V. was of the opinion that the people would "in no way" suffer themselves to be deprived of the use of the chalice, and that nothing, "neither mildness, nor harshness, nor scourging, nor punishment, nor torture" would be of any use, but that they would have to be banished from the duchy,[2] in the very next year the duke's council came to the conclusion that the desire for communion under both kinds was by no means general.[3] A visitation of the fiscal district of Burghausen, where the request for the chalice was especially strong, seemed to confirm this view.[4] At the beginning of 1571, a few years after Bavaria had received the concession of the chalice granted by Pius IV., it had already fallen into disuse, and the chalice was forbidden to the laity.[5]

From 1564 onwards energetic steps had been taken for the religious instruction of the people by means of missions; those who would not suffer themselves to be won over, were to be banished.[6] A new and important religious ordinance of September 30th, 1569,[7] sought to put a stop to the two principal causes of the religious dissensions in Bavaria, by a careful surveillance over the primary schools and the press, A visitation of the whole duchy was proclaimed, and officials. markets, cities, and indeed all subjects, were threatened with severe penalties if they failed to conform to the orders. On January 5th, 1570, an "ecclesiastical council" was set up, which was composed of ecclesiastics and laymen, and was to

[1] Riezler, IV., 532.

[2] Aretin, Maximilian, I., 108 *seq.*

[3] Knöpfler, 154 *seq.* Riezler, IV., 518 *seq.*

[4] In Aretin, *loc. cit.* 156 *seq.* *Cf.* Knöpfler, 215 *seq.*

[5] Riezler, IV., 550. Knöpfler, 213. Description of the dogmatic confusion which was aggravated by the concessions, *ibid.* *Cf.* the Visitation Records of the years 1558 and 1559 given by Hollweck in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CXIV. (1894), 728 *seq.*, 737.

[6] Riezler, IV., 542 *seq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, 546.

serve as a permanent vigilance committee to watch over the carrying out of the laws concerning religion.[1]

By 1571 the triumph of the old doctrines might be said to have been assured.[2] Of the Protestant nobles, the duke wrote at that time, nothing but the fear of the opinion of the world holds some of them back from an open profession of Catholicism.[3] Among the learned and wealthy, and in the larger cities, some looked upon it as a point of honour not to allow themselves to be won over too easily, a thing that is not difficult to understand. On December 14th, 1570, the Council of Munich pointed out to the duke that during recent years the departure of rich people had occasioned a reduction in the ordinary taxes of 100,000 florins, and that there was reason to fear yet more departures.[4] But Albert V. refused to allow himself to be influenced by this ; the losses of the moment, he thought, would be compensated in course of time ; a people " whose God is their belly and their purse, and whose religion is based upon the unbalanced calculation of their mind " could never bring the blessing of God upon their country.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 559. ARETIN, Maximilian I., 162 *seq.* As early as April 29, 1559, Canisius had recommended the duke to set up a mixed council of that kind ; but he warned him, at the same time, not to overstep the boundaries between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. CANISII Epist., II., 268 *seqq.*

[2] RIEZLER, IV., 552. According to the " Priester Verzeichnis " 20,000 priests renounced the chalice (ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 160). In Wasserburg, in 1569, 250 priests still wanted the chalice ; in 1571 the number was much smaller (*ibid.*). In Landshut it was given up without any difficulty (KNÖPFLER, 216). Traunstein gives an isolated instance of " obstinacy, temerity and uncouthness " where the citizens could not be induced to receive either under one kind or under two kinds. (ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 160). For the forbearing treatment of Apian *cf. ibid.*, 163 *seq.* ; RIEZLER, IV., 551.

[3] GOETZ, Beiträge, V., n. 598.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 550. KNÖPFLER, 218. Similar complaints of the harm done to the country by the forced emigration were heard in the Landtag of 1568. RIEZLER, IV., 544.

[5] KNÖPFLER, 219.

Relying upon such principles as these the duke did all in his power to promote the Catholic restoration everywhere. In the small countship of Haag, which was entirely surrounded by Bavarian territory, the count, Ladislaus von Frauenberg,[1] had in 1557 introduced Lutheranism.[2] After the death of the count, without heirs, the countship passed to the Duke of Bavaria, who at once sent Martin Eisengrein to Haag to restore the Catholic religion. Eisengrein won back to the old faith the court preacher of the dead count, Gaspar Franck; the latter, having been ordained priest, returned in 1568 to the scene of his former activities, and by his prudence succeeded within a few months in winning back all the inhabitants to the Catholic Church.[3]

For a time at anyrate Duke Albert V. reintroduced the Catholic faith at Ortenburg. Count Joachim had summoned Lutheran preachers into his little state, but the Duke of Bavaria contested his right to do so, as Ortenburg was not politically independent, and occupied the countship in force and drove out the preachers. The Imperial Chamber, however,

[1] For details about him: W. GOETZ in the *Oberbayrischen Archiv*, XLVI. (1889-90), 108-65; W. GEYER in the *Beitr. zur bayrischen Kirchengeschichte*, I., Erlangen, 1895, 207 *seqq.*; RIEZLER, IV., 316 *seq.*, 473, 538.

[2] GOETZ (*loc. cit.*, 148) thinks that: "There seems to be no doubt that the chief reason was the hope that, by changing sides, he would more easily obtain a divorce from his wife."

[3] PAULUS in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CXXIV. (1899), 547, 550, 557. L. PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 28 *seq.*, 150 *seq.* Moreover, as early as 1564, while Count Ladislaus was still alive, complaints were heard from Haag about the introduction of the new doctrine. The people said that it had brought nothing but bad luck, war, dissension, famine, hunger and trouble into the world; "Die Herrschaft beim Evangelio sei geschwinder, beschwere die Untertanen heftiger" (PAULUS, *loc. cit.*, 549). For details about Gaspar Franck, *cf. ibid.*, 545-57, 617-27; RAESS, Konvertiten, II., Freiburg, 1866, 15-84; HUNGERI Orationes, I., Ingolstadt, 1601, 531; ARETIN, *loc. cit.* 191; Panegyric in ROB. TURNER, Panegyrici . . . Orationes, Ingolstadii, 203 *seqq.*

decided the controversy in favour of Ortenburg in 1573, which again threw open its territory to Lutheranism.[1]

Even in the time of Duke William IV. the political independence of the lordship of Hohenwaldeck had been a matter of controversy. Albert V. put an end to the dispute by renouncing his rights, but under the condition that there should be no changes in religion in Waldeck.[2] In this way a strong check was put upon the efforts of the zealous Protestant Lord of Waldeck.[3]

Another territory which did not belong to Bavaria was also won back to the Church by the influence of Albert V.; this was the small margravate of Baden-Baden. The Margrave Philibert had allowed the parishes there to be occupied by Lutherans. When, in 1569, he fell in battle at Moncontour against the Huguenots, through the influence of his aunt, the Duchess Jacobea, the mother of Albert V., the guardianship of Philibert's eleven year old son passed to the Duke of Bavaria and the Count of Hohenzollern-Sigmaringen. Albert caused his ward to be educated as a Catholic by Eisengrein and the Jesuits at Ingolstadt.[4] and sent as governor to Baden-Baden the zealous Catholic Count Otto Henry von Schwarzenberg.[5] At first the preachers thundered violently from the pulpit against the new "atheist authority" and the governor was jeered at. But the labours of the energetic and untiring Jesuit, Georg Schorich, soon brought about a change. Priests were summoned from abroad and the Catholic worship was

[1] RIEZLER, IV., 527, 537.

[2] *Ibid.*, 539.

[3] *Ibid.*, 540 *seq.* *Cf.* W. KNAPPE, Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain und die Reformation in der Herrschaft Hohenwaldeck, Leipzig, 1920.

[4] PFLEGER, Eisengrein, 106 *seq.* and in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, LVII. (N. F. XVIII.), 1903, 696-704.

[5] RIEZLER, IV., 604 *seq.* KARL REINFRIED in the *Freib. Diözesanarchiv*, XXXIX. (N.F. XII.), 1911, 90-110; *cf.* XLVII. (1919), 1-45. William IV., as the mouthpiece of Philibert, had also expelled the Protestant preachers from Baden-Baden. RIEZLER, IV., 292.

again solemnly introduced. The number of those who attended Schorich's sermons had by 1571 grown from fifteen to four hundred. A Catholic school met with such success that people sent their sons from abroad to Baden-Baden, there to receive a Catholic education. On April 15th, 1573, Schorich was able to write that thirty-eight churches had been won back together with almost the whole of the margravate, and that twenty-four Lutheran pastors had been driven out.[1] "As far as I know," wrote the Jesuit Hoffäus on August 15th, 1573,[2] "Baden is the first case of the recovery of an entire Protestant province."

After the premature death of Schorich the progress of the Catholic religion fell off considerably, yet in 1576 the nuncio Portia found two zealous secular priests labouring in Baden, though they were justly dissatisfied with the government, which interfered in everything. There were, they complained, hardly two parish priests in the state who had received their investiture from the bishop.[3]

But these and similar interferences in ecclesiastical matters do not alter the fact that the ancient faith, when Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, found in Albert V. a strong supporter and protector. Wherever an opportunity offered the Duke urged, even with other princes, manifest decision and firmness in religious matters; this he did especially in the case of the ever-hesitating Emperor Maximilian at the Diet of Augsburg, of 1566, and of his son and successor Rudolph II. at the Diet of Ratisbon.[4] Albert V. was therefore much trusted by the

[1] Duhr, I., 402 *seqq.* In the year 1574 seventeen localities, which had hitherto been Protestant, were again provided with Catholic priests. Bierordt, Geschichte der evangelischen Kirche in Baden, II., 52.

[2] Duhr, I., 406. Recognition of the Duke's services: Morone to Albert V. on September 17, 1576, in Aretin, Maximilian, I., Records, I., 33 *seq.*

[3] Portia to Galli on April 4, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 405 *seqq.* For the young Margrave's visit to Rome see *Capilupi's Memorandum dated February 27, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] Riezler, IV., 585 *seq.*, 608.

Pope. Tears came to the eyes of Pius V. when he learned of the efforts which the Duke of Bavaria had made with Maximilian II. for the recall of the religious concessions in Austria in 1568; he could not sufficiently thank Our Lord, he told the Cardinal of Augsburg, that in those critical times there was still in Germany a Catholic prince who was so steadfast, noble and judicious.[1] Delfino, the nuncio of Gregory XIII. assured the duke during the election at Ratisbon in 1575, that the Pope placed the greatest "confidence and hope" in him among all the princes of Germany,[2] that he as well as all good men spoke of him as a "pillar of the true faith";[3] according to Cardinal Hoisus, he was, among the princes of Germany, a "lily among thorns."[4] The Pope had recourse to Albert every time there was reason to hope that a word of weight from the prince would turn the balance in favour of the Catholics. When in Rome anxiety was felt concerning the election of a worthy successor to the dead Cardinal of Augsburg, Albert was asked to bring his influence to bear upon the cathedral chapter, as well as to do the same in the cases of those of Eichstätt and Freising.[5]

If the needful resoluteness against the Protestants was wanting in the Archduke Charles of Central Austria, or anxiety was felt as to the firmness of the newly elected Emperor, by the Pope's wish it was the Duke of Bavaria who was chosen to address to them his exhortations.[6] He even, by the Pope's

[1] *Ibid.*, 588.

[2] ARETIN, Bayerns auswärtige Verhältnisse, Records, I., 31.

[3] MORITZ, 259, n. 1. Pius V. also regarded him as "columen in Germania religionis catholicae" (Letter of the Nuncio at Vienna of July 14, 1566, in ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 153). Canisius writes of him: "Tanto catholicae pietatis tuendae studio flagras, ut Iosiam aliquem aut Theodosium nobis referre viceariis" (De Maria Virgine, Ingolstadii., 1577; Epist. nuncup., fol. 5).

[4] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 165.

[5] Brief of April 6, 1573, in THEINER, I., 101, n. 10. Albert V. to Gregory XIII. on May 28, 1573, *ibid.*

[6] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 237. Brief of April 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 8, n. 16.

desire, addressed a letter to far-off Sweden in 1578, to encourage King John III., who wished to return to the Catholic Church, in his purpose.[1] Above all, as was natural, the Curia encouraged him to prevent further losses to the Catholics in Germany itself, and to prepare the way for and promote the conversion of the Protestant princes and provinces.[2] In the fierce struggle for the bishoprics of northern Germany, Münster, Halberstadt and Hildesheim, the hopes of the Catholics were above all fixed upon the protection of the Duke of Bavaria. It was to him that Cardinal Morone had recourse[3] when, in 1576, there was a danger of the young Duke of Cleves falling into the hands of Protestant tutors. Special briefs urged the Bavarian duke to interest himself in the conversion of the Prince Elector of Saxony, and of Duke Adolphus of Holstein.[4]

If, by the confession of Albert V.[5] it was Peter Canisius and his companions to whom he owed his own changed opinions in religious matters, it is easy to understand why later Catholics, in their gratitude, have honoured Canisius with the title of Apostle of Germany. In winning over Bavaria,

[1] Riezler, IV., 602.

[2] Schellhass (*Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., cxii) thinks that: "It may be confidently asserted that, in the matter of German Reform, the Curia relied entirely on the Prince [Albert V.]."

[3] On September 17, 1576, in Aretin, Bayerns auswärtige Verhältnisse, Records, I., 34 *seq.*

[4] September 4, 1574, in Theiner, I., 225, n. 7. The hope of seeing the Saxons return to the old Church occupies a prominent place in the correspondence of the Papal Nuncios (*Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxxv, IV., lxxxvii, V., xcvii, cii *seqq.*). This hope grew specially strong in 1574 when the dishonesty of the Saxon Court theologians was revealed. They professed to be opposing Calvinism but were really supporting it. The Elector Augustus expressed himself in bitter terms against this continued deception, and the Duke of Bavaria had to put a check to the aspirations of Rome. It seemed to him that the matter was being delayed chiefly by human respect (*ibid.*, IV., lxxxix, V., ciii).

[5] On April 27, 1574, in Theiner, I., 225, n. 7.

he was able, by means of this state, to bring an influence to bear which extended far beyond its borders; his spiritual influence long survived in Bavaria after the death of Albert V. on October 24th, 1579.

The son of Albert V. and his successor, William V., proved himself, by his personal and deep piety, even more than his father, the supporter and protector of the Catholic religious revival.[1] Even before he ascended the throne, it caused general surprise and made a deep impression when, in 1576, the young prince, together with his wife, Renée of Lorraine, who shared his ideas, in order to gain the Papal indulgence of the Jubilee, visited four churches every day for fifteen days, and for several weeks, on appointed days, fed a number of poor men, served them with their own hands, and sent rich presents to Loreto and the sanctuaries of Rome.[2] In 1569 at Landshut he attended every day the Lenten sermons of the Jesuit Schorich, together with his court, and would not allow the poor people in the church to give up their places on his account, because they were as much creatures of God as he was. Moreover, he already at that time took part in the public religious exercises, and visited the sick in the hospitals. The whole city was edified by this "because hitherto no Duke of Bavaria had ever been seen to do such things."[3] Pilgrimages, as well as frequent communion, which was looked upon almost as a superstition, once again became common as the result of the example of William and Renée, and religious life flourished to such an extent that Munich was called the Rome of Germany.[4] William too conferred great and almost prodigal benefits on the Jesuits. He built their great church

[1] For his character *cf.* the notices in STIEVE, Politik, I., 407-38; RIEZLER, IV., 626-32; for the religious side especially BRUNNER, Excubiae tutelares, 561-604; F. X. KROPF, Historia provincia S. J. Germaniae superioris, P. 4, dec. IX., nn. 377-403.

[2] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 565. DUHR, I., 170.

[3] Schorich in DUHR, I., 710.

[4] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 563 *seq.* For the religious celebrations at William's accession to the throne *ibid.*, 566.

of St. Michael at Munich, as well as their beautiful college ;[1] others of his works are their houses at Ratisbon and Altötting ;[2] he also caused the abbeys of Biburg and Ebersberg to be handed over to the Jesuits,[3] and as " the father of poor young students " came to the assistance of their impoverished houses at Munich and Ingolstadt.[4] His private life was entirely under the direction of the Jesuits, who, however, had no influence over his political life.[5] At the age of thirty-nine, in 1597, he resigned the throne, in order to be able to devote himself more zealously to the salvation of his own soul, and what we are told of the remaining twenty-nine years of his life, his zeal for prayer, and the severity of his penances, read like a page from the life of a saint.[6] It was said of him,[7] as it was of his wife, Renée,[8] that he never committed a mortal sin. In spite of this, William, at the end of his life thought that he had never done anything to merit paradise.[9] The motto of his arms : *Agnosce, dole, emenda,* bears witness to his constant striving after perfection.[10]

That no religious concessions to the Protestants were to be looked for from William V. was evident in the first days of his reign. A request that reached him secretly from south Bavaria for communion under both kinds, he indignantly tore in pieces saying that he would never consent to it.[11]

[1] DUHR, I., 185 *seq.*, 625 *seq. Cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XVIII. (1846), 440-3 ; for the costs *ibid.* XI. (1843), 682-7 ; JOSEPH BRAUN, Die Kirchenbauten der deutschen Jesuiten, II., Freiburg, 1910, 49-95.

[2] DUHR, I., 206 *seq.*, 396 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 376, 400.

[4] *Ibid.*, 297, 316 *seq.*

[5] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 417 : " It is certain that the Jesuits were consulted only to determine whether a proposed action were sinful.

[6] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.* ; KROPF, *loc. cit.*, especially nn. 396, 403.

[7] *Ibid.*, n. 395.

[8] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 595.

[9] KROPF, *loc. cit.*, n. 405.

[10] BRUNNER, *loc. cit.*, 561. RIEZLER, IV., 629.

[11] Ninguarda to Galli on December 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 654.

Certain measures in favour of the new doctrines were feared from his first national Diet, but William declared that in anything that was essential he "would break its head . . . you can then attack me as much as you like."[1] When, at the close of the Diet, two Protestants were chosen among the deputies of the Diet, he could not rest until they were replaced by two Catholics. "Would to God," Ferdinand of the Tyrol wrote at that time to William V., "that the Emperor and the Archduke Charles had long ago acted in the same way, for then things would never have gone so far as they have."[2] The ordinances of Albert V. against attendance at Protestant worship in places outside his jurisdiction, and for the banishment of the innovators, were renewed.[3]

When Protestantism tried to make its way from Waldeck into the Bavarian territory at Aibling, the holder of that lordship, Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain, was informed of the treaty of 1582, by which Bavaria had renounced her claims upon Waldeck, but it was enacted that any change of religion in the territory was prohibited. A little time before this the duke had caused to be arrested in the neighbourhood of Waldeck certain parish priests who were suspect, and the leader of the Protestant movement in those parts was ordered in 1581 either to embrace the old religion or go into banishment. The more obstinate followed the latter course. In 1583, by the desire of William V. the Bishop of Freising pronounced excommunication upon the Protestants of Waldeck, whereupon the duke with his troops cut off the little state from all communication with the outside world. As there were very scanty crops in Waldeck the inhabitants were soon obliged to give in. In May there was already talk of an exodus of 330 of the inhabitants of Waldeck to Tuntenhausen. Even the family of von Maxlrain returned to the Church.[4] William V. acted with special severity, and quite in accordance with the laws of those days, against

[1] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 235.
[2] *Ibid.*, 236.
[3] RIEZLER, IV., 634.
[4] RIEZLER, IV., 634-6.

the Anabaptists, whose principles were incompatible with the ordinary life of the state. Envoys had come from Moravia who sought to induce them to join their sect and remove themselves to Moravia. In 1586 they induced 600 persons to emigrate, but no further result of this mission occurred during the pontificate of Gregory XIII. The year 1587 witnessed the execution of an Anabaptist, which was later followed by others in the territory of the Abbey of Kempten.[1]

William V. did all that he could to give new life to religion in his own state by his example, by his care for the splendour of divine worship,[2] and by special enactments. As soon as he had assumed the reins of government, he expressed a wish to reform his court;[3] he took care that the members fulfilled their religious duties, so that the court of Munich was jokingly spoken of as a monastery.[4] He sought to raise the clergy, especially by the establishment and support of institutions aimed at the training of good priests.[5]

At the same time the zeal of William V. was even less restricted to the limits of Bavaria than was that of his father. Minucci, the secretary for German affairs in Rome, wrote in 1593 that it was the general opinion that anything that concerned the Catholic religion for that very reason became a matter of concern to William.[6] At the Diets, with the Archduke of Central Austria, with the Bishop of Würzburg, the Margrave of Baden, and the Prince-Elector of Saxony, he put in his word to revive their zeal for the Church or to recall them to Catholicism; at the election of the Bishops of Eichstätt, Augsburg and Cologne, he brought his influence to bear. Blame has inevitably fallen upon him for having too often placed his sons or brothers in episcopal sees, but the fact cannot be gainsaid that, against the loss of so many

[1] *Ibid.*, 636 *seq.*
[2] STIEVE, Politik, I., 415.
[3] Ninguarda to Galli on December 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 653.
[4] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 416.
[5] See *supra*, p. 53.
[6] STIEVE, *loc. cit.*, 404.

bishoprics, which had passed over to Protestantism, no better protection could have been found than to fill them with members of the powerful princely house of Bavaria.

As she had done in Bavaria, so did the ancient Church find strong support in the Tyrol. The Archduke Ferdinand II. made the following declaration in 1580 in the presence of an envoy from Brixen : " You must know that I am a Catholic prince, and with the help of God intend to remain so ; Our Lord could not punish me more severely than by allowing me to apostatize from the Catholic faith. You may therefore tell the Lord of Brixen that I will not spare myself if he needs my help for the preservation of the Catholic religion, and that it is my intention, as far as I can, to defend the Church, even though it costs me my life's blood."[1]

When the Archduke took over the government of the Tyrol, religion was in a very bad state, in spite of all the religious ordinances of his father, the Emperor Ferdinand I. Scarcely one in a hundred, say the contemporary reports of the government of the Emperor and his son, goes to church on Sunday, and many do not even know the Pater Noster ; swearing and blasphemy are prevalent, nor are murders and robberies uncommon. A great quantity of Protestant books have made their way into the country ; Tyrolese who have served as soldiers abroad have brought back the new doctrines to their own land ;[2] more especially the miners, on account of their dependence upon the Protestant mine-owners abroad, have been led into heresy in great numbers.[3] There was, moreover, a lack of Catholic priests, and the few there were were insufficiently educated, and had many vices, things which, as elsewhere, made any useful activity impossible for them.[4] Things were very bad in the diocese of Brixen in 1566 ; the bishop was continually absent, his vicar had not received priest's orders, and the auxiliary bishop had no

[1] Hirn, I., 162.
[2] *Ibid.*, 74 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 142 *seq.*, 197 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

knowledge of German.[1] Of the eighteen canons of Trent in 1565, half did not say mass, and on the occasion of the visitation of 1577 not one of the five canons who were present had received sacred orders.[2] Nevertheless, the higher clergy, and for the most part the aristocracy, remained faithful to the Church.[3] The Archduke Ferdinand strove to put an end to this state of affairs.[4] In the first years of his rule many ordinances insisted on the observance of such precepts of the Church as fasting,[5] hearing mass,[6] and the sanctification of Sundays and festivals.[7] The government especially brought pressure to bear to ensure that the sacraments of penance and communion should be received at least once a year, for to abstain from those sacraments was the surest sign of Protestant leanings. If instruction and warnings did not produce the desired effect in this respect, there followed, both in the case of the townsfolk and the countryfolk, the threat of banishment.[8] Besides this, Protestant books were confiscated[9] and a strict watch kept over the press.[10] Officials had to swear allegiance to the Church, and expressly to the Roman Church.[11] Attendance at foreign high-schools, especially Protestant ones, are forbidden.[12]

The carrying into effect of these ordinances cannot for the most part be described as harsh. In the case of the Protestant miners, who showed themselves very ready to propagate their ideas, and who argued about them, even coming to blows about it, in the taverns, the government

[1] *Ibid.*, 79.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 134, 138.
[4] Decree of September 16, 1566, *ibid.*, 167.
[5] *Ibid.*, 169.
[6] *Ibid.*, 173.
[7] *Ibid.*, 175.
[8] Hirn., I., 176 *seqq.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 182.
[10] *Ibid.*, 192.
[11] *Ibid.*, 194.
[12] *Ibid.*, 203.

intervened for the most part by ordering the mine-owners to dismiss them, a thing, however, which was hardly ever carried into effect.[1] Above all, recourse was never had to wholesale banishment, but the cases in which obstinate heretics were obliged to leave the country amounted to several hundred.[2] Gregory XIII. praised the religious zeal of the Archduke of the Tyrol on July 26th, 1572,[3] and when he created his son Andrew a Cardinal in 1577, he said that the promotion was a reward for the services of his father, "for he is a strong arm of our faith."[4]

The Catholic Tyrol at that time possessed an extraordinary man in the Franciscan, Johann Nas,[5] who had been born in Franconia, at Eltman on the Maine. Nas was a convert; from being a tailor's apprentice and a lay-brother in his Order, he was raised to the priesthood, and in that capacity, after some earlier labours in Bavaria, devoted his great talents after 1571 to the Tyrol, as a preacher in the cathedral of Brixen,[6] as commissary-general of the Franciscan convents,[7] and lastly as auxiliary bishop of Brixen.

Nas was an orator, and highly esteemed as a popular preacher; he was feared by the Protestants on account of his polemical writings, which were several times reprinted, and widely read, and which bear witness to the power of his words, though they were inevitably couched in the bitter,

[1] *Ibid.*, 197.

[2] *Ibid.*, 199 *seqq.*

[3] THEINER, I., 35.

[4] HIRN, II., 378.

[5] Autograph notes by Nas on the principal dates in his life up to 1580, published by ZINGERLE in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie*, XVIII. (1886), 488-90. JOH. BAPT. SCHÖPF, Johannes Nasus, Franziskaner und Weihbischof von Brixen, 1534-90 (Programm des k. k. Gymnasiums zu Bozen), Bozen, 1860. HIRN, I., 250-62, 264. G. SCHNEIDER in *Archiv für Unterfranken*, XVI., 1 (1836), 179 *seqq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. (15-16), 401.

[6] See SINNACHER, 581 *seq.*, *cf.* 585 *seq.*

[7] Brief of appointment of July 4, 1578, given by M. STRAGANZ in the *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols*, V. (1908), 307; SCHÖPF, 45.

biting, and sometimes vulgar, language which had been introduced by the preachers of the new doctrines.[1] In 1563 his eloquence led to the closing of the Frauenhaus at Ingolstadt, and in 1566 he brought about the return of the city of Straubing to Catholicism.[2]

The former tailor's apprentice preached the Lenten sermons at Munich in 1568, in the presence of Albert V.; in 1573 he pleased the Archduke at Innsbruck so much that he had again in the following year to preach in the presence of the court; in 1576 he was sent to Pustertal to suppress the tendency to Protestantism, as, in the opinion of the government, he had "a special gift for dealing with people of that sort," and in 1585 the Archduke assured him that he had confirmed in the faith not a few people who were hesitating;[3] in 1577 and 1578 he preached the Lent at Augsburg, in the presence of from 4000 to 5000 people.[4] "As everyone admits," wrote the nuncio Portia,[5] "he is most eloquent in the German tongue, displays great zeal, and works incredibly hard in his constant sermons and his writings against the heretics . . . He is much loved by the Duke of Bavaria, who is displeased that he has been got hold of by the Archduke, with whom he is also in great favour." "He leads a good life," the nuncio goes on to say,[6] and has a love for learning, though he is lacking in real culture. He works hard, is loved by the princes, and labours with no small results. Moreover, he does not aim at honours or riches, he loves solitude and retirement, so that it may well be believed that he is working only for the love and honour of God."

There is no need to conceal the fact that Nas also suffered greatly from the defects of his good qualities. He was a man with a gift of expression, but he was also harsh and

[1] He himself apologizes for the "abuse and coarse buffoonery" of these writings. SCHÖPF, *loc. cit.*, 11.

[2] *Ibid.*, 11, 15.

[3] HIRN, I., 256, 262 n. 4.

[4] *Ibid.*, 256, n. 3. SCHÖPF, 44.

[5] On July 28, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 50.

obstinate; he was frank and out-spoken, but regardless of what he said; he was firm and resolute, but narrow and precipitate in his judgments. Portia speaks of him as an uncouth and violent nature,[1] when he was instructed to adjust his quarrels with the Jesuits; to the scandal of the people Nas had attacked them in his public sermons at Innsbruck, making accusations that were manifestly unjust, and in any case not suited to the pulpit.[2] Portia attributed it to the moderation shown by the Jesuits that the quarrel did not assume more serious proportions,[3] but all remonstrances to Nas were in vain, so that the nuncio told the Archduke that he would have to address himself to the Pope in order that he might be forbidden to preach. But Nas went on in his sermons to even more dangerous ground; he spoke against those who paid too much attention to good works, and maintained, without any due limitations, that it was better to hear sermons than mass. Many were of opinion that the superiors of his Order ought to send him elsewhere, but that this should be done under some pretext, so as not to annoy the prince, who loved him greatly.[4] It may be attributed to the attacks made upon them by Nas that for a time the Archduke withdrew his favour from the Jesuits.[5] However,

[1] "La natura dell' huomo et rozza et rotta" (to Galli on July 28, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47). "Huomo di natura molto rozza et spirito indomito" (to Galli on February 24, 1574, *ibid.*, 358).

[2] *Cf.* Nas' Apologia to a cleric of Brixen (Melchior von Fabri), dated January 30, 1573, in JULIUS JUNG, Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Tirol, Innsbruck, 1874, 11-24. Original letter in the possession of the Franciscans at Halle. In the beginning of 1574, he even reproached the Jesuits with their name of Society of Jesus. *Initium et progressus Collegii Societatis Iesu Oenipontani, p. 11, Archives of the Jesuit College at Innsbruck.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 47.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 358 *seq.*

[5] HIRN, I., 243. "Tantam concepit offensionem, ut multa eius aperta iudicia non verbis modo, verum reipsa ostenderit" (*Initium et progressus, 12 *seqq.*). When, in 1575, Ferdinand wished to nominate Count Schweikart von Helfenstein as governor,

Nas soon fell out of favour with Ferdinand II.,[1] and after 1576 the Jesuits once more were restored to favour.[2]

Later on the momentary mistakes of this fiery zealot were again smoothed over, for, in a kind of testament in 1583, he asks pardon and prayers for all "who are otherwise of the Catholic faith," and promises his own prayers and forgiveness.[3] Only heretics and abandoned sinners are excluded; in their case he has nothing to retract of what he has spoken and written against them.

These last words of his are characteristic of this unwearied champion of the Church. Worn out by his labours he died at Innsbruck in 1590, when not yet 57 years of age. The Archduke Ferdinand II. erected a monument to him in the ducal church; he must always hold an important place in the history of Catholic reform in the Tyrol.

In view of the friendly attitude adopted by the princes in Bavaria and the Tyrol, it was natural that Gregory XIII. should first attempt the religious revival of Germany in that ecclesiastical province which embraced, in addition to the Imperial territories, those of the Archduke Charles, and the bishoprics of Passau, Ratisbon, Brixen, and Freising, as well as Bavaria and the Tyrol; this was the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg. Pius V. had already had the same idea; from the beginning of his pontificate, he had deeply pondered and discussed the best way to bring back Germany to Catholicism, and it seemed to him that the best thing for this purpose was the convocation of provincial synods throughout Germany. "By reason of the personal qualities of the Archbishop of

"inter ceteras conditiones hanc addi voluit, ne deinceps Iesuitis tam familiariter uteretur." Helfenstein refused, fell into disfavour and left the Tyrol (*ibid.*, 15 *seq.*). Helfenstein had been a convert since 1565 (*ibid.*); HIRN is mistaken, I., 240, n. 1.

[1] Portia to Galli on May 8, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 47.

[2] List of benefactions 1576-83 in *Initium et progressus, 23, 24, 26, 29, 32, 34, 36. A certain amount of mistrust remained. HIRN, I., 245 *seq.*

[3] SCHÖPF, 48.

Salzburg—this was Johann Jakob Khuen von Belasy—and by reason of the importance of his ecclesiastical province, which touched upon so many neighbouring states, and which on the whole was still Catholic," a beginning ought to be made at Salzburg; the other German bishops would then follow the example of the Archbishop of Salzburg.[1]

The instrument chosen by Pius V. to carry out this plan was the Dominican, Feliciano Ninguarda, who came from Morbegno in the Valtellina, and had been since 1554 in Germany as vicar-general of his Order and professor of theology at Vienna, and who since 1559 had devoted his services to the archiepiscopal see of Salzburg,[2] and was one of the most zealous and determined supporters of the ecclesiastical reform; in this respect his influence over the archbishop cannot be too highly estimated.[3] Even before the decree of Trent about seminaries he had pressed for the establishment of such institutions at Salzburg and Passau; he and the Bishop of Lavant were the representatives of the archbishop at the Council of Trent,[4] and had received the praises of the presidents at the Council.[5]

In 1566 Pius V. summoned this zealous Dominican reformer to Rome; he listened to his advice and then sent him back to Salzburg armed with the necessary Papal briefs, to urge in the Pope's name, and with all his power, the convocation

[1] Ninguarda to Galli on February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 107.

[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 40; III., 40.

[3] The opinion of SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, I., 42.

[4] On May 26, 1562, they were admitted as representatives. THEINER, Conc. Trid., I., 720. RAYNALDUS, 1562, n. 47. LE PLAT, V., 171-4. Ninguarda on the difficulties of withdrawing the chalice in Salzburg, September 9, 1562, *ibid.*, 489 *seq.* *Cf.* Fickler's letter of June 4, 1563, *ibid.*, VI., 96. About the presidency of Salzburg, *ibid.*, 3 *seq.*, 87, 92.

[5] *Cf.* the imprimatur of the four presidents of the Council of Trent on Ninguarda's book, "Assertio fidei" (Venice, 1563). According to the preface, dated February 19, 1561, he wrote the Assertio" at the urgent request of Michael Khuen, Archbishop of Salzburg (d. 1560).

of a provincial synod,[1] which was actually held in 1569.[2] It was Ninguarda who in the end brought this about; he drafted the decrees of the synod, and induced the assembled bishops to ask for the Papal approval of their decrees,[3] and then himself went to Rome to obtain the confirmation of Pius V. An illness, followed by the outbreak of the plague at Salzburg prevented his return for a long time;[4] then the Pope died, and the long delay that ensued led some to think that the synod of Salzburg had been buried with Pius V.[5] In spite of this Gregory XIII. gave its decrees his approval as his predecessor had done; at the same time he approved of a scheme which, by the desire of the bishops, Ninguarda had drafted for the province of Salzburg.[6] Fourteen briefs which Ninguarda took back with him to Germany were intended to enable him to inaugurate the carrying into effect of the decrees of the synod of 1569; they were addressed to the five bishops and the five chapters of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, as well as to the four secular princes over whose territories it extended.[7]

[1] THEINER, I., 107. A *letter of Commendone to Ninguarda, in Salzburg, dated September 26, 1568, in the British Museum, London, Cod. Egerton, 1078, p. 150 (according to kind information received from Professor Dengel).

[2] Reprinted in DALHAM, 348-556. Ninguarda's speech at the opening of the synod, *ibid.*, 349-54; the request for Papal confirmation, *ibid.*, 547; list of members, *ibid.*, 548; WIEDEMANN, I., 258 *seqq.* A *report of Ninguarda to Commendone about the synod, dated July 31, 1569, in A. 42, t. 11, n. 129, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 43.

[4] *Ibid.*, 44 *seq.*

[5] So thought Ferdinand of Tyrol; see *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 43.

[6] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 45. The synod was subject to the criticism of the Cardinals Commendone, Alciati and Morone (THEINER, I., 107). For the alterations they made in the texts of the decrees, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 130 *seq.*, 422 *seqq.*; WIEDEMANN, I., 261.

[7] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.* The brief for the Archbishop of Salzburg of June 28, 1572, in DALHAM, 557.

At the beginning of December, 1572, Ninguarda reached Brixen, going thence to Innsbruck to visit the Archduke, and thence to Salzburg. He everywhere urged the carrying out of the decrees of the provincial synod; the best means, in his opinion, would be to hold a diocesan synod at Brixen, and another provincial synod at Salzburg. At the court of the Archduke he asked for the assistance of the secular arm. All welcomed these proposals and declared themselves entirely prepared to carry them out. Ninguarda's demands for a seminary met with greater difficulties. The canons of Brixen declared that they were too burdened with taxes by the Archduke, so that nothing could be expected from Ferdinand II. but an evasive reply.[1]

At that time Ninguarda did not go beyond Salzburg in his projected tour. The archbishop retained him, because he had need of his help for the new provincial synod, and Cardinal Galli approved this step of the archbishop.[2] In the meantime in Rome it became more and more clear, in the course of the discussion of German affairs, that it was necessary to consult at first hand with men who were well acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany. Ninguarda accordingly received orders on February 7th, 1573, to return to Rome.[3] On receipt of this summons, which was so great an honour, he pointed out that he was being withdrawn from a work which he had just begun, to its great injury. As information was specially desired in Rome as to the best means to bring back Saxony to Catholicism, Ninguarda took the opportunity of expressing his views in a long memorandum[4] as to the best way of carrying out the work of reform in Germany.

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 48-53, and letter to Gregory XIII. of February 18, 1573, in THEINER, I., 105 *seq.* *Cf.* SCHELLHASS, Akten ueber die Reformtätigkeit Fel. Ninguardas in Bayern und Oesetrreich, 1572-7, in the *Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Geschichtsvereins*, XXXVII.; B. ALBERS in the *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner und Zisterzienserorden*, XXIII. (1902), 126-54.

[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, III., 53.

[3] *Ibid.*, 54. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., xxvi.

[4] Dated February 24, 1573, in THEINER, I., 106-8.

According to the advice given by Ninguarda it was still too soon to think of Saxony or other places which were already Protestant. They must first devote their attention to states that were nearer and already Catholic ; in these the Catholics should be encouraged in every possible way to persevere in the ancient faith and in a Christian life, and those who had apostatized brought back. For this purpose it would be well to take steps to ensure that the clergy were first instructed and trained, so as to afford a model of the Christian life. It would be well to devote their attention to more distant countries later on, for otherwise they would be leaving what was certain for what was uncertain ; by means of the peoples thus renewed the faith would be automatically carried to the furthest parts of the country. This had always been the intention of Pius V., to whom was due the plan of holding everywhere in Germany, in accordance with the instructions of the Council of Trent, provincial councils, beginning with Salzburg. Ninguarda therefore urged that they should continue in the course thus marked out. He himself had no idea at the moment beyond securing the promulgation and the observance of the synod by means of a new provincial council. If this were successful, in a few years time there would be a whole province that was solid in faith and completely united to the Apostolic See. The Pope would then have to take care that the other archbishops followed the example of Salzburg ; in this way ecclesiastical life would first be restored in the Catholic territories, and gradually spread to Saxony and the other territories which had recently apostatized.

CHAPTER III.

The Nunciatures of Portia, Gropper and Ninguarda in South Germany, Austria and Bavaria.

While Ninguarda was waiting at Salzburg for the new provincial council, which for various reasons was put off again and again, the discussions in Rome had led to important results. On May 5th, 1573, the German Congregation resolved to send Bartolomeo Portia, at that time abbot of Moggio, as "apostolic nuncio" to Upper Germany;[1] his actions were to extend to the states of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, Charles of Styria, Duke Albert V. of Bavaria, and the Archbishop of Salzburg.[2] At the same meeting of the congregation, Gaspar Gropper, Auditor of the Rota, who had been born at Soest in Lower Germany, was selected for the difficult task of inducing the cathedral chapter ofAugsburg to approve the foundation of a Jesuit college, and of negotiating at Cleves concerning the election of the young duke, John William, as coadjutor of the Bishop of Münster.[3] Gropper too was expressly given the powers of a nuncio, and received the full faculties of a legate *a latere* for the cities and dioceses of Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Augsburg, Spires, Worms, Münster and Minden, the whole of Westphalia, and the duchies of Cleves, Julich and Berg.[4] Thus, as had been asked for in a report to the German Congregation, there were now three nuncios

[1] Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 74.

[2] Draft of Portia's Instruction, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 17-34.

[3] Schwarz, *loc. cit.*

[4] Schwarz, Gropper, 41. The document here reproduced settles the dispute as to whether Gropper was really a nuncio (*Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 724 *seqq.*, III., xxxvii). *Cf.* Goetting, *Gel. Anz.*, 1897, I., 311, n. 1.

on German soil, at Vienna, in North Germany and in south Germany.[1] As far as possible, another desire expressed in the same report, had been complied with, namely that nunicos should be appointed who spoke German, since Latin was not familiar to the princes of Germany and the bishops.[2]

The choice of Portia for the difficult nunciature of south Germany was looked upon as a good one.[3] Portia belonged to the school of Charles Borromeo; he had been ordained priest by him in 1566, and had received from him the abbey of Moggio. In 1570 he had, by the Pope's orders, undertaken the visitation of the dioceses of Aquileia, with such good results that as early as 1571 there had been thought of sending him as nuncio to the Imperial court. So shrewd a judge as Morone thus describes Portia in 1576: "he is versatile, experienced, capable, and has so good a reputation and is held in such high esteem by the princes that great results may be looked for from his labours."[4] The poet Torquato Tasso has sung his praises in enthusiastic terms.[5] The reports sent by Portia to Rome show him as "a diplomatist of the first rank";[6] on all sides we have evidence of his independent judgment, the clearness of his ideas, and the shrewdness of his observations. He was not very proficient in German, and therefore had generally to carry on his negotiations in Latin,[7] but was able to make up for this defect by his versatility. He was also well fitted for the office of nuncio in south Germany by the fact that his family, old-established gentry from Friuli, had always been attached to the service of the sovereigns of Austria, and Bartolomeo Portia himself, after the visitation of Aquileia, had gone to Graz, and had

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 61.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] For particulars about him, *cf.* HANSEN, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 5-10; SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, III., xx, IV., cix-cxi.

[4] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 7.

[5] *Ibid.*, 10.

[6] Schellhass' opinion, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxxxviii.

[7] *Ibid.*, 169.

there won the favour of the Archduke Charles.[1] Above all, he knew how to adapt himself to his hearers in conversation, and always to adopt the right tone.[2] The effect of these distinguished talents was still more enhanced by a great modesty, which led him never to speak of himself without necessity, and never to ignore the merits of others. Portia's reports to Rome were entirely confined to the matter in hand, so much so that when he had escaped from some deadly peril in Styria, he only mentioned it much later, when the occasion seemed to call for it.[3]

Detailed instructions[4] laid down for the nuncio his line of action.

According to this document, the object of his mission was to bring pressure to bear on the bishops in favour of ecclesiastical reform, and to remove the difficulties in its way with the help of the Pope and the princes.[5] He was to keep in close touch with the nuncio and the Imperial court, and was to visit the bishops regularly in turn.[6] Since, contrary to the regulations of the Council of Trent, the German bishops for the most part had not got the doctor's degree, he was to press them to have theologians and canonists with them. Every three years at least the bishops must go to Rome.[7] It was the duty of the secular princes to further the work of reform initiated by the supreme ecclesiastical authorities, and subjects must be made to understand that they have to deal with Catholic princes, who are prepared to uphold the faith. They must be given to understand that they are offending against their own ruler if they send their sons to foreign universities.[8]

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 42.

[2] *Ibid.*, lxxxix.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 17-34. Although it is only a draft, it was probably repeated verbatim in the actual Instruction. SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, 16, n. 1.

[5] Instruction, Nos. 2-5.

[6] *Ibid.*, Nos. 53-4.

[7] *Ibid.*, Nos. 57-8.

[8] *Ibid.*, Nos., 48-50.

The princes make complaints of the prelates and the Roman authorities, so Portia must have at hand the mandates and warnings addressed to the bishops, as well as the decisions of Rome, and give assurances that only in the most pressing cases would recourse to the Curia be refused.[1]

As a guide for the details of the reform the nuncio must make use of the decrees of the synod of Salzburg, and the decisions of the German Congregation in Rome.[2] It was therefore natural that the projects aimed at in those decisions should be repeated in the instructions for the information of the nuncio. Thus Portia must insist that none but Catholics are appointed to offices of importance, that heretical books are replaced by Catholic ones, that three or four Catholic printing presses are established, that Catholic scholars and preachers are assisted, students sent to the German College in Rome, and that new breviaries and other works which are lacking are printed.[3] The nuncio must inform the Pope of learned Catholics so that they may be recommended to the princes as their advisers;[4] he must especially protect the Jesuits, and insist that the bishops also have a care for the advancement of the other Orders.[5]

Besides these general regulations, Portia's instructions also contained detailed hints as to his relations with each of the bishops and princes, and especially as to his manner of appealing to the conscience of the Archbishop of Salzburg. He that desires the end, Portia must say to him, must also desire the means, and since Salzburg can only become more Catholic by the co-operation and assistance of many persons, the archbishop must employ his wealth to procure such assistance, and especially to attract more theologians to his service. If the archbishop should raised objection, Portia must reply: the Pope is well aware that if the reform is introduced in those places where the bishops are also princes,

[1] *Ibid.*, No. 52.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 45-7, 55, 56, 59.
[4] *Ibid.*, No. 51.
[5] *Ibid.*, No. 15.

in that case the rest of the diocese, as well as the neighbouring territory, will also be put into good order. Lastly, it will be well to lay down this general principle: the Council of Trent has now been ended for ten years, but it is not clear that any steps have been taken for putting it into force. Above all, concubinage must be rooted out, and seminaries must be established; the archbishop must once for all set himself to the establishment of a seminary at Salzburg, and send some youths to the German College. In a word, as the archbishop is so wealthy, he may well spend a part of his wealth for the honour of God![1] The archbishop promises a great deal and does very little; let the nuncio therefore at least insist that the work of reform is begun.[2]

In the case of the Archduke Ferdinand II. of the Tyrol, who had the reputation of interfering with the rights of the Church, Portia must ask for his co-operation in the further reform of his states, and point out to him that he cannot accomplish anything in this direction without the bishops. He must be praised for having forbidden his subjects to attend foreign universities, but he must also prevent his subjects from contracting marriage with Protestants from Styria and Carinthia, because it has been by mixed marriages that the states of the Emperor and the Archduke Charles have been ruined. Portia must try and put an end to the misunderstandings between the auxiliary bishop, Nas, and the Jesuits at Innsbruck. Lastly the Archduke must restore the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Trent.[3]

The position in the states of the Archduke Charles in Central Austria was more serious than in the Tyrol. The nuncio, the instructions say, may follow one of two courses: he may either induce the Archduke to revoke the concession made in the last two Diets, or merely content himself with regularizing the position of the Catholics. In the latter case Portia must in the first place have recourse to the bishops and warn them to provide their parishes with good priests who will

[1] Instruction, Nos. 7-10.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 53.
[3] *Ibid.*, Nos. 16-24.

preach pure Christian doctrine to the people. This will apply to the Archbishop of Salzburg and the Patriarch of Aquileia and their suffragans, especially, in Carniola, the Bishop of Laibach, whose diocese was in so bad a state. Special attention must be paid to the decadent state of the monasteries.

The nuncio must praise the Duke of Bavaria for his zeal, and promise the paternal benevolence of the Pope towards the candidature of his son Ernest for the dioceses of Hildesheim and Cologne. On account of the proximity of Bavaria to the city of Ratisbon, which was almost entirely Lutheran, Portia must take an opportunity of getting information concerning the intolerable position of the ecclesiastics there, and the best way of remedying it.[1] Duke Albert must also urge his son-in-law, the Archduke Charles of Styria, to show greater firmness.[2] At Munich the nuncio will also be able to find out who, generally speaking, among the German princes are disposed to return to the Catholic Church, whether it be the young Duke of Wurtemberg, or one of the sons of the Duke of Zweibrücken, or a member of the house of Brunswick.[3] Information concerning Weilderstadt in Wurtemberg, which was still to a great extent Catholic, might be obtained from the councillor, Fickler, at Salzburg.[4]

The warnings which were given to the nuncio concerning Salzburg undoubtedly betray considerable mistrust of the archbishop. It was felt in Rome that Johann Jakob did not take the carrying out of the Council of Trent at all seriously, and that he had kept on putting off the promised synod in order to gain time.[5] This mistrust was one of the reasons why it was resolved to complete the work of Ninguarda at Salzburg by sending a special nuncio, who was ordered in his instructions to deal directly with the archbishop and bring pressure to bear on him.[6] When Portia, who had come from

[1] *Ibid.*, Nos. 35-9.
[2] *Ibid.*, No. 40.
[3] *Ibid.*, No. 42.
[4] *Ibid.*, Nos. 11-12.
[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 15.
[6] *Ibid.*, 17.

Venice and Trent, reached Brixen on July 18th, 1573, he there learned that Archbishop Johann Jakob had in the meantime summoned the new provincial synod for August 24th, 1573. It seemed, therefore, that nothing further was required than that Portia should busy himself with the early realization of the desired meeting of the bishops. He therefore departed from his instructions and his original plan, and did not go on to Salzburg, but went first to Munich, and then, not finding Duke Albert V. there, to Innsbruck to the Archduke Ferdinand; to know more exactly the intentions of those princes concerning reform could not fail to be useful to him at the synod. He reached Salzburg on August 12th.[1] The archbishop expressed his goodwill towards the work of reform,[2] but went on to point out the great difficulties which he met with outside the limits of his civil principality.

Canonical visitations, he complained, could only be made with the help of a civil official, and the latter often interfered on behalf of the authority of his sovereign, and caused a disturbance, or he made known the programme of the visitation to persons who, for the sake of peace, were opposed to any improvement, or else he secretly made known the articles of the visitation in order to expose them to derision and give warning to the guilty. If a man were prevented from obtaining a parish on account of his ignorance, he would bribe the court officials, who put him in possession of the parish. To cover up such things, appeal was made to the Papal approbation, which, however, no one had seen.[3] If Rome, the archbishop added, would first ask the bishops concerning concessions made to the princes, the condition of the clergy would be improved.[4] It was only because of pressing business, and because he wished to act in common with the other bishops,

[1] *Ibid.*, xlvi *seq.*, 74.

[2] Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.* 79.

[3] *Ibid.* These complaints refer to the territory of the Archduke Charles. *Ibid.* 87.

[4] *Ibid.*, 79 *seq.* Ninguarda also impressed this point on Pius V., Gregory XIII., and Sixtus V.; see REICHENBERGER in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, XIV. (1900), 375 *seq.*

that he had not yet laid these grievances before the Pope. At the same time a general meeting of the bishops was difficult ; Freising, Brixen, Gurk and Lavant would stand out.[1]

Portia replied that the archbishop could, before he did anything else, begin the reform in the territories of his civil principality ; the example of Salzburg and the intervention of the Pope would show the way to success in the other parts of his ecclesiastical province. But above all, the provincial synod must not be deferred any longer ; the perpetual delays only made the state of affairs more serious.[2] The archbishop appeared to agree to this, but he soon said to Portia that he was made very anxious by a fear that the nuncio had come to assume the presidency of the synod, and to play a part in it that was incompatible with the dignity of the archbishop ; Portia's modesty at once brushed aside this difficulty, and he made it clear that it was indifferent to the Pope whether the nuncio or the archbishop laid before the synod the Pope's desires and demands. After this Johann Jakob appeared to be very much relieved, and he visibly became more enthusiastic about the synod.[3] The nuncio then went on to fan the archbishop's enthusiasm still further, and he obtained the most far-reaching promises. For the seminary, which was also to serve for the suffragan sees of Chiemsee, Gurk, Seckau, and Lavant, two houses had been bought only two days previously.[4] Ratisbon and Passau were to have a common seminary in the last-named city ; Freising, on the other hand, was to have its own.[5] Concubinage would be removed from the city of Salzburg within 14 days, as only one of the canons there had fallen into this sin, but for the other parts of the ecclesiastical province the archbishop could only venture to make conditional promises.[6] Apart from that, in the principality of Salzburg no one dared to appear publicly as

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 80.
[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 80 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 81.
[4] *Ibid.*, 83.
[5] *Ibid.*, 83 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 84.

a heretic, and if anyone belonging to it had become guilty of suspicious acts outside his own country, on his return he was thrown into prison and was made to give an explanation of his sentiments.[1] The refusal of the chalice had at first given rise to seditious talk, which had given the archbishop a great deal of anxiety,[2] but now men's minds were once more at rest. Only the mountain districts,[3] and the territories bordering on Styria and Carinthia were still unresigned, though a preacher who had been sent to the Carinthian district had accomplished a great deal, contrary to all expectation, so that the archbishop thought of going there himself at the beginning of October. He thought of appointing a limit of two months, within which they must either give way or be banished.[4]

Portia did not trust overmuch in the promises of the archbishop. He thought that the power of Johann Jakob did not extend so far: moreover he was proceeding with more regard to human respect than was necessary; he spoke a good deal of the rising which had broken out in his state at the beginning of the Lutheran innovations,[5] and feared the renewal of such occurrences, because the neighbouring princes were not friendly to him. Albert V., he said, was usurping the rights of the Church: ecclesiastics were obliged to keep dogs for hunting at great expense, devote themselves to music, and lend him money, which was not repaid. The duke would not allow the bishops to contribute to the seminaries, and would not establish one himself; he oppressed the monasteries with expenses without the permission of the Pope. The Archduke Charles prevented ecclesiastical visitations. On the other hand the Archduke Ferdinand showed great zeal against the heretics and allowed but little encroachments on spiritualities.[6] In contradiction to the mistrust of Portia

[1] *Ibid.*, 85.

[2] *Cf.* Ninguarda at the Council of Trent, 1562, in Le Plat, V., 173.

[3] Ninguarda calls them "genus hominum ferox, inquietum et indomitum." *Ibid.*, 172.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 85 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 85.

[6] *Ibid.*, 87.

Ninguarda was of opinion that the archbishop would now certainly keep his word; the archbishop's councillor, Fickler, on the other hand, told the nuncio that he must not cease to insist until he saw things accomplished, and Portia added that henceforward he would apply himself to this with all zeal. On the other hand he bestows praise on the archbishop; he assists every day at a sung mass and vespers, and on Sundays at matins, though he is too much inclined to princely pageantry. If he is spoken to about economy, so that he may be able to surround himself with men of piety and learning, he excuses himself on the score of the great Imperial taxes, or of the damage caused by inundations, or the large necessary expenses. Very little improvement is to be looked for in this respect, unless the archbishop should change his views, or great pressure bring about what requests have not been able to do.[1]

The nuncio was shown to be no pessimist when, in spite of all promises of the immediate opening of the provincial synod, it did not even yet appear to be certain. The nuncio had hardly handed over his first report to Rome to the courier, when the archbishop, in a long speech, protested that he would willingly carry out the injunctions of the Pope, but that the difficulty of getting all the bishops together was so great that he was inclined to a further postponement of the synod; it was necessary to trust to time for the carrying out of the decrees of the synod, and to proceed with great prudence and gentleness.[2] Portia replied that he was very much taken aback by such a statement; after such great preparations and proclamations he could not in honour draw back. If nothing was done, it would have been better if the provincial synod of 1569 had never been held. This continual delay was making him a laughing-stock, and, in a word, it would be all over with the good name of the archbishop both as a churchman and a prince.[3] These considerations made a visible impression on Johann Jakob; he declared that he

[1] *Ibid.*, 87 *seq.*

[2] Portia to Galli on August 25, 1573, *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

would sooner abdicate than bring his authority into disrepute, but that if he tried to call together the members of the council, Ernest of Freising would excuse himself as being only a civil administrator; the coadjutor of Brixen, though he was a good man and prepared to face every obstacle, would certainly not come; the Bishops of Gurk and Lavant would be detained as the councillors of the Archduke; each of the provosts and archdeacons would have some excuse to make, even perhaps that they must be at the disposal of the Duke of Bavaria for hunting.[1] Behind such subterfuges it was highly probable that the real motive would be that the princes feared lest the synod should bring to light their usurpations and interference in ecclesiastical matters.[2] Portia replied that in any case those who were summoned would send their representatives, and reports concerning these abuses.[3] If the bishops did not come, then the glory of the archbishop would be all the greater, if he, in spite of all the difficulties, alone stood firm, and brought the synod to an end. He must therefore definitely perform what was the most important duty before God and man which had occurred for many years.[4]

Johann Jakob then seemed to give way, but only to adduce a personal difficulty. It was not fitting, he thought, that the nuncio should exercise any authority at the synod, or that he should even assist at it; this the dignity of the church of Salzburg demanded, as well as the state of the times, and the dignity of the persons taking part in it. In 1569 Commendone had gone away on the very day that the provincial synod was opened. It would be best for the nuncio to go away at once, otherwise the meeting of the bishops would certainly either not take place, or would be unsuccessful. Portia did not fail to defend the rights of the Apostolic See, but in the end showed himself ready to leave Salzburg before the synod commenced; before his departure, however, he wished to speak to the bishops and prelates who had arrived.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, 95.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 96.
[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 96 *seq.*

Johann Jakob thereupon began to suspect that he wished to obtain information about himself, but when Portia had satisfied him as to this, it seemed that the difficulties had at last been overcome.

But all this was merely apparent. That same evening letters of refusal arrived from the Bishops of Lavant and Passau, and some of the archdeacons of Styria, who all said that it was impossible for them to come. Once more the archbishop was undecided, and once more Portia had to lay before him the considerations which had made so great an impression before. With the help of Ninguarda and the provost of the chapter, who was an aged and much revered man, he succeeded in keeping the archbishop firm in his previous decision. The Bishop of Passau, who was not far away, was ordered by means of a courier, to attend, and arrived on the evening before August 25th, and thus the synod was assured. Portia had thus with much labour at last obtained a first result.[1]

The synod was then held from August 26th to September 3rd.[2] On this occasion Johann Jakob presided in person and himself put forward all the proposals;[3] of the other bishops, only those of Passau and Chiemsee were present; the Bishops of Seckau-Lavant and Gurk did not even send a representative.[4] The opening discourse, as well as that at the end, was delivered by Ninguarda,[5] who spoke of his efforts in Rome to obtain the approbation of the earlier synod,[6] and of his other services. The discussions were in great

[1] *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*

[2] Records in THEINER, I., 489-509. For the transactions, *cf.* the Protocol, *ibid.*, 504, and Portia's report to Galli of September 18, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 124 to 138.

[3] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 125. He had not done so in the year 1569.

[4] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 124 *seq.* List of members in THEINER, I., 508 *seq.*

[5] DALHAM, 564 *seq.*

[6] THEINER, I., 489 *seqq.* A second part dealing with the corrections made in Rome in the Acta of the Synod of 1569 in the *Nunitaturberichte*, III., 422-9.

measure based upon a document divided into forty points, which he had drawn up and sent to each of the bishops.[1] Before his departure Portia had summarized the principal points of reform; these concerned concubinage, seminaries, episcopal visitations, the need of theologians and canonists at the episcopal courts, the triennial visits of the bishops to Rome, the setting up of printing-presses, and the sending of students to the Germanicum in Rome.[2] All these points were agreed to, except that they were unwilling to set up printing-presses in addition to those in Bavaria, in order, as Portia thought, to save expense.[3] As to the interference of the civil authorities in ecclesiastical matters, many complaints were raised.[4] As to the changes in the decrees of 1569 which had been made during their revision in Rome, the request was made that in three cases they might be allowed to adhere to the original decrees.[5] The profession of faith of the Council of Trent was then solemnly made by all taking part in the council.[6]

During the synod Portia went to visit the Archduke Charles at Graz. On his return, he found the archbishop filled with joy at the success of what had been accomplished, and much more zealous and resolute than before. At the beginning of October Johann Jakob proposed personally to carry out an episcopal visitation in the threatened districts on the borders of his diocese, to administer the sacrament of confirmation from place to place, where it had been almost forgotten, to remove communion under both kinds, to reintroduce Extreme Unction, which had almost fallen into disuse, and to combat the marriage and concubinage of priests. Two preachers were to instruct the ignorant people during the visitation.[7] The synod had shown great zeal concerning the seminaries,

[1] Reprinted with the synod's answers in THEINER, I., 492 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 503 *seqq.*
[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 139 *seq.*, but *cf.* 128.
[4] *Ibid.*, 129.
[5] *Ibid.*, 129 *seqq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 134.
[7] *Ibid.*, 134 *seq.*

as well as visitations. Seminaries were to be begun at the latest within six months, and the visitations were to be commenced immediately after the closure of the synod. Naturally, as regards the seminaries, the bleeding of the clergy by the civil princes had been taken into consideration, and much stress had again been laid upon the difficulties which the princes and their rebellious subjects might put in the way of the episcopal visitors.[1] In spite of all the fair promises Portia remained doubtful and anxious.[2] In the course of a journey to Munich and Freising in October, 1573, he found, not only that the cathedral chapter of Freising was opposed to a seminary, but he also learned of a secret arrangement that had been come to at the synod of Salzburg. None of the bishops, it had been decided, was to establish a seminary within six months, but it was to be considered enough if two more professors were added to the already existing schools.[3]

The difficulties that lay in the way of the seminaries were actually very real. The Archbishop of Salzburg made serious efforts to transform the buildings which he had acquired into a seminary.[4] His greatest difficulty lay in finding a suitable director for the establishment.[5] So long as Portia was at Salzburg he did not let a day go by without reminding the archbishop of the seminary,[6] but it was not until 1582 that it was actually established.[7] Greater zeal was shown by the Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, who had already opened his seminary at the beginning of April, 1573.[8] The visitations too were delayed; it was necessary, it was said, that the decrees of Salzburg, which were to form the basis of the canonical visitation, should first be published.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 136.
[2] *Ibid.*, 135, 136.
[3] *Ibid.*, 190.
[4] *Ibid.*, 216.
[5] *Ibid.*, 343.
[6] *Ibid.*, 148.
[7] SCHMIDLIN, Kirchliche Zustände, I., 82. *Cf.* WIDMAN, 97 *seqq.*
[8] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 404.
[9] *Ibid.*, 269, 297 n.

After his return from Bavaria, Portia took up his residence at Innsbruck. The city, he pointed out in his justification of this choice to the Secretary of State in Rome, was almost the central point of the territory included in his nunciature. He had already obtained all that could be obtained for the moment from the Archduke Charles, namely his verbal and written promise to support the decrees of the synod of Salzburg. The constant presence of a mentor with the zealous Duke of Bavaria was useless, while it would be even harmful with the dilatory Archbishop of Salzburg. Moreover he had his informants in the most distant parts of his district, for example, the experienced Ninguarda at Salzburg, the chancellor Hans von Kobenzl at Graz, and at Freising the administrator himself, Duke Ernest.[1] They were satisfied with these reasons in Rome, though they would have preferred that the nuncio should keep a watch over his territory by means of constant journeys.[2]

During the few months that Portia remained at Innsbruck he found many opportunities of displaying his zeal. Numerous though the tasks assigned to him in his instructions were,[3] he soon found himself obliged to devote his whole attention to them all. He laboured at restoring peace between Johann Nas and the Jesuits,[4] at settling the controversies between the Archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal Bishop of Trent, Lodovico Madruzzo, and between the Archduke Charles and the Patriarch of Aquileia, Francesco Barbaro. By reason of a dispute which he was carrying on with Ferdinand concerning his civil rights, Madruzzo was keeping away from his diocese, nor was Portia able to effect any improvement in their relations.[5] As far as Aquileia was concerned, he was of opinion that the patriarch would have to be satisfied with

[1] Portia to Galli on December 9, 1573, *ibid.*, 273 *seq.*

[2] Galli to Portia on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 243.

[3] See *supra*, p. 68.

[4] Portia to Galli on July 28, 1573, *loc. cit.*, 47 *seqq.*

[5] Joseph Hirn, Der Temporalienstreit des Erzherzogs Ferdinand von Tirol mit dem Stifte Trient (1567-78), Vienna, 1882. Schellhass, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxviii *seqq.*

the restoration of his spiritual rights, and abandon his civil ones.[1]

The constant complaints made by the prelates of the princes and their ecclesiastical rights, real or presumed, were one of the most difficult questions with which the nuncio had to deal. The Duke of Bavaria had on his own account sent his vice-chancellor, Eisengrein of Ingolstadt, to the synod of Salzburg, who was to inform him if, in the proposed reform "there were anything which might be harmful to us as sovereigns." With regard to their demands, the bishops must come to an agreement with him as their sovereign, but nothing was to be included in them which "was opposed either to our sovereignty as prince or to ancient established customs, or to their common duties and obligations to our state."[2] These claims met with much disapproval in Rome,[3] but Portia saw no way of obviating them. The evil is a great one, he wrote; the establishment of seminaries as well as episcopal visitations is rendered almost impossible;[4] whatever is left over, after the modest requirements of a few monks have been satisfied, in seventy-two monasteries which are supposed to be for the most part wealthy, goes to the duke; the election of superiors is not free, and the representatives of the prince who attend them strive to secure the appointment of good administrators, without taking into consideration their scholastic attainments. The Jesuits themselves, although they are in other respects highly esteemed by the duke, are very discontented because his hunting parties impose a great burden on their houses; they say that they have pondered deeply how they can in conscience accommodate themselves in this matter to a prince who has in other respects deserved so well of them. But every day they become more hopeless. At Salzburg the prelates say that the whole world would not be able to modify the duke's encroachments in a single point.[5]

[1] To Galli on January 6 and March 31, 1574, *ibid.*, 302, 397.
[2] Eisengrein's Instructions, *ibid.*, 133 n.
[3] Galli to Portia on October 10, 1573, *ibid.*, 158.
[4] See *supra*, p. 72 *seq.*
[5] Portia to Galli on October 30, 1573, *loc. cit.*, 198 *seq.*

Portia proposed getting the Pope to intervene with the duke and the other secular princes, but it was thought that he would obtain more by a direct appeal to the secular rulers.[1] On the strength of the reports received from the nuncio it was decided in Rome to address a brief to Albert V. on behalf of the monasteries.[2] But Portia did not dare to irritate the duke and his advisers, and kept back the brief on his own responsibility, in spite of the prudent terms in which it was expressed, seeming, indeed, to acquit the prince of all blame.[3]

How carefully, after the accession to the throne of Gregory XIII., they followed the course of events in Germany in other matters as well was seen when, on October 20th, 1573, Portia sent word of the grave illness of the Bishop of Würzburg, Frederick von Wirsberg, suggesting that steps should be taken by means of the nuncio Gropper and the Bishop of Eichstadt to see that so important a diocese did not fall into the hands of the Protestants.[4] Briefs were at once sent to Gropper and the chapter of Würzburg,[5] and after the death of the bishop further instructions were sent to Portia to send to Würzburg his companion Schenking, in the place of Gropper who was too far away ; an order was also sent to the nuncio at Vienna, Giovanni Delfino, to urge the Emperor to appoint a Catholic, a brief to the Bishop of Augsburg, who held a canonry at Würzburg, another to the chapter as a body, and separate ones to each of the eight canons.[6] Such precautions were unnecessary ; even before Portia received the copies of the briefs, the great reforming bishop, Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn, had been elected at Würzburg.[7]

[1] Portia on October 10, 1573, *ibid.*, 153.

[2] Galli on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 241. Copy of the Brief in THEINER, I., 117. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 248, n. 2.

[3] To Galli on December 16, 1573, *ibid.*, 281 *seq.*

[4] To Galli on October 12, 1573, *ibid.*, 160 *seq.*

[5] Galli to Portia on November 15, 1573. *ibid.*, 225. Copy of the Briefs in THEINER, I., 103 *seq.*

[6] Galli to Portia on December 12, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 276 *seqq.*

[7] *Ibid.*, lxxix.

A short time before the diocese of Würzburg fell vacant, Bishop Urban of Gurk had also died; to the nuncio there then fell the thorny task of procuring for that very neglected diocese a bishop who would be zealous for reform. At Rome they would have liked the councillor at the Imperial court, Eder, a layman who had been twice a widower, but who, according to the nuncio at Vienna was looked upon as "a Catholic of the purest faith and the greatest zeal in this country,"[1] and, according to the Cardinal Secretary of State, was "very learned and Catholic."[2] But just at that moment Eder had published at Dillingen a book under the title "An evangelical inquisition on true and false religion" which found favour in Rome and with Duke Albert V., but excited the anger of the Emperor in the highest degree.[3] The Archbishop of Salzburg, who had the right of nomination to Gurk alternately with the Duke of Carinthia, and whose turn it was on this occasion, would only decide upon Eder if he were to be asked in writing by the Emperor, and if the Dukes of Bavaria and the Tyrol would recommend the councillor of the Imperial court. It was to no purpose that the nuncios, Delfino and Portia, brought pressure to bear upon the archbishop, or that his own tried adviser, Ninguarda, who was also wished for as Bishop of Gurk, but who shrank from such an honour on account of the responsibility,[4] strongly urged the cause of Eder, or that the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles were in favour of him, or that the Emperor, at any

[1] *Ibid.*, 229, n. 4.

[2] Galli on November 15, 1573, *ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.* For information about this book *cf.* Stieve, Politik, I., 145; also in the *Mitteilungen des Instituts fur österr. Geschichtsforschung*, VI., 440, n. 1; Galli to Gropper on October 23, 1574, in Schwarz, Gropper, 200, *cf.* 236; *Galli to the Venetian nuncio on March 13, 1574 (Nunziat. di Venezia, XIII., 280, Papal Secret Archives): "Eder has written a very good book; the Pope has had it translated into latin. It would be better not to publish it in Rome but in Venice." The nuncio is to pilot it through the press.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 286, n. 2.

rate verbally, withdrew his opposition. The matter was ended when Eder, on account of his precarious financial state, entered into a third marriage with a rich widow. The dean of Brixen, Christopher Andreas von Spaur, became Bishop of Gurk.[1]

Portia had been given a special charge on behalf of the little Wurtemberg city of Weilderstadt, which belonged to the diocese of Spires. So far some remains of the old religion had been preserved in Wurtemberg. When, in 1581, the envoys of the Duke of Bavaria went to Liège, where Duke Ernest was to be solemnly installed as bishop, the inhabitants of the territory of Ulm crowded round them, showing them their rosaries and strings of paternosters, and bewailing with tears that they had been forcibly forbidden the exercise of the old religion, and telling joyfully of the masses and Catholic sermons which they had had during the stay of Duke Albert at the baths of Ueberkingen.[2] At Geislingen, where the influence of the good parish priest, Georg Oswald, who had been banished in 1531, had for a long time continued to produce great effects, the Protestant pastors, as late as 1597, had to seek the intervention of the council of Ulm against "papistical superstitions," and especially against the attendance at mass at Ueberkingen and Eybach, and against the pilgrimages to Dozburg and Hohenrechberg;[3]; the acta of the visitation in 1569 inveigh against the "idolatry" of placing wooden crosses on graves, and in 1575 against masses for the dead and vigils, which the superstitious people still clung to; in 1584 severe penalties were enacted against those who still followed the customs of the papistical church.[4] Weilderstadt especially had, "by a miracle of God," remained entirely Catholic,[5] and the little city was specially recommended by Rome to

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxix-lxxxv.

[2] "Roberti Turneri sermo panegyricus, quo Bavariae dux Ernestus . . . fuit inauguratus episcopus Leodius," in his Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadt, 1583, 97 *seq.*

[3] *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LI. (1863), 266.

[4] *Ibid.*, 264 *seq.*

[5] Portia's Instructions, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 21, *cf.* 19. Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 89.

the care of the nuncio Portia. From Weil came one of the most capable advisers of the Archbishop of Salzburg, Johann Fickler, and from him Portia was able to obtain accurate information as to what he ought to do, to find out whether it would not be possible to win over a councillor of the Duke of Wurtemberg, or some distinguished local magnate, how many people in the neighbourhood of Weil attended mass on festival days, and how it would be possible to introduce a good preacher into the city.[1] Fickler told him that not many people went to mass at Weil from outside, but that a preacher of repute was very much wanted and could easily attract large crowds, because a great number of the inhabitants of the duchy who were directly the subjects of the Empire had not yet been infected by error, and were determined to remain firm in the Catholic religion.[2] Moreover, the almost extinct monastery of the Augustinians at Weil, could, with the help of their religious superiors, be filled with good religious, or be changed into a college.[3] Fickler revived this latter project again in 1576 at the Diet of Ratisbon.[4] A preacher had in the meantime become doubly necessary at Weil, because the parish priest there, who had hitherto been a Catholic, had married and was preaching the new doctrines; his place was first filled by a man who was quite unsuitable, and then by a disciple of Dillinger, who also failed to fulfil what was expected of him.[5] Nevertheless, all Portia's efforts to find an efficient substitute for him failed; not even Peter Canisius could help him.[6]

[1] Instruction to Portia, *ibid.*, 21.

[2] Portia to Galli on August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 89 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 91.

[4] *Ibid.*, V., 483 *seqq.*

[5] Portia to Galli on September 29, 1573, and February 17, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 142, 344.

[6] Portia to Galli on December 23, 1573, *ibid.*, 299. Two briefs of Gregory XIII., dated November 15, 1574, to the town of Weil, and to the Bishop of Spires concerning the mission of Johann (Fickler) to Weil, in THEINER, I., 124 *seq.* A brief of August 24, 1577, to Rudolph II. in favour of the Catholics of Ulm, *ibid.*, II., 264.

Besides Weilderstadt, Schwäbisch-Gmünd had also remained entirely loyal to the old faith.[1] When the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino, invited the council and municipality to the Council of Trent in 1561, he highly praised their steadfastness in the Catholic religion.[2] Gregory XIII., too, addressed to the city a letter of thanks, which was taken there by the student of the German College, Vitus Miletus.[3] After 1574 the Council took determined steps against the few innovators at Gmünd ; their banishment had already been decided upon, but could not be carried into effect because of the threats of the Protestant states of the Empire.[4]

For the most important of the questions affecting it, the carrying out of the reform decrees of 1569, the vast archdiocese of Salzburg, now as before, had to depend upon the energy of Ninguarda alone. The first step was to secure the publication of the decrees, to serve as a guide for future episcopal visitations.[5] It was Ninguarda who took this wearisome task upon himself ;[6] even by the end of 1575 he had still to discuss with Rome the last sheets that remained to be published.[7]

In the meantime Rome brought pressure to bear upon this busy man to undertake, for the purpose of carrying out the synod of 1569, his journey to the various bishops and princes,

[1] Fickler's Memorandum of 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 485.

[2] " Pietas vestra nobis satis perspecta est probeque novi vos hactenus per varios insultus adversarii fidem catholicam in omni patientia, dilectione et perseverantia conservasse." Vienna, September 24, 1561 : E. WAGNER in the *Württembergische Vierteljahrsheften für Landesgeschichte*, N.F., I. (1892), 114.

[3] *Ibid.*, N.F., II. (1893), 314. The letter of May 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 287.

[4] WAGNER, *loc. cit.*, II., 282-325. MORITZ, 152.

[5] Ninguarda to Galli on December 10, 1573, in THEINER, I., 512 ; to Portia on December 18, 1573, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 297, n. 1.

[6] *Ibid.*, lxvii., 137, 216, 235, 270. SCHELLHASS, Akten II., 226, 273, 279.

[7] *Ibid.*, III., 59, 67.

which he had already begun in 1572.[1] Ninguarda himself, when he sent the acta of the synod of 1573 to Rome,[2] asked for a renewal of the now obsolete commendatory briefs to the princes whom he had not yet visited: the Emperor, the Archduke Charles, and the Duke of Bavaria, and caused a fourth to be included to the excellent Catholic Landgrave, Georg Ludwig von Leuchtenberg of the Upper Palatinate.[3] But the interests of the publication of the synod of 1569, as well as the desire of the Archbishop of Salzburg to keep his experienced adviser by his side, kept Ninguarda at Salzburg until January, 1574.[4] In the meantime the skilful and hard-working Dominican had received yet a third and a fourth task. In February 1573 his religious superiors had appointed him to act as provincial and visitor of the Dominicans of Bohemia and Austria,[5] while in November there came from the Pope the yet heavier task of visiting all the houses of the Mendicant Orders in the dioceses of Salzburg and Freising, and in the states of the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand.[6] In Rome, Portia had urged a visitation of the monasteries;[7] the German Congregation had advised this on November 19th, 1573,[8] and on December 5th the three nuncios, Delfino, Gropper and Portia, had been given orders to send a report of the monasteries in the territories included in their nunciatures.[9] Delfino replied by advising delay.[10] Portia excused

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 59.

[2] Complete list of documents sent in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III. 183, n. 5. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 510.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lii, 132. SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 58.

[4] *Ibid.*, 59.

[5] *Ibid.*, 55. Portia to Galli on November 29, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 142, 233.

[6] Galli to Portia on November 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 240, *cf.* lxiii *seqq.* The Duke of Bavaria is not mentioned, probably so as not to give him any further opportunity of interfering with the religious houses.

[7] *Ibid.*, 240, n. 4.

[8] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 80.

[9] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., lxiv, 259 *seq.*, 260, n. 3. SCHWARZ, Gropper, 74 *seq.*, 142 *seqq.*, 227 *seqq.*, 232 *seq.*, 245.

[10] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 295, n. 1.

himself on the ground that sufficient knowledge of the state of the monasteries could only be obtained by going to them all.[1] This task was entrusted to Ninguarda, who during the years that followed especially directed his energies to the reform of the Orders.

At the end of January, 1574, Ninguarda went to Munich, whence he went up the Iser to Freising and Landshut, and thence to Ratisbon and Pfreimd in the Upper Palatinate, travelling thence down the Danube to Straubing and Passau, whence he was summoned to Austria.[2] At Munich he met Duke Albert V., and at Pfreimd the zealous Catholic mother and guardian of the eleven year old Count of Leuchtenberg; at Freising, Ratisbon and Passau he visited the cathedral chapters, and in the last-named two cities the bishops as well; at Freising he saw the administrator, Duke Ernest. Everywhere he sought, with all the authority of a Papal nuncio, to work on behalf of the synod of Salzburg. He urged the ecclesiastical authorities to take seriously the reform ordinances of that synod, and the representatives of the civil authorities to back up the reforming efforts of the bishops. Ninguarda met everywhere with a cordial reception, and, at anyrate in appearance, with good-will. The Duke of Bavaria, whom he informed of the grievances of the clergy against the civil officials, promised to inquire into the matter.[3] The Countess of Leuchtenberg received the Dominican with every mark of honour; for a century, she said, no envoy of the Apostolic See had been seen in the state, and she only knew of one bishop within living memory who had administered the sacrament of confirmation there. She was glad to show favour to the bishops and clergy.[4]

[1] To Galli on December 23, 1573, *ibid.*, 294.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 61-77.

[3] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 61. Ninguarda's speech before Albert V. and the latter's reply, *ibid.*, 241 *seqq.*, 246 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 73. Morone's extract from Ninguarda's report of his visit on February 19, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 56. As the Countess' dowry had been seized in the Netherlands, she asked for Papal mediation with Philip II., which was granted to her. *Ibid.*, 52, 231, 262, 264; III., 190.

During the previous year Portia had received a bad account of the cathedral chapter of Freising. The administrator reported that it was opposed to any sort of reform. At one time it would maintain that the administrator's only business was to look after the temporal affairs, and at another reminded him of the oath which he had had to take at his election to leave everything as it was. Thus he had wished to carry out at once the decrees of the synod of Salzburg about seminaries, and had set aside a house for that purpose, but the chapter "which is opposed to such institutions as to everything else," had again raised the objection of his oath.[1] In the presence of Ninguarda the chapter now promised in writing to obey in all things, and apologized for its previous negligence.[2] Ninguarda was supported by a representative of the duke, Andreas Fabricius, Duke Ernest's majordomo, whom Ninguarda had asked for from Albert V., on account of the ill repute of the chapter.[3]

Ratisbon had an even worse name than Freising; Portia wrote[4] that the clergy there were perhaps the most corrupt in all Germany.

It is a fact that Ninguarda, immediately after his arrival in the city, was presented with long memorials detailing the shortcomings of the chapter and its dean, as well as of the custodian and former scholastic of the cathedral,[5] for which misdeeds the dean and chapter, after Ninguarda's return from Pfreimd, attempted to excuse themselves in writing.[6] At Ratisbon, too, there were not wanting complaints of the arbitrary action of the Bavarian court in conferring benefices.[7] The bishop, David Kölderer, who

[1] Portia to Galli on October 21, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III. 188.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 63.

[3] *Ibid.*, 244, 245, 247. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 363, n. 2.

[4] On August 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 83. *Cf.* Portia's instructions from Rome, No. 3, *ibid.*, 30.

[5] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 43-51.

[6] *Ibid.*, 63-71.

[7] *Ibid.*, 52 *seqq.*

received the Pope's representative courteously, expressed in writing his readiness for reform, but said that he was powerless before the vagaries of the chapter, as the latter was exempt, and he himself was bound by the election capitulation.[1] Ninguarda nevertheless succeeded in arranging a settlement between the bishop and the chapter on the question of the seminary,[2] while the chapter itself promised to do away with the abuses.[3]

The old religion was not yet extinct among the population of the city. The magistracy, Ninguarda reported,[4] was indeed Protestant, and there were very few Catholics among the burgesses proper, and even these, for the most part, did not openly profess themselves as such, out of fear of the magistracy. But among the working classes the adherents of the old religion were still numerous, while even among the burghers some were returning to it. There were also many Catholics among those who came from outside, some of whom belonged to the aristocracy, as well as the large entourage of the bishop, and of the greater and lesser prelates, as well as of the monasteries.[5] On the other side of the Danube, opposite Ratisbon, was Stadtamhof, which was subject to the Duke of Bavaria, and was, with its 200 communicants, entirely Catholic. Of the six parish churches in Ratisbon, St. Ulrich, in the neighbourhood of the cathedral, was always filled with the faithful on festival days. Since 1570 the bishop had caused the divine service there to be carried on according to the full Catholic ritual; the church, which had been in a ruinous state, had been rebuilt by the pious contributions of the faithful, and sumptuously decorated, and this had brought back many Protestants to the faith. Whereas before

[1] *Ibid.*, 42 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 74-7.
[3] *Ibid.*, 71-4.
[4] *Ibid.*, 57-63.
[5] A companion of Morone in 1576 estimated the number of Catholics who could lead unmolested lives as low as 800. The real number was certainly higher than that. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 57, n. 4.

there had only been 600 communicants, now there were more than 1500, and nothing but the attitude of the magistracy prevented the return of many others. Of the large number of chapels, the majority were either in the hands of Protestants or were used for profane purposes. The territory of the free city of Ratisbon hardly extended more than a mile outside the walls of the city.

At Passau Ninguarda also worked for the carrying out of the decrees of Salzburg, both with the chapter and with the bishop, whose acquaintance he had made at Salzburg.[1]

Whenever, in the course of his travels, he found monasteries in the cities which he visited, the zealous Dominican also devoted himself to the other part of his instructions, the reform of the religious Orders.

Portia set forth his views as to the general state of the monasteries in a report of a rather later date,[2] which was principally concerned with the state of affairs at Augsburg, but which may be unconditionally extended to all.[3]

The question of the religious Orders, he thought, was much more complicated and difficult than was supposed. He sums up under three heads the disorders which had "grown beyond all bounds, together with the complete decline of monastic discipline." The primary cause of the decadent state of the monasteries was that men of education and good family no longer entered them, first, because they would infallibly lose their good name and would manifestly endanger the salvation of their souls in those undisciplined monasteries, and secondly because the Protestants had brought the religious Orders into disrepute, for which the religious themselves had given occasion. It thus happened that for the most part only those entered who had no other means of livelihood, of were of no use for anything. There was no proper noviciate, and the novices were only distinguished from laymen

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 75.

[2] To Galli on October 2, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 225 *seq.*

[3] He is corroborated, with regard to the Mendicant Orders of Bamberg, by N. Elgard to Galli on October 4, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 321 *seq.*

and from the professed monks by their dress. In the general disappearance of religious discipline things could not well be otherwise, when there were no capable masters of novices.

It was from this ill-trained and ill-instructed body that in the end the superiors were chosen, who proceeded to show by their conduct and government the way they had themselves been trained. A thing that especially ruined the rich monasteries was the fact that whether they liked it or not they had to afford hospitality on their journeys to the princes and their suites. They found themselves all the more obliged to put up with this inconvenience because the princes had the appointment to the offices of the monastery in their hands, and could vent their displeasure on those who opposed them. Hence came the perpetual taxes and money contributions of the monasteries, and hence the election of abbots, who were well qualified indeed to maintain and increase the revenues, but who had no zeal whatever for religious discipline. These abuses were especially to be regretted because, with the exception of the Mendicant Orders, each monastery was independent, and self contained, so that the lack of discipline in one could not be improved by sending a capable man from another monastery. When monks had entered an Order, they lived on and remained there until their death, and rendered no account to anyone, neither as to their rule, of which there was generally no copy in existence, whether they called themselves Benedictines or Augustinians, nor as to their state or their government. The abbots lived apart from the rest, like secular nobles, and had their own servants to wait upon them, and their own horses and hounds. The rest were provided with abundant maintenance and had whatever freedom they desired.

Portia frankly confessed that he could not see how this state of affairs was to be remedied. Cures for "such mortal diseases" could indeed be suggested, but how were they to be applied? To force such persons, who were supported by such powerful protectors, to the observance of a rule that was not in being, would be impossible, and would only open the way to complete apostasy, which, in view of the general

absence of discipline, was near enough as it was. And even supposing the impossible took place, namely that the civil officials no longer battened upon the monasteries, a thing which would never be realized so long as the world remained what it was, but even if it should happen that the officials no longer placed obstacles in the way of the rights of the Church, who was there to enforce the ordinances made during the course of the visitation? all the more so as neither the existing state of affairs, nor the good-will of the religious themselves, nor the dispositions of the princes was suitable for a visitation of the monasteries, nor what it would have to be if religious discipline was to be restored.

This gloomy picture drawn by the nuncio did not directly concern the Mendicant Orders, who were the only ones contemplated by Ninguarda's visitation. As a matter of fact Portia's description was only partly true of the monasteries of Bavaria.

At Munich the Poor Clares generally enjoyed a good name, so much so that the visitor did not think it necessary to hold a visitation of their convent.[1] In the same way two houses of Franciscan nuns of the Third Order there were highly praised by the duchesses, Anna and Jacobea.[2] Ninguarda found "almost everything in a good state" among the Observant Friars Minor at Munich.[3] The Franciscans at Landshut received even higher praise;[4] their superior was a very good preacher and did much good in the city.[5] The Franciscans at Munich and Landshut only complained of the arbitrary action of the commissary-general Nas.[6]

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 63.

[2] Supplica addressed to Rome on June 15, 1574, in THEINER, II., 81.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 61.

[4] "Hoc monasterium est huic civitati laudi et commodo maximo." *Ibid.*, 260.

[5] *Ibid.*, 257, 258, *cf.* 64. When he visited Landshut in 1576, Morone was delighted to find Catholic life in a flourishing condition. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 45.

[6] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 248, 257. For Nas and the German Franciscans, *cf.* SCHWARZ, Gropper, 320 *seq.*

In other cases the abuses were not very great, and were rather the result of the difficulties of the times than of bad will. The Conventual Augustinians at Munich carried out the offices of the Church carefully, but there was no superior in the monastery because they did not know how to provide a successor for the prior, who had recently died; there was no teacher of grammar and no real novice master for the young religious. Contrary to the enactments of Pius V., in cases of illness women relatives were admitted to the monastery, the novices did not go to confession often enough, and the monastery was burdened with debts. Ninguarda thought of seeking from the General of the Augustinians the necessary authority to send two of the younger monks to Italy for the renewal of the religious life, and of asking the help of the duke for the payment of the debts.[1] The convent of the Dominicans at Landshut suffered principally from its poverty, the greater number of the friars were often out of the enclosure in order to obtain means of subsistence, for the same reason the novices were unable to devote themselves entirely to their studies and the spiritual life, or the master of novices to his duties; the church and convent were threatened with ruin.[2] Ninguarda tried to help them by asking the duke to give the Dominicans part of the revenues of the deserted Benedictine monastery of Biburg, or some other monastery.[3] The prior, who had committed many faults through ignorance, escaped with a severe warning.[4] On the whole Albert V. could boast that the worst evils had been removed from the monasteries of Bavaria, and that speaking generally the conditions were not so bad.[5]

[1] Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, I., 62, 249 *seq.*, 251 *seqq.*, 253 *seqq.*, II., 88, 248.

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 255.

[3] *Ibid.*, 260.

[4] Schellhass, Akten, I., 64.

[5] "Effectum quoque est Suae Celsitudinis pietate, ut quae graviora atque enormiora iis in locis conspicerentur, statim sint correcta et sublata, ita ut Bavarica monasteria, quantum quidem per temporum horum impedimenta omnino potuit, non ita turpia aut scandalosa hucusque apparuerint." Albert V. on December 24, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 388 *seq.*

On the other hand Ninguarda found a lamentable state of affairs in Ratisbon.[1] There were only one or two monks left in the monasteries of the Scots, the Franciscan Conventuals and the Dominicans, the roof and walls of the house of the Augustinians had fallen, the church was more like a stable than the house of God, and two Italian lay-brothers who lived among the ruins in secular dress, and gained their livelihood by trade, had a very bad reputation. The three noble monasteries, in which only the abbess took vows, were a scandal to the whole city, especially two of them which, being directly subject to the Empire, paid no attention to any bishop. However, even in Ratisbon the state of the monasteries was not altogether bad. The eleven Poor Clares kept their enclosure irreproachably, as well as the rest of their religious discipline;[2] the same was the case with the eighteen Dominican nuns. The abbot and the sixteen Benedictines at St. Emmeran did credit to the Catholics by assiduity at the office and their good conduct.[3] Outside the city, in the diocese of Ratisbon, there were many monasteries which refused to have anything to do with the bishop, looked upon the Duke of Bavaria as their only superior, and lived without any sort of discipline.[4]

Straubing and Passau did not fall within the limits covered by Ninguarda's visitation faculties. In spite of this in the first named city he visited the Carmelites and admonished them in a friendly way to wear the religious habit and to live in accordance with their state. At Passau, at the request of the bishop, he visited the Canons Regular and the Benedictine nuns. Among the Canons he found everything in order;[5] he urged the nuns to observe the enclosure and to

[1] Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, I., 69-73; II., 62 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 71.

[3] *Ibid.*, II., 62. In his "informatio" (*ibid.*, I., 69), Ninguarda makes no mention of this monastery because it did not come under his jurisdiction.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 72; II., 99 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 76.

obey the bishop; they promised to obey and thanked him for his warning.[1]

At Passau Ninguarda received from Rome, from the superiors of his own Order, as well as from the nuncio at Vienna and the Dominican prior there, a pressing invitation to go as soon as possible to Vienna and restore order among the monasteries there. This referred especially to Italian religious.

One result of the legatine instructions sent to Portia was that the Dominicans and Franciscan Conventuals had begun to send unworthy members of their Italian houses beyond the Alps. Consequently many religious houses with good revenues in Styria, Carniola and Carinthia had passed into the hands of the Italians, who were a sore trial to the patience of the Archduke.[2]

The Emperor in his capital was no less dissatisfied with the Dominicans, Franciscans and Augustinians who came from Italy, because, as he said, they did not understand the German language, and gave scandal by their dissolute lives.[3] At the request of the States of Austria he was on the point of driving them all out. Delfino informed Rome of this, and the procurators-general of the three Orders were ordered to find good German monks there for the monasteries of Vienna.

Only Flemings, however, and Italians living in Austrian territory could be found, and when the Emperor remarked that he could have found real Germans, Delfino begged him to seek for them himself, while he in the meantime would

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Portia's Instructions, No. 31. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 26 *seq.* SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 107, n. 3. WIEDEMANN, II., 187.

[3] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 80 *seq.* Maximilian further particularizes his complaints in two letters to Rome of January 2 and March 8, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 237 *seqq.*; II., 77 *seqq.* However, all the Italian monks were not giving scandal (*ibid.*, II., 82). Ninguarda praises a Dominican of Vienna whom he describes as a "persona assai literata e virtuosa." He was a professor at the university and everyone spoke well of him. His lectures did much good (*ibid.*). The answer given by the monks in Vienna to the accusations, *ibid.*, III., 34.

try and reform the Italians. He placed all his hopes for the reform of the monks in Ninguarda, who was summoned for that purpose from Passau.[1]

If Ninguarda had found the state of the Bavarian monasteries not entirely bad, he was to have the saddest experience of them in Austria. This was the case with the first monastery which he visited in the territory of the Emperor, that of his own Order at Krems. The two friars who were still there did not at first make such a bad impression, and it was only afterwards that it was discovered that they had conspired to deceive the visitor; one of them was later on condemned by Ninguarda to the galleys.[2]

Ninguarda reached Vienna a little after the middle of March, 1574. He first presented to the Emperor the brief accrediting him as the authorized envoy of the council of bishops at Salzburg. That synod, he declared, marked the beginning of an improvement in the sad state of affairs in Germany, but that the concurrence of the Emperor was needed for the carrying out of its decrees.[3] Maximilian promised his help, so long as the bishops would do their duty. Ninguarda then gave him the names of certain abbots, provosts and parish priests, who not only lived with women as their wives, but professed heretical opinions.[4]

The nuncio Delfino had already on many occasions asked for the intervention of the civil power in the case of such persons, but a commission of inquiry had hardly been appointed when it reached the ears of the Emperor that some of these abbots were dissipating the property of their abbeys in favour of their sons. The government had cunningly tried to place the abbot of Melk in close confinement, but had wrapped its action in profound mystery, in order that the guilty man might not escape to the Protestants with the gold and silver objects belonging to the monastery.[5] In consequence of

[1] *Ibid.*, I., 57, n., 80 *seq.*, n. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, I., 78; II., 58; III., 161, 172.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 78 *seq.*; *cf.* II., 81, 91.
[4] *Ibid.*, I., 79.
[5] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 79, n. 2.

the protests of Ninguarda the Emperor promised in future to leave the punishment of the guilty to the bishops. As for the foreigners in the monasteries of Vienna, who gave signs of improvement, the Papal envoy obtained permission to allow them to remain, so long as the superior and some of the monks in each monastery were Germans, and German novices were received.[1]

Ninguarda might well believe that he had accomplished something; he hastened to provide the Dominican convent at Vienna with a German superior and preacher, as well as a capable master of novices, and to admit four novices.[2] But the Emperor Maximilian very soon went back to some extent upon his word with regard to the Italian monks,[3] though he again renewed his promises when Ninguarda protested.[4] But the promise to take action against the Abbot of Melk was not taken seriously by the Emperor; only a little while before he gave it he had said that there was nothing serious in the matter and that he had punished the abbot's accusers.[5] Nevertheless in 1577 the Bishop of Passau made the most serious accusations against him, as well as against a whole number of Benedictine and Cistercian abbots in Austria.[6]

In the meantime so many scandals concerning the monasteries had reached the ears of the zealous Dominican that he would willingly have taken refuge anywhere rather than visit them.[7] But the question of the foreign religious,

[1] *Ibid.*, 81 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, *cf.* II., 82.

[3] Explanation of April 21, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 106 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 83 *seq.* Ninguarda's reasons for not straightway excluding all foreigners, in his letter to the Emperor of April 29, 1574, *ibid.*, 111 *seqq.*, only gradually could a preponderance of Germans be brought about. The Emperor thereupon declared himself satisfied (*ibid.*, 110).

[5] *Ibid.*, 79, n. 3.

[6] *Ibid.*, V., 39 *seq.* For the visitation of the Conventual Franciscans of Austria and Bohemia by Paolo da Norcia, *cf. ibid.*, 94 *seq.*, 233 and I., 82, n. 2, 95, n. 2.

[7] To Galli on March 26, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 80.

and the oppression of some of the Imperial officials, which was by no means favourable to the cause of the Catholic religion,[1] made him prolong his stay in Vienna from March 19th to June 14th. His original plan had been to present himself first before the Archduke Charles at Graz, as the representative of the reforming synod of Salzburg, and then to take in hand the reform of the monasteries of Styria and Carinthia.[2] While he was there, however, he received news that the prior of the Dominicans at Prague had been arrested by the order of the archbishop and the civil authorities,[3] and decided to go first of all to Prague. Before he set out, however, by the advice of Delfino he undertook the visitation of the Conventual Franciscans at Vienna.[4]

Ninguarda had received ample powers for the tour which he now began. As the visitor of the Dominicans he had two duties to perform; he was charged by his own superiors to visit the territories of the Archduke Charles and the Emperor, with the exception of Hungary;[5] he was charged by the Pope to do the same in Austria, Bohemia and Moravia.[6] As far as the Mendicant Orders in general were concerned, that is to say the Augustinians, Franciscans, Dominicans and Carmelites, he at first only had powers as visitor for Salzburg, Freising and the states of the Archdukes Charles and Ferdinand.[7] Ninguarda had naturally pointed out in Rome that it was necessary that his mandate should also include Central Austria, for otherwise the monks would be constantly escaping from one region to another; at the same time he had also begged that someone else should be given this huge task, whereas he himself had enough to do with

[1] To Galli on May 7, 1574, *ibid.*, 232.

[2] *Ibid.*, 81.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 84.

[4] *Ibid.*, 87; II., 240 *seq.*

[5] See *supra*, p. 87 *seq.*

[6] Brief of January 9, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 308, n. 8. Ninguarda himself had desired the Papal commission (*ibid.*).

[7] Brief of November 20, 1573, *ibid.*, 240; SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 59.

the convents of his own Order.[1] But the reply came from Rome that the Pope did not know of anyone else who was capable of carrying out this duty, and that Ninguarda must therefore also take this burden upon his own shoulders,[2] to which the loyal servant of the Holy See replied that he would shrink from no labours, in obedience to the Pope, no matter how great the difficulties might be ; it seemed to the Emperor as well to be absolutely necessary that his faculties of visitation should be extended to Central Austria.[3]

In addition to his plenary ecclesiastical powers Ninguarda also obtained the Imperial authority for the exercise of his office, since the monasteries were forbidden to receive visitors without the express consent of the Emperor.[4]

In the middle of June, 1574, Ninguarda was able at last to set out upon his intended journey to Prague. The Imperial mandates, which would have opened to him the doors of the Augustinian and Franciscan convents, had not yet reached him ; he could therefore, for the moment, only deal with the houses of his own Order, and convince himself by personal experience of their sad condition.

At Rätz the Dominican convent had been abandoned for sixteen years ; the buildings were in the hands of the citizens, who were allowing them to fall into ruin. At Znaim a fire had several years before destroyed the Dominican convent ; the religious, one of whom had recently been sent thither by Ninguarda, were living there literally among the ruins. The visitation of this convent, and that of Brünn, Ninguarda postponed until he returned.[5] At Olmütz, too, where, in spite of his haste, he had to wait for fifteen days for an Imperial official in order to discuss the question of the religious, the convent of the Dominicans was almost extinct ; many accusations were made against the Italian prior and the two

[1] To Galli on April 1, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 86.
[2] Galli to Ninguarda on June 12, 1574, *ibid.*, 254.
[3] Ninguarda to Galli on April 8, 1574, *ibid.*, 91.
[4] *Ibid.*, I., 85, *cf.* II., 92, 93, 240, 241, 250, 252.
[5] *Ibid.*, I., 87 *seq.*

religious who still remained.[1] Ninguarda replaced him by a German, who later on also led an unedifying life.[2] He also admitted two novices. At the convent of the Dominicanesses at Olmütz he made the enclosure more strict.[3]

At Prague the conditions were no better. The arrested Dominican prior, on whose account the visitor had hastened his journey, had escaped from prison. The only inhabitant of the convent was a novice, with two brothers of the Order whom Ninguarda himself had a short time before summoned by letter. At the houses of the Franciscan Conventuals and the Augustinians in each case he only found two religious, who were leading scandalous lives; he had to throw the two Franciscans into prison. Ninguarda did what he could under the circumstances; he gave the Dominicans a new prior, and the Franciscans a new provincial and a new guardian; he was compelled by necessity to leave the superior of the Augustinians, who promised in writing to amend his ways, in his office. In other convents he especially insisted upon the observance of the enclosure. He naturally interested himself especially in the members of his own Order; he systematized the legal position, obtained from the government the restoration of the property of the monastery, which had been confiscated on account of the flight of the prior, and increased their diminished revenues.[4]

At the end of July Ninguarda began to collect fuller information as to the condition of the religious Orders in the rest of Bohemia by making further journeys. He first went towards the east, to Pilsen, Mies, Pniow and Eger. Then, again starting from Prague, he went northwards to Leitmeritz, Gablonz and Melnik.[5] In Rome, however, they began to fear that the indefatigable Dominican, who was the right hand of the Holy See for the reform of the monasteries of Germany, would succumb under the burdens laid upon him. A Papal

[1] Schellhass, Akten, I., 88.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98; II., 282.
[3] *Ibid.*, I., 89.
[4] *Ibid.*, 89-91.
[5] *Ibid.*, 91-93.

brief therefore allowed him, in the case of those religious houses which he had not been able to visit in person, to choose one or two representatives to do so.[1] In accordance with this permission he chose the provincial of the Conventuals to visit the convent of the Observants at Kaaden in western Bohemia, where none but the guardian remained. He informed himself later on of the state of the monasteries in south Bohemia, at Bechin, Budweis and Neuhaus, in the course of his journey to Moravia.

Even in the monasteries of Bohemia bright spots were not altogether wanting. Ninguarda praised the five Franciscan Observants as well as the twenty Poor Clares of Eger. The prior of the Dominicans there had distinguished himself as an administrator and preacher.[2] Of the Franciscan Observants at Pilsen there only remained two old men; of the Augustinians at Pniow, as at Melnik, only the superiors were left, but they did honour to their state.[3] The same could be said of the two Conventuals whom the Archbishop of Prague had sent to the two Observant houses at Neuhaus and Bechin, which had entirely died out.[4] But generally speaking religious life in Bohemia was at its last gasp. The superiors themselves gave a wholly bad example, and Ninguarda imprisoned the guardians of the Minors at Mies and Leitmeritz,[5] and the prior of the Dominicans at Pilsen, who was the only religious left in that convent.[6] For the most part, too, the monastic buildings were in a miserable state; those of the Dominicans at Pilsen, Eger and Gablonz,

[1] Galli to Ninguarda on July 10, 1574, *ibid.*, II., 263; Memorandum of the German Congregation dated July 7, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 92.

[2] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.* I., 93.

[3] *Ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 96. On December 5, 1574, Ninguarda wrote from the Franciscan monastery at Neuhaus: "E assai ben'in ordine (the building), ma mercè di quel signore (Lord of Neuhaus) ch' è catholico." *Ibid.*, II., 281.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 93.

[6] *Ibid.*, 92.

were on the point of falling into ruin,[1] and that of the Minors at Mies was half in ruins ; their convent at Lietmeritz seemed like a lodging house ; a crowd of tenants, men and women, often persons of ill-fame, had made it their dwelling place. The buildings were to a great extent falling down through old age, and the church was full of cracks.[2] The revenues were hardly enough for one inmate. The Conventuals at Mies could spare nothing for the repair of their house.[3] Just as the Franciscan Observants had entirely abandoned their houses at Neuhaus and Brechin, so had the Dominicans at Leitmeritz and Budweis.[4] At Weisswasser a secular ruler had confiscated the convent of the Augustinians, and had left no religious there at all. At Rakow the convent of the Augustinians had experienced much the same fate ; the prior, who alone remained of all the religious, had, trusting to the noble owners, for two years refused obedience to the archbishop, so much so that the visitor deemed it useless to make a special visit there.[5]

Ninguarda, in common with the ecclesiastical and secular princes, felt that he had good reason to be satisfied with the results of this journey. It was the first visitation that had been made for many years, and everything had passed over without disputes or disturbances, while not a few evils had been remedied. Ninguarda owed much to the assistance of the Archbishop of Prague, who, on bidding him farewell, had begged him to keep a close watch upon the monasteries of Bohemia.

But if the visitor thought that there would be an interior change in the religious whom he had visited, he was very soon

[1] *Ibid.*, 92-4.

[2] *Ibid.*, 93 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 93, 96. Concerning Budweis *ibid.*, II., 281. The monastery had been given up in 1566 ; Ninguarda regretted that " si perchè la citta è catholica, come anco che in tutta Boemia non ho veduto droppe la cathedrale di Praga la più bella chiesa nè ho ritrovato altrove tanta argentaria come lì." *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 95.

disillusioned. Soon afterwards the Archbishop of Prague had recourse to Ninguarda, and through him, to the General of the Dominicans, and earnestly begged him to do all that he could to have the Dominican convents occupied by other capable and active religious, because so far very little result seemed to have been produced by the visitation.[1]

In Moravia, whither Ninguarda went on December 3rd, 1574, the same state of affairs prevailed as in the rest of Bohemia. Here too there were monasteries in a state of absolute poverty, occupied by lay tenants, with three, or even fewer religious, who were not uncommonly quite unworthy. Ninguarda began his visitation at Iglau, and then went on at once, without stopping at Brünn, to Olmütz, to settle a dispute between the city and the Dominicans. When, after this, he was making ready for his visitation of Brünn, an Imperial order reached him to go at once to Vienna. He reached that city on December 24th,[2] and learned that he had been summoned on account of the Italian monks, whom the Emperor wished to drive out altogether.[3] At last Maximilian II. agreed once more to allow a postponement in the case of the three monasteries in Vienna.[4] Ninguarda had hardly set out for Prague when, in accordance with an Imperial injunction of February 4th,[5] all the property, both moveable and immoveable, of the three Mendicant convents was inventoried and sequestrated.[6] It was the council for convents which had taken this step, and this, as Ninguarda knew, was, with two exceptions, composed of declared Protestants, who only wished to injure the Church.[7] After

[1] The Archbishop to Ninguarda on January 8, 1576, *ibid.*, IV, 110 *seqq.*

[2] Schellhass, Akten, I., 97-9; II., 281 *seq.*

[3] Ninguarda and Delfino to Galli on the first and second of January, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 23 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 100; III., 26, 31, 35, 38, 41 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 100. Ninguarda to Galli on January 28, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 46 *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 60 *seq.*, 62 *seq.* Theiner, II., 62 *seq.*, 63.

[6] Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, I., 102.

[7] To Galli on March 2, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 169.

this the superiors of the Augustinians and the Franciscan Conventuals at once gave full authority for the repatriation of all the Italians in the convents of Vienna.[1]

After his visit to Vienna it had been the intention of Ninguarda to complete his visitation of Moravia,[2] but the Archduke Charles, who had been living at Vienna since the end of 1574, incessantly urged the visitor to devote his attention as soon as possible to the territories of Central Austria ; unless help was soon given to the monasteries there, there would be an end of them.[3] Armed with full powers from the prince,[4] and with the authority of the Archbishop of Salzburg,[5] Ninguarda went to Central Austria,[6] where he remained until the beginning of September ; after another visit to Vienna he then went on to Moravia.[7]

In the course of his journey Ninguarda was able to convince himself that the Archduke had not exaggerated with regard to Styria and Carinthia. Religious life there was indeed at its last gasp, nor was it any better in Moravia. A number of the monasteries were entirely empty, or had been turned to other purposes ; of the convents of men, only two still had five religious.[8] Moreover, the moral conduct of these

[1] Concerning the Emperor's wish that these monasteries should be attached to German Provinces of their respective Orders, see *ibid.*, 39, 182 *seqq.* ; *cf.* I., 208, n. 1. ; III., 65 *seq.*, 176 *seq.*, 181 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, I., 104 ; III., 170.

[3] Ninguarda to Galli on January 14, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 28.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 104.

[5] *Ibid.*, 106.

[6] On March 12, 1575, *ibid.*, 102. Ninguarda to Galli on January 2, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 23.

[7] *Ibid.*, I., 222-9.

[8] Ninguarda's report of his visitation, *ibid.*, I., 104-8, 204-20. It is impossible to give an exact itinerary of Ninguarda's journey ; see *Quellen und Forschungen*, I., 104, n. 5, 204, n. 3. In the following list the names of completely abandoned religious houses are given in brackets. The number of religious that Ninguarda found in each house are added in brackets. In Styria Ninguarda visited the Dominicans at Leoben (2), Graz (?), Pettau (4), Neukloster (5) ; the Conventual Franciscans at (Bruck a. d. Mur),

intruders was such that at Laibach the officials of the Archduke demanded that Ninguarda should degrade the guardian of the Conventuals, and hand him over to the secular arm, because he had incurred the death penalty.[1] In other convents conditions were rather better. In the course of his journey through Styria the visitor went to Tuln; there, six years earlier, Commendone had found eight Dominican nuns, who in spite of their wretched poverty were leading irreproachable lives; Ninguarda only found five still alive, who also gave no cause for blame.[2] The same was true of the Dominican nuns at Mahrenberg in Carinthia, at Graz,[3] and at Studenitz;[4] yet here, as was generally the case with the convents of Austria, there was no strict observance of the enclosure, which the Papal legate now introduced for the first time. The prior of the Augustinians at Fürstenfeld was praised as a man who was alike capable in spiritual and temporal matters[5]. The

Marburg (1), Cilli (3), Pettau (4); the Observant Franciscans at Graz (2), (Lankowitz), (Judenburg); the Augustinians at (Judenburg), Fürstenfeld (2), (Radkersburg), (Güssing); the Carmelites at Voitsberg (2); the Dominican nuns at Graz (14), Studenitz (7); the Poor Clares at Judenburg (8); in Carinthia and Carniola he visited the Dominicans at Freisach (3); the Conventual Franciscans at Villach (1), Wolfsberg (1), Laibach (1), Minkendorf (2); the Augustinians at (Völkermarkt), Hohenmauthen (1); the Dominican nuns at Mahrenberg (4), Michelstetten (5); the Poor Clares at (Sankt Beit), Bischofslaak (8), Minkendorf (8); in Mähren he visited the Dominicans at Znaim (3), Olmütz (2), Brünn (3); the Observant and Conventual Franciscans at Znaim (2), Olmütz (2), Brünn (Observants 5, Conventuals 1); the Augustinians at Tebiz (1), Brünn (4); the Dominican nuns at Olmütz (8), Brünn (2 convents of 8 nuns each); the Poor Clares at Znaim (their convent occupied by 3 Benedictine nuns), Olmütz (3); the sisters of the Third Order at Brünn (6).

[1] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, I., 213. Similiar conditions at Brünn, *ibid.*, 229.

[2] *Ibid.*, 103.

[3] *Ibid.*, 206.

[4] *Ibid.*, 211. "Laudabiliter ac religiose vivunt." Archduke Charles to Gregory XIII. on March 12, 1576, *ibid.*, IV., 117.

[5] *Ibid.*, I., 210.

Franciscan Observants at Lankowitz and Judenburg had a very good reputation, but their fine and well-kept houses were now abandoned, because the religious had been taken to fill up the convent at Innsbruck, but they had been much loved by the people of Lankowitz, while at Judenburg both nobles and prelates bewailed their loss.[1] At Minkerdorf in Carniola he found eight Poor Clares who were still keeping their enclosure with great exactitude, and living in accordance with their rule. The two Franciscan Conventuals in the same place were also in a good state.[2]

In Moravia too some of the Franciscan Observants stood out; at Znaim the guardian of the convent was living with one brother, in accordance with the rule of the Order; but there was a want of harmony between them as well as of the enclosure;[3] in the same way everything was satisfactory with the five Franciscan Observants of Brünn,[4] though here too the enclosure was not observed, and the office had ceased, since all the fathers collected alms outside. Under their direction there were six nuns of the Third Order, who lived "in a praiseworthy and irreproachable way."[5] The same applied to the eight Dominican nuns at Olmütz.[6] On his way to Moravia Ninguarda visited the nuns of his Order near Krems, who observed their rule "not inaccurately."[7] That, in spite of the general decadence, all that was required was the strong hand of a capable man in order to revive the monastic life, was shown in the case of the Benedictine monastery of St. Lamprecht near Friesach. The Benedictines, not being Mendicants, were not subject to Ninguarda's visitation, yet the abbot invited the visitor to come to them, because there were at St. Lamprecht a fugitive Dominican from Landshut, and a Benedictine who had apostatized and

[1] *Ibid.*, 106, 107.
[2] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 214.
[3] *Ibid.*, 224.
[4] *Ibid.*, 228.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 225, *cf.* 89.
[7] *Ibid.*, 222.

afterwards repented, and had taken refuge there. "The abbot,"[1] wrote Ninguarda,[2] "is a man of excellent life, and full of zeal, not only for the Catholic faith, but also for monastic discipline, so that everyone rightly loves and reveres him. Would to God that all the other convents in this country had such superiors, for things would then be far better than they are now. Before his appointment his monastery had practically died out, for it had no monks. But thanks to his zeal, he has not only restored the buildings very well, but, which is much more important, has provided the monastery with many good monks. They now number twenty, including the one who repented, among whom six are already priests, and the others youths. They have a very good name and give much edification; the reason for all this is to be found in the diligence with which the abbot maintains discipline and the monastic enclosure."[3] The convent of the Premonstratensians at Bruck on the Thaya near Znaim also had in Abbot Sebastian Freytag of Czöppern, an excellent abbot and reformer.[4]

In the meantime Ninguarda, who was in request in so many places, and with no one to replace him anywhere, had been frequently warned that he was wanted again in Salzburg.[5]

[1] John Trattner, Abbot, 1562-91; see PIRMIN LINDNER, Monasticon Metropolis Salzburgensis antiquae, Salzburg, 1908, 53.

[2] To Galli on May 5, 1575, SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, IV., 97.

[3] "Tutti danno di sè buonissimo adore et edificazione per la diligenza, qual usa il reverendo abbate in mantener la disciplina et clausura dell' osservanza monastica" (*ibid.*). On April 4, 1581, Archduke Charles recommended this monastery to the support of the Pope, and, at the same time, praised the abbot who "et verbo et exemplo inter omnes harum mearum provinciarum praelatos veluti stella lucet." THEINER, III., 260. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 504.

[4] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 225; V., 183. W. SCHRAM in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Gesch. Mährens und Schlesiens*, III. (1899), 312 *seqq.*

[5] Galli to Ninguarda on May 22, 1574, SCHELLHASS, Akten, II., 246; on January 29 and February 12, 1575, *ibid.*, III., 56, 65. Ninguarda to Delfino on April 8, 1575, *ibid.*, 183. On September 18, 1575, yet another warning, *ibid.*, IV., 103.

As the result of the insistence of the German Congregation,[1] on January 7th, 1576, he received a Papal injunction to let everything else be and to go to Salzburg for the carrying out of the provincial synod.[2] If Ninguarda, wrote the Archbishop of Salzburg,[3] had been with him, no doubt much would have been done, which was still delayed ; if he could return by the middle of Lent, in that case he and the bishops of the province would hold diocesan synods.

Ninguarda left the visitation of some of the Franciscan convents to the Franciscan Observant, Michele Alvarez, who had been appointed by his superiors, visitor of all the monasteries of his Order,[4] and after a visit to the Archduke Charles at Graz, who wished to discuss certain matters with him,[5] he went to Salzburg. When he reached that place on March 20th, 1576, the parish priests and prelates of the whole diocese had assembled for the synod. The decrees of the provincial synod of 1569 and the liturgy were published, and their carrying out ordered, each member being given a copy ; the archdeacons and deans of the district were ordered to do the same in the case of their priests after their return.[6]

Gregory XIII. had sent briefs recommending concerted action against the worst vices of the clergy to the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Archduke Ferdinand and Duke Albert V.[7]

[1] Session of January 4, 1576, SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 112.

[2] Ninguarda to Galli on February 22, 1576, SCHELLHASS, Akten, IV., 106.

[3] On February 8, 1576, *ibid.*, 109.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 231. For particulars about him, *cf.* SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI. (1904), 134-45. See also *infra*, p. 122, n. 4.

[5] The most important question of all was the establishment of the Jesuit College at Graz. The matter was settled by handing over the convent of the Dominican nuns at Studenitz while sparing the Dominican Priory at Neukloster (*ibid.*, I., 220, 230, n. 8 ; IV., 101 *seqq.*). By a Brief of July 10, 1577, Gregory XIII. dissolved Studenitz (*ibid.*, V., 227).

[6] *Ibid.*, I., 234.

[7] *Ibid.*, 234 *seq.* For the result *cf. ibid.*, 234, n. 1 ; 235, n. 1.

At the wish of the Archduke,[1] a meeting was held on January 15th, 1576, at which the archbishop, together with the Bishop of Chiemsee, and the representatives of Freising, Ratisbon, Passau and Brixen, discussed the steps to be taken, and appointed a diocesan synod for March 1576.[2] The last meeting decided upon a limit of three months for ecclesiastical offenders, after which they must expect severe punishment.[3] An agreement with the rulers of the Tyrol and Bavaria made it impossible for them to escape punishment by flying to a neighbouring district.[4] It was inevitable that the synod should once more discuss the usurpations of the secular princes in ecclesiastical matters. It had already been decided at the meeting in January to collect the facts which gave grounds for complaint, for the purpose of making an appeal to Gregory XIII. and asking for his intervention; in order that the secular princes might not be confirmed in their previous line of action it was also decided to ask the Pope not to entrust in future to the secular princes questions which, like concubinage, came under the jurisdiction of the bishops, and not to make any further concessions to the civil authorities without the knowledge of the bishops. By another decision of the January meeting it was their intention to present the same request at the coming Imperial Diet. The synod then concluded by all present promising obedience to the decrees, and making the profession of faith. It was then announced that the archbishop, on the occasion of one of his canonical visitations, would see whether they had been faithful to their promises.[5] By the command of the metropolitan, all the bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg were to hold similar synods in their own dioceses.

[1] In a document written by Ferdinand on October 26, 1575, in SCHELHORN, Ergötzlichkeiten, I., Ulm—Leipzig, 1762, 699 *seq.*

[2] A. v. Arzt in SINMACHER, Beyträge, VII., 607. The Archbishop to Gregory XIII., in GÄRTNER, Salzburgische gelehrte Unterhaltungen, III., Salzburg, 1812, 180 *seqq.*

[3] GÄRTNER, *loc. cit.*

[4] SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 235.

[5] SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, 236, n. 1.

In spite of all these promises and exhortations the representatives of the Holy See did not consider that further insistence would be out of place. When in 1576 Cardinal Morone was at the Diet of Ratisbon as Papal legate, he did not lose the opportunity of repeating, from the mouth of one of the greatest dignitaries of the Church, what had already been said so often. In a letter to the whole of the clergy of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, Cardinal Morone complained, after a courteous introduction, that both from his personal observation and the testimony of others, he found that in spite of all the decrees everything was in its former state, both among the bishops and canons, and the regular and secular clergy. He summed up the principal ordinances of the provincial synod of Salzburg, together with some additions of his own, in 47 points, upon the observance of which he again insisted.[1] The hand of Ninguarda can be clearly recognized in this document. He had accompanied the Archbishop of Salzburg to Ratisbon and had spoken with Morone.[2] Portia too, who was also present at Ratisbon, called the attention of the Cardinal legate in writing to eight points which he should strongly impress upon the Archbishop of Salzburg.[3]

The representatives of Rome were especially and justly dissatisfied with the archbishop in one respect. "It seems necessary," Portia wrote in his eight points,[4] "to insist urgently upon the establishment of a seminary, because the necessity for it is obvious and the suffragan bishops will not move a finger until they see the archbishop make up his mind." A year earlier Delfino had also urged the erection of a seminary, "on which everything depended" with the greatest insistence.[5] The archbishop had excused himself by saying that he wished first to wait for the return of Ninguarda, though Delfino did not attach much weight to

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 123-37.
[2] *Ibid.*, 121, n. 1.
[3] *Ibid.*, 122.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 216, n. 2.

that excuse. For many years past, he wrote to Galli,[1] the archbishop has enjoyed vast revenues, but it is not apparent that he uses even a small part for the good of the Church. With an expenditure of from 2000 to 3000 thalers a year he could maintain a seminary, or, what would be better, a number of students with the Jesuits, and at that cost he could educate so many persons that the whole ecclesiastical province would be supplied with the good and trained priests, who are at present entirely lacking. But Johann Jakob has no sympathy with the Jesuits, and will not make use of them, so that there is reason to fear that he will stop short with mere words or with a nominal seminary. In 1577 negotiations were begun with the Jesuits, and an agreement was drafted for the establishment of a seminary.[2] Ninguarda sent the plan of the building to Rome,[3] but the matter again came to nothing. It was only in 1582 or 1583 that the institution which had been so long projected came into existence.[4] The visitation of the archdiocese, on which Portia also insisted, had been commenced by the archbishop in the neighbourhood of his episcopal city at the end of 1576; visitors were also sent to Styria.[5]

After his great labours Ninguarda felt a desire to be allowed to return to Italy. He sent a letter from Ratisbon to Morone, who had already left,[6] begging him to urge his recall in Rome. The Pope acceded to the request of the man who had worked so hard, and appointed him Bishop of Scala near Amalfi, on February 25th, 1577.[7]

In the middle of April Ninguarda again went to Graz to

[1] On October 21, 1575, *ibid.*

[2] Ninguarda to Galli on February 21, 1577, *ibid.*, IV., 214 *seqq.* Negotiations with the Jesuits of February 26, 1577, *ibid.*, 218-21, *cf.* 223. Hoffäus to Ninguarda on March 10, 1577, *ibid.*, 224.

[3] *Ibid.*, 223, n. 2.

[4] Rieder in Zschokke, Theol. Studien und Anstalten in Österreich, Vienna, 1894, 618. *Cf.* Widmann, 97, 150.

[5] Schellhass, Akten, IV., 222 *seq.*

[6] Of October 11, 1576, *ibid.*, 208.

[7] Galli to Ninguarda on March 2, 1577, *ibid.*, V., 204.

the Archduke Charles, in order to discuss the religious reform of Central Austria, and towards the end of August, 1577, he set out for Italy.[1] He was entrusted with a number of memorials containing plans for reform and complaints to be laid before the Pope[2] by the Archduke Charles and the government of the archduchy, as well as by the bishops of Gurk, Passau, Salzburg and Chur.

However gloomy these documents may be, with their dispassionate enumeration of the gravest abuses, they nevertheless have their bright side. They afford proof of a serious wish for reform, and leave one amazed at the trust of the reformers, who, in spite of all the decadence, never despaired, as well as at the inherent vitality of an organism which set itself triumphantly to overcome such deep-seated maladies. From what these documents reveal the historian can learn the radical causes of the decay of religion, and can see how it was indeed based upon what had so often been insisted upon on the part of the clergy, namely, that the principal cause of the decay was to be found in lay interference in ecclesiastical matters.

As the Bishop of Passau points out,[3] the hands of the bishop were tied by the civil authorities. This was especially the case in the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices, above all in that part of the diocese which was under the rule of Austria. The civil bureaucracy, without the knowledge of the bishop, welcomed heretical preachers, even when they had been driven out of other places, as for example apostate monks, and

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, V., 53, n. 2.

[2] Memorandum of the archducal government on the reform of monasteries and clergy, dated May 10, 1577, *ibid.*, IV., 225; of the bishop of Gurk on the disadvantages of administering the chalice to the laity and on concubinage, *ibid.*, 233 *seqq.*; of the Bishop of Passau on various abuses, *ibid.*, V., 35 *seqq.*; of the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg on the encroachments of the secular power, *ibid.*, 41 *seqq.*, with covering letter and letter of recommendation for Ninguarda, *ibid.*, 50 *seqq.*, 54 *seqq.*; of the Bishop of Chur on September 2, 1577, *ibid.*, 55 *seqq.*

[3] *loc. cit.*

protected them. At Hofkirchen and Wels a crowd of 300 men with arms in their hands had protected their pastor against the commands of the Emperor and the bishop.[1] Where the right of patronage over ecclesiastical benefices was held, the priest who was chosen was placed in possession of his office without the bishop;[2] if he was subsequently rejected by the latter and forbidden to remain in the diocese, the laity maintained and protected him.[3] The cities, the prelates, and the laity had forcibly confiscated certain revenues in Austria, and secretly employed them for their own purposes, so that it was no longer possible to maintain a priest there.[4] Abbots, prelates, provosts, administrators and stewards were appointed and deposed by the civil authorities. There was a custom in Bavaria by which, at the death of an abbot or provost the civil authority prevented a new election, and placed a steward in the place of the deceased. The monasteries in consequence were falling into ruin.[5] Moreover the bishop no longer had any real power to punish ecclesiastics who failed in their duties. If a priest married, the laity defended him; in Austria unmarried priests were not allowed in certain places.[6] If the bishop summoned a lesser prelate or a parish priest before his tribunal, they took refuge with the secular prince. The administrator of the convent at Fürstenzell, who had not appeared when thus summoned, had been excommunicated by the bishop of the diocese. The officials of the Archduke then wrote to the bishop in imperious terms, and under their threats, the excommunication had to be removed.[7] To these things were added usurpations in the administration of Church property,[8] and contempt for the ecclesiastical tribunals. The

[1] *Ibid.*, Memorandum, no. 5.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 13.
[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 14, 15.
[4] *Ibid.*, no. 16.
[5] *Ibid.*, no. 20.
[6] *Ibid.*, no. 9.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 21.
[8] *Ibid.*, nos. 11, 12, 17, 18, 22.

bishop's representatives were ill-treated by the laity, by the heretics, and by the preachers.[1] Government officials summoned matrimonial causes before them, and a divorce could be obtained from a preacher for ten shillings.[2] Not even purely ecclesiastical matters were free from attack; the preachers and states issued professions of faith, and the laity claimed to decide upon the services of the Church.[3] It was partly for this reason that there was cause for complaint of so many abuses in the celebration of divine worship. In many parts of Austria mass was either not celebrated at all or very rarely. Priests consecrated out of mass and absolution was given after a merely general confession; men would have nothing to do with the rites and ceremonial of the Church.[4]

The memorial from Salzburg makes much the same complaints.[5] In this Duke Albert V. is specially complained of because, even in the case of ecclesiastical benefices belonging to Rome, he claims the right of collation of those sent by the Pope[6]. It is especially insisted that the princes prevent ecclesiastical visitations.

But the point which the Salzburg memorial brings out above all others is the interference of the civil authorities in the Church's right of possession. When a priest dies, at once the civil authorities appear on the scene, make an inventory of his property, and decide what is to be done with it. On the death of a prelate, they at once on their own authority appoint an administrator and steward, undertake the administration and appoint a new prelate; sums of money which the dead man has left, pass as "loans" into their own pockets.[7] If a priest is unable to pay his debts the officials call together the creditors and decide what each

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 6.
[2] *Ibid.*, no. 10.
[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 7, 8.
[4] *Ibid.*, nos. 1-4.
[5] *Ibid.*, V., 43-50.
[6] *Ibid.*, no. 17. The duke is not mentioned by name.
[7] *Ibid.*, no. 1.

is to have, while they confiscate the possessions of the poor priest.[1] In addition to the taxes which are common to all, they arbitrarily demand many others from ecclesiastics, and more and more as the years go by. There are also taxes for colleges and seminaries, so that there is nothing left for the bishop's diocesan seminary;[2] moreover, contrary to all right and liberty, in some places they have begun to levy a personal tax upon all ecclesiastical persons of both sexes. Some of the secular princes, without the bishop's knowledge, obtain from the Pope leave to oppress ecclesiastics yet further. Church property is hypothecated and sold by the lesser prelates and parish priests with the consent of the prince alone and without the knowledge of the bishop, even when the needs of the church do not require it.[3] Superiors of Orders, both of men and women, have to pledge their property for the prince, and are in danger of losing it if the prince does not pay.[4] During recent years prelates, chapters and rich priests have had to lend money to the sovereign without any term being fixed for repayment. This is still the case, and if they have nothing to give, they must raise loans and pledge the property of the Church.[5] As the result of these extraordinary expenses monasteries and churches cannot be restored and are falling down.[6]

After Ninguarda had presented in Rome the memorials entrusted to him, he proceeded to make his own observations on the abuses in Germany in a carefully drawn up document,[7] and then summed up the principal points more briefly for the use of the German Congregation.[8]

Ninguarda does not repeat the matters treated of by the

[1] *Ibid.*, no. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, nos. 5, 6. According to one manuscript, by colleges is meant Jesuit colleges.

[3] *Ibid.*, nos. 7-9.

[4] *Ibid.*, no. 10.

[5] *Ibid.*, no. 11.

[6] *Ibid.*, no. 12.

[7] *Ibid.*, V., 177-94.

[8] *Ibid.*, 194-7.

bishops of the province of Salzburg, and especially by the Bishop of Passau, but adds to them some remarks of his own. In the first place he alludes in strong terms to a deep-seated evil in the religious life of Germany, the election capitulations of the bishops, by which the canons sought to tie the hands of the future bishop, so that he should not interfere with them, and their dissolute lives. These capitulations had to be sworn to, and on account of his oath the bishop did not then dare to lift a finger against the canons.[1]

Moreover, on account of the scarcity of priests, many benefices which had no cure of souls attached to them were left vacant; the princes, whether ecclesiastical or secular, whose business it was to confer them, then kept the revenues without concerning themselves about the office for which the benefice had been founded. Some of these benefices which had fallen into unlawful hands might be recovered in Central Austria by means of the Archduke Charles, and at Ratisbon by Duke Albert, and then better employed.[2] Naturally Ninguarda again recommends, as he had so often done before, the annual visitation of the dioceses by their bishops. The Archduke Charles had insisted upon the necessity for this in Central Austria, but it was equally important for the whole of Germany. On the occasion of these canonical visitations the sacrament of confirmation would again be given; at present there were old men who did not even know that there was such a sacrament. The priests with their women and their frequentation of taverns, their disputes and altercations, and their indifference about the care of souls and their sacred functions, made canonical visitations urgently necessary.

After these remarks, the memorial turns to the subject on which the author, more than anyone else, was expected to give his opinion, the reform of the religious Orders. He recommends the regular visitation of the monasteries as an important step. The Archduke Charles had already asked for a special visitor for the very decadent Cistercian

[1] *Ibid.*, 178.
[2] *Ibid.*, 179.

monasteries in his dominions.[1] This should not be an Austrian, but should live there and annually visit his subjects. Ninguarda approved of this plan, which was also well suited for the whole of Germany, besides Central Austria.[2] The Archduke had recommended the bishops as visitors of the Benedictines, but Ninguarda thought it better that the various monasteries should be united into one congregation, which should then nominate its own visitors, as the religious would have a better understanding of their own conditions than the bishops.[3] Among them there were still some whose religious spirit was undiminished, and who were sufficiently filled with zeal, and desired with all their hearts the reform of the monasteries ;[4] this was especially the case with the abbot of St. Lamprecht, who might be entrusted with the difficult task of inaugurating the visitation, with every hope of success, and who was moreover very much in favour with the Archduke, as well as with the Archbishop of Salzburg.

A similar course of action could be adopted in the case of the Canons Regular of St. Augustine. They had many monasteries, especially in the ecclesiastical province of Salzburg, but they were in a very decadent state. Many of them no longer wore the habit of the Order ; in one of the houses there was not a single member, from the highest to the lowest, who had not a woman and children. Not one of them had ever seen the rule of St. Augustine.[5]

Other religious communities already had their visitors, but these were themselves in need of reform. This was the case with the Carthusians, who had in some places for a long time past begun to give up monastic discipline.[6] The same applied to the Premonstratensians of Bohemia and Moravia, whose General, like the General of the Carthusians, lived in France, and thus too far away. The office of visitor

[1] *Ibid.*, IV., 225-33. Details, *ibid.*, V., 39 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, V., 180.
[3] *Ibid.*, 181.
[4] *Ibid.*, 182.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 183.

held by the so-called "abbot of abbots" was handed down in one fixed monastery from abbot to abbot But among other things this "abbot of abbots" was very far from being an ideal religious; he was held in no respect by his subjects, and either omitted the visitations altogether or made them superficially. Such an arrangement could no longer be tolerated, but after the death or removal of a visitor, some capable successor, drawn from any abbey, must be appointed. For the moment the person best fitted for this would be Abbot Sebastian of Bruck, near Znaim, who was a pious and exemplary religious who had reformed his own monastery, and then established two seminaries, one for the religious and one for boys of good birth.[1]

The visitors of all these monasteries must also turn their attention to heretical books, because heresy had found its way among some of the religious by means of such literature.[2]

With regard to the Mendicant Orders, that is the Augustinian Hermits, the Franciscans, the Carmelites and the Dominicans, there were already in Rome detailed reports of the visitation made by Ninguarda; in his memorial, therefore, he only touches briefly upon the more serious evils, such as scandalous life, dispersion of property, unwillingness to wear the religious habit, and friendship with Protestants, under whose protection they seek refuge from their superiors, in order to be able to continue their scandalous life. Even in Catholic districts the secular princes assume unlimited rights over the convents, on the ground that they had been founded by their ancestors. They wait for the death of a superior, and then do not allow a new election, but take possession of the property of the convent, which is allowed to go to ruin.[3] In the case of the nuns the absence of enclosure is especially lamentable; they take part in dances both inside and out of the convents, masquerade at the carnival and go hunting.[4]

Since many houses are reduced to one or two religious, he

[1] *Ibid., cf. supra,* p. 108.
[2] *loc. cit.,* 184.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] *Ibid.,* 189.

had thought of suppressing all the convents in a province and leaving only one, uniting there all the religious of the province, and concentrating all the revenues of the houses suppressed. But against this was the consideration that if the half-ruined buildings of the monasteries left vacant had to be restored, there would be very little revenue left, while the removal of the religious to another place would be harmful to the needs of the laity, as in many places the divine worship at the monastery was the only one which the few still remaining Catholics could attend. Therefore it seemed better to leave the one priest of the Order where he was, and try to provide him with good fellow religious.[1]

Light is thrown upon the state of affairs at the time by the fact that several monasteries could not find any lay-brothers to work in the kitchen, so that they were obliged to have recourse to women. Ninguarda tried to remove the women cooks from the monastery kitchens, but Gregory XIII. decided at length that in places where the enclosure bull of Pius V. had not been published, respectable women of at least 46 years of age might, in cases of necessity, do this work. Ninguarda also obtained permission for respectable and elderly women to enter the monasteries, but only if they were accompanied ; any rule to the contrary had been shown to be impracticable in the case of Germany. During the stay of the Emperor at Prague in 1575 this concession was made use of too freely ; complaints reached Rome, and the entrance of all women into the monasteries was again forbidden in the diocese of Prague. But soon the people of Prague had recourse to Cardinal Morone and Ninguarda during the Diet of Ratisbon ; they felt that the enforcement of the bull was doubly impossible at Prague because the national States held their meetings in the monasteries, and while these were going on it was necessary that all sorts of people should be admitted.[2]

As the principal means for the renewal of monastic life Ninguarda again urged the establishment of seminaries for

[1] SCHELLHASS, Akten, V., 184 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 186 *seq.*

religious, for the training of a vigorous new generation. This matter had been often discussed, and recently in the presence of Cardinal Morone at the Diet of Ratisbon. The Augustinians and Franciscan Observants were thinking of establishing a seminary at Munich; the Dominicans contemplated three, at Bozen, Freiburg and Vienna; the General of the Franciscan Conventuals, a short time before his departure, had chosen Friuli as the place best fitted for the purpose. The carrying out of this useful project would be ensured if the Pope would issue a definite order, and at the same time urge the obtaining of the best possible professors and teachers.[1]

At the suggestion of Ninguarda Portia was instructed to bring pressure to bear upon the Duke of Bavaria for the establishment of a seminary for religious in one of the monasteries of his states,[2] and a brief to the duke[3] was intended to further this project. In the meantime the nuncio opinted out the difficulty,[4] in the then condition of the monasteries of Germany, of finding a sufficient number of suitable professors; at the same time, so great was the dislike of the religious in Germany, that it would be difficult to find a sufficient number of intelligent youths to enter the monasteries. Therefore there must be established in the Catholic universities houses for religious novices, who could attend the university lectures. This had already been attempted with much success at Dillingen, where he had seen more than thirty young religious, drawn from various places, being instructed with great profit in learning and a good manner of life. One of these students already bore the abbot's crozier in a praiseworthy manner.[5] Duke Albert V. agreed with the nuncio[6] that a house of studies for young religious might be established at Munich, or at

[1] *Ibid.*, 188-9.

[2] Galli on October 30, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 255.

[3] In THEINER, I., 250.

[4] To Galli on November 20, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 289.

[5] *Ibid.*

[6] Answer of December 24, 1574, to Portia's memorandum, *ibid.*, 338.

Ingolstadt, at the Jesuit College; the Jesuit schools were every day sending out to the various houses young men who were sufficiently trained in sacred and secular learning.[1]

When, some ten years later, the monasteries had been rescued from their state of decadence, it could be stated as a generally accepted fact that a great part of this change for the better had been effected by the Jesuit colleges. Gretser wrote[2] that they were the sources of supply for the monasteries, and no one could deny that the revival of some of the Orders and the re-population of the empty monasteries had begun with the opening of the Jesuit schools. Elgard too saw in the disappearance of the instruction of the young the reason for the decadence of the monasteries, and that therefore the way to their revival must be sought in the schools, where learning, and still more piety, were taught. Such were the schools of the Jesuits; if many of the religious were opposed to the Jesuits as newcomers, and put difficulties in their way, they were causing their own ruin. He considered that the Mendicant Orders in Bamberg and Franconia would have been destroyed if they had not gradually been reinforced by the pupils of the Jesuits.[3]

The Spaniard, Michele Alvarez, who to some extent carried on the work of Ninguarda in reforming the Orders among the Franciscan Observants of the monastic provinces of Austria, Strasbourg, Bohemia and Hungary, in a memorial of 1579[4] finds little to praise in the monasteries which he visited, but sees salvation from their terrible state of ruin in the formation of a new generation of friars. He thought

[1] *Ibid.*, 338 *seq.* *Cf.* DUHR, I., 500 *seqq.*

[2] "Haereticus vespertilio": Opera omnia, XI., 872.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, 322. *Cf.* DUHR, I., 499-508.

[4] Printed by SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI. (1904), 137-45. For Alvarez' work in Austria, for his dispute with Nas in which both appealed to Gregory XIII., for the Brief of July 19, 1578, which entrusted to the Archduke the duty of warning Nas to be willing to make peace, for the foundation of the Franciscan Province in the Tyrol in 1580 see MAX STRAGANZ in the *Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Gesch. Tirols und Vorarl-*

of summoning capable teachers and professors from Spain.[1] The Premonstratensians in Moravia had established such colleges.[2] The General of the Cistercians, who visited the monasteries of his Order in Bavaria in 1573, on the other hand, thought that the damage could be repaired by sending young religious from Bavaria to the Cistercian monasteries in France to be educated.[3] By the advice of Ninguarda the Augustinians at Munich thought of sending monks to Italy for the same purpose.[4]

If the reform at Salzburg was delayed by the fact that Ninguarda was not, for a long time, to come to the side of Johann Jakob, it was also impeded by the fact his other adviser and mentor, the nuncio Portia, was summoned from the neighbourhood of Salzburg to a new sphere of action, which had a short time before been occupied by the Papal nuncio, Gaspar Gropper, namely Augsburg.

At first, the only thing that was under consideration in the Imperial city of South Germany was the establishment of a Jesuit college, which had been desired by Cardinal Otto, and had for many years been zealously striven for by the patrician families of the Fugger and Ilsung. The adversaries of this project were the Council of Augsburg and the cathedral chapter. Without the consent of the Council no ecclesiastics could acquire any settled property, but the attempt to apply to the purposes of a Jesuit college a piece of land that was already in ecclesiastical hands was again and again shipwrecked by the claims of the cathedral chapter.[5]

In the meantime, at the end of September, 1572, a few months after Gregory XIII. ascended the throne, the provost of the house of the Augustinian Canons of the Holy Cross at Augsburg died, and a new election was delayed because it was difficult to find a possible successor in the utterly

bergs, V. (1908), 303-9; HIRN, I., 250. *Cf.* v. OTTENTHAL in the *Mitteilungen des österr. Hist. Instituts*, XI. (1890), 322 *seqq.*

[1] SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, VI., 141 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 141.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 338.

[4] *Ibid.*, n. 6.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xv-xxviii.

decadent convent. The patricians then thought of suggesting to the bishop, and through him to the Pope, a plan for transferring the five remaining religious of the convent of the Holy Cross to another house of the same Order in Augsburg, and changing the convent of the Holy Cross into a Jesuit college. Cardinal Otto, who was then in Rome, was opposed to this, but the chapter, who thought that he was in favour of the plan, resolved to oppose their bishop, and against this express prohibition caused Anton Beirer, hitherto procurator of the convent, to be elected on January 7th, 1573, as the new provost. After this it was no longer merely a question of the Jesuit college with Cardinal Truchsess, who took up the gauntlet that had been thrown down, and gave orders that the election of Beirer should be declared invalid, and himself fought for the handing over of the convent of the Holy Cross.

A memorial from the Fugger and Ilsung,[1] which was taken to Rome by Nicholas Elgard, who at that time held a canonry at Augsburg, and a petition from Elgard himself,[2] which was supported by Cardinal Otto,[3] laid the matter before the Pope. Gregory XIII. showed himself favourable to the project, but first wished for an assurance that Beirer had not really been canonically elected, and to know whether the disturbances which Cardinal Otto feared from the handing over of the convent were really to be expected.[4] The Fugger and Ilsung definitely replied in the negative to both questions in a further memorial.[5] Commendatory letters from the princes of

[1] Dated November 19, 1572, in THEINER, I., 27-31. The description of the monastery given by the patricians is called mendacious by THEINER (*ibid.* 27), though confirmed by Cardinal Truchsess (SCHWARZ, Gropper, 20, *cf.* 40) and by Portia (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 476).

[2] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 17-19.

[3] *Ibid.*, 19-23.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xxx *seq.* Briefs of March 13, 1573, to the patricians and to the princes providing Elgard with recommendations, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 27-9.

[5] Dated May 30, 1573, in THEINER, I., 88-91. A memorandum of the same date for the German Congregation *ibid.*, 91 *seqq.*; another one, probably from Elgard, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 40.

Bavaria and the Tyrol, as well as from the Emperor himself, rendered a definite decision on the part of the Pope possible, and he handed over the convent of the Holy Cross to the Jesuits.

But before this took place a settlement of the question had become more complicated. On April 2nd, 1573, Cardinal Otto had died in Rome. The cathedral chapter of Augsburg held that during the vacancy in the see it fell to it to confirm Beirer, and it at once proceeded to do so. They drew up an election capitulation for the new bishop which made it impossible for him to hand over the convent of the Holy Cross, and this was sworn to by the new bishop, Johann Egolf von Knöringen on May 22nd, 1573.[1] In Rome, however, where nothing was known of this capitulation, the newly-elected bishop was charged, in a brief of July 15th, to carry out, together with Duke Ernest of Bavaria, the handing over of the convent, and the nuncio Gropper, who reached Germany on July 23rd, had the difficult task of making it possible for the bishop to perform a duty which he had bound himself by oath not to do.[2]

Gropper did not accomplish a great deal during his flying visit to the bishop, but Johann Egolf handed him a copy of the election capitulation, which excited great indignation in Rome.[3] The German Congregation then decided,[4] after long discussion,[5] to have the foundation of the college of Augsburg carried out by the nuncio Portia.

With this decision, Portia found himself faced by a task which soon filled him with disgust. At first the canons tried to avoid making any reply to his remonstances; the nuncio had to wait for months in Augsburg doing nothing, and when at last he received a reply it was clear that the chapter had no intention of doing what was required of them. Neither protests, nor memorials, nor admonitions from the Pope

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 263-74.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxxv. Gropper's instructions of July 19, 1573, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 43 *seq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., xxxvii., xliii.

[4] On March 2, 1574, in Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 86.

[5] *Ibid.*, 81, 82, 84.

and the Emperor, and still less negotiations carried on by Duke Albert V., had any effect. The matter ended with the recall of Portia from Augsburg in May, 1575.[1]

Nevertheless, out of consideration for the bishop, who was seriously ill, Portia put off his departure until September. At the approach of death, Johann Egolf became more and more troubled by the election capitulation to which he had sworn, but for a long time he would not express himself on the subject to the nuncio. It was only a few days before his death, on June 4th, 1575, that he freed himself from the matter that was weighing upon his conscience.

The successor of Johann Egolf was Marquard von Berg, the author of the election capitulation. It now seemed that all hope of the Jesuit college had vanished, yet it was just at this moment that its realization became possible. Contrary to all expectations, the syndic and the Council gave their consent in 1580 to the foundation of the establishment, and within a short time the college which had so long been resisted was set up.[2]

[1] See *infra*, p. 128.

[2] *Agricola*, dec. 4, n. 407-32, p. 214.

CHAPTER IV.

Nunciatures in South West Germany.—State of Religion in Switzerland.

The new task which fell to Portia opened out to him an entirely new sphere of work.[1] Besides the north and south of Germany, the Pope wished for information from his nuncio concerning the state of affairs in south-west Germany and in Switzerland. The first to be chosen for this difficult task was Francesco Sporeno, a Franciscan from Udine, who had, as lecturer in the convent of the Holy Cross at Innsbruck, attracted the attention of the Archduke Ferdinand, had been his representative in Rome since 1573, and since 1575 had been trying to pave the way to the episcopal see of Münster for Andrew, Ferdinand's son.[2] Sporeno seemed to be the very man for those parts of further-Austria which belonged to the Archduke; by his means it would be possible and easy to obtain the powerful help of Ferdinand for the restoration of the ancient religion in the dioceses of the Upper Rhine, the revival of the as yet Catholic university at Freiburg in Breisgau, and the seminaries which had so long been needed for the training of novices for the deserted monasteries of Germany. Since, however, a task which included Switzerland as well as the south-west of Germany seemed to be too great for one man, it was decided that Portia should share it.[3] He and Sporeno were at first to work together at Freiburg and in the territory of Basle, after which Sporeno was to

[1] On May 6, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10 *seqq.*; Reinhardt-Steffens, 60.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xiii. *seqq.*; Hirn, II., 83-5.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10 *seq.*

separate from the nuncio and devote himself to Switzerland.[1]

Another four months passed, however, before the two envoys could set out from Augsburg for their new field of labour. Sporeno was still delayed for several months by the affairs of the Tyrol; he visited the monastery of Georgenberg,[2] and occupied himself with outstanding questions of reform; he especially projected severe measures against the concubines of the clergy; the penalties of whipping and exile, and, in case of relapse, of perpetual imprisonment, were to be employed against them, and, for reasons frequently reiterated,[3] the Tyrol, Bavaria and Salzburg were to act in like manner.[4] It was inevitable that the carrying out of such a project should involve a journey which would take up a great deal of time,[5] as also did the negotiations concerning the succession to the episcopal see of Münster, to which Sporeno had again to devote himself upon his return from Rome.[6] When, at the end of August, his instructions for his new nunciature reached the hands of Portia, he too found himself delayed.

In a letter to Rome,[7] Portia describes the new duties which were assigned to him as impracticable. He was of opinion that not only the professors and rectors, but also the pupils for the projected seminaries were lacking. The Jesuits could not provide them because of the smallness

[1] *Ibid.*, 12. The credentials for Portia and Sporeno to the bishops and chapters, etc., of April 30, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 55 *seqq.*

[2] Archduke Ferdinand to the Pope on July 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 66 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 92, n. 5. Sporeno to Galli on July 6, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 61. *Ibid.*, 63, 65 *seq.*, 69 *seq.*, also in the letters quoted below dated August 6 and 15, October 4, 10, 19, November 2, 1575.

[3] *Cf. supra*, pp. 29, 110.

[4] Portia on August 22, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 155 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 157, n. 4.

[6] Sporeno to the Pope on July 9, 1575, *ibid.* 147, n. 3. Sporeno was in Munich at the beginning of September, 1575, on account of the Münster question, *ibid.*, 186, and n. 1.

[7] Of August 6, 1575, *ibid.*, V., 115-20.

of their own numbers; experience had shown that the introduction of Jesuit schools into the universities led to disturbances, and for this reason the Jesuits had recently left the city of Ingolstadt, and in order to prevent a renewal of the disputes the General had forbidden their return. The state of affairs at Freiburg was even worse than at Ingolstadt, for there the university did not recognize either the Archduke or the Emperor as its superiors, and would not allow a visitation. In the dioceses of the Upper Rhine the state of affairs was very unsatisfactory Thus at Strasbourg only six of the canons were looked upon as Catholics, and they were only allowed to go out in their ecclesiastical dress in the limited space between their houses and the cathedral; they could not appoint any preacher, nor recite the office in choir aloud, nor celebrate mass except with closed doors. When the election of a bishop had to be held at Basle, only three of the canons were stated to be Catholics. The roads through Switzerland were closed on account of the plague, and in Alsace because of the troops of Henry of Condé, who lived on plunder.[1]

Sporeno, who reached Augsburg on August 13th, for the most part confirmed this disturbing account of the nuncio, in the light of his own observation and experience at Innsbruck.[2] Galli replied to the objections of Portia[3] that nothing could be accomplished in this world without difficulties, and that the nuncio must do what he could in order to satisfy the Pope. On October 4th Portia and Sporeno entered Freiburg in Breisgau.[4] Until the time of his departure for the Diet of Ratisbon in June 1576, the city on the Upper Rhine became the centre of Portia's activities.

During the first few months it seemed that he could not by any means leave Freiburg. In order to fulfil his duties as nuncio he intended successively to visit the diocese of

[1] For the insecure conditions in Alsace at the end of 1575, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xlii-l.

[2] Portia on August 15, 1575, *ibid.*, 136.

[3] On September 3, 1575, *ibid.* 164 *seq.*

[4] Portia on October 4, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 198.

Sion, the Abbey of St. Gall, the city of Strasbourg, and the Bishop of Strasbourg, who lived at Zabern. But the abbot and monks of St. Gall had fled because of the plague, and in the other places, as he had already been warned, all the roads were closed.[1] When, on October 15th, Portia sent a first and long report to Rome,[2] he learned that the abbot of St. Gall was at Rorschach; he then set out to find him,[3] but because of the plague he only got as far as Constance,[4] whence he sent to Rome a memorial on the reform of the University of Freiburg.[5] At Constance he met Duke Eric II. of Brunswick,[6] but otherwise the only result of his journey was the visitation of the Cistercian abbey of Salem.[7]

There Portia found things in a fairly good state; besides the abbot, the monastery contained forty-five monks, thirty-seven of whom were priests;[8] it had a good name in the neighbourhood, and the nuncio himself said that nowhere in Germany, generally speaking, had he found a better observance of external monastic discipline.[9] Nevertheless the monks received the Papal envoy with a certain reluctance, and Portia contented himself with pointing out to them certain matters which needed reform, and bestowing upon them general praise.[10]

In the meantime Sporeno had worked together with Portia at Freiburg until the middle of October, and had made the journey to Salem and Constance with him.[11] Immediately

[1] Portia on October 10, 1575, *ibid.*, 202 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 207-14.
[3] Portia on October 19, 1575, *ibid.*, 216 *seq.*
[4] Portia on November 2, 1575, *ibid.*, 254 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 218-25; THEINER, II., 533-5.
[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 226-30.
[7] *Ibid.*, 233-54.
[8] *Ibid.*, 239.
[9] *Ibid.*, 236.
[10] To the abbot and fathers on October 28, 1575, *ibid.*, 244-50, The abbot's reply of October 29, *ibid.*, 251-4. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 26-70, 70-2.
[11] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 200, 210.

on his arrival at Salem the Franciscan received a summons to Innsbruck from the Archduke Ferdinand,[1] and at the beginning of November went once more to Rome as his representative.[2] The Curia still counted upon his going back to Portia[3] but Sporeno remained entirely in the service of the Archduke of the Tyrol. At the end of January, 1576, Ferdinand II. requisitioned his services to accompany his son Andrew on his pilgrimage to Rome.[4] The Pope thereupon dispensed him entirely from his duty as Portia's companion, and appointed him, though reluctantly, titular Bishop of Sebaste.[5]

When Portia returned to Freiburg at the beginning of November, 1575, without Sporeno, he found himself at first, to his great disgust, tied to that city. He complained that there he knew nothing of what was going on in the world ;[6] the letters which he wrote remained on his table, because he could find nobody to take them.[7] He anxiously awaited the time when the way to the various parts of his nunciature should be reopened.[8] At the end of January, 1576, his desire was granted ; he went to Porrentruy to visit the Bishop of Basle, and thence to Besançon, on his way back visiting the Bishop of Strasbourg at Dachstein, and reaching Freiburg once more about February 22nd. A few days later he received orders to set out upon another long journey, this time to the Bishop of Spires. He got there at the end of March, but returned almost immediately to Freiburg. At the end of

[1] Portia on October 23, 1575, *ibid.*, 230.

[2] Portia on November 18, 1575, *ibid.*, 270.

[3] *Ibid.*, xviii *seq.*

[4] On January 20, 1576, *ibid.*, 330.

[5] On Februray 11 (15), 1576, *ibid.*, 330, n. 4 ; THEINER, II., 181.

[6] On November 12, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 258. The same complaint had already been made on October 15, *ibid.*, 211 *seq.*

[7] On January 3, 1576, *ibid.*, 300. A letter from Freiburg to Rome had taken a month to reach its destination so that Portia often thought that his manuscripts had been lost. *Ibid.*, cxiii.

[8] " per non stare inutilmente tra queste mura con noia et crucio d'animo rinchiuso." On January 17, 1576, *ibid.*, 307.

May he was called to quite a new field of labour,[1] so Portia certainly could not complain of want of employment. In addition to Freiburg and the abbey of Salem, he was able to bring his influence to bear in person in the three dioceses of Strasbourg, Basle and Besançon, and by letter from Besançon on the Bishop of Lausanne ; the questions in which he interested himself, whether by way of encouragement or reproof, were by no means unimportant.

In Freiburg itself the nuncio and to some extent his colleague Sporeno, devoted themselves in the first place to the often discussed project of a seminary for young monks, and the reform of the university.

Freiburg might be considered the most suitable place for a monastic seminary ;[2] there was there a Catholic university where the religious who went there could study, and there were also the two almost entirely empty monasteries of Oberried and All Saints, the buildings and revenues of which might with advantage be handed over to the projected establishments.[3] Two colleges were contemplated, one of which was to be used by the novices of the Mendicant Orders, and the other by those of the remaining Orders.

When Sporeno, to whom the question of these seminaries

[1] *Ibid.*, xix-xxii.

[2] In Freiburg most of the religious houses were in a satisfactory or good condition, as for example the convents of the Sisters of Penance and of the Tertiaries, also the convent of Voluntary Poverty and especially that of the Poor Clares. " Also the religious houses for men gave no grounds for complaint, and the blameless conduct of the Augustinians was especially a matter for rejoicing. They carried on a Latin school in their house and made their members diligently attend the colleges of the university. A beautiful library was the pride of the monastery. Another Augustinian monastery, in the town, ' All Saints,' was at this time (of the archiducal visitation) quite empty." HIRN, I., 124. *Ibid.*, 122 *seq.* for the conditions of the religious houses in Upper Austria.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10, n. 1 ; 131, n. 2 ; 133, n. and p. 1. Gregory XIII. to Archduke Ferdinand on April 30, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 59.

was entrusted, was preparing to visit the monastery of the Williamites of Oberried, seven religious were hurriedly admitted to the empty monastery, and the admission of three more was expected. The house therefore was once again full, and therefore safe, and Portia, who had announced his visit, was not admitted at all.[1]

There were better hopes in the case of the monastery of All Saints. The congregation of the Canons of St. Augustine still had three religious in three houses of the Order, one of which was All Saints. The monastery was large, well situated and solidly built, and had a revenue of a thousand florins, which could, in Portia's opinion, be used for the education of candidates for the cloister; part of the house could be given over to the religious who were sent to study at Freiburg by their supporters; they would live at the expense of their monastery, under the care of some learned, pious and prudent man, who could certainly be found in Freiburg. But as a result of the behaviour of the Council of Freiburg, whose discourtesy, perversity and obstinacy were beyond belief, nothing could be accomplished without the Archduke Ferdinand.[2]

The latter declared himself in favour of the project;[3] in Rome it was decided to carry out in the monastery of All Saints, of the two suggested sections of the seminary, only that for the monastic students.[4] A brief of January 20th, 1576, addressed to Portia and Sporeno, gave them authority to take possession of the convent of All Saints;[5] a second,[6]

[1] Portia on October, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 210.

[2] *Ibid.*, 210 *seq.*

[3] Decree of November 5, 1575, *ibid.*, 274 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 311, n. 3. Brief to Ferdinand II. of January 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 184 *seq.*

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 433, n. 3.

[6] Of January 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 185; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 312. According to a decree of the German Congregation dated January 4, 1576, the statutes of the Freiburg College were to be drafted by the Rector of the German College. SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 113.

sent in six copies, giving the address in Freiburg, was to invite six abbots to send their young subjects to make their studies there. But the foundation of the establishment came to nothing owing to the resistance of these abbots ; even before this the Archduke Ferdinand and the Cardinal Bishop of Constance had met with no response each time they put forward similar projects.[1] On this occasion the Cardinal of Constance showed himself but little inclined to the plan.[2] It may also have seemed distasteful to the Canons of St. Augustine, for an attempt was being made to take away from them a monastery at Augsburg, and now a similar attempt was being made at Freiburg. In any case no further steps were taken in Rome in the matter, and Portia was forced to abandon it whether he liked it or not.

Whereas the affairs of the religious seminaries were principally in the hands of Sporeno, the whole matter of the University of Freiburg was entirely in those of Portia. He wished to avoid a real visitation of the university, as being too invidious ; he contented himself with informing himself in secret as to its condition, and then bringing influence to bear upon individual professors in private interviews. What he learned in this way was not reassuring.[3] It was true that lectures in all four faculties were still delivered at Freiburg, as well as in Latin, Greek and Hebrew ; the university was still Catholic, and the professors made the profession of faith on taking office, but as the Protestants of the surrounding districts sent their sons to the Protestant universities of Strasbourg, Basle and Zurich, Freiburg had

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 434.

[2] *Ibid.*, 313.

[3] See Portia's memorandum of October 15, 1575, *ibid.*, 218-25 ; THEINER, II., 533-5. As a matter of fact an archiducal visitation of the university had been held at the end of July, 1575 (HIRN, I., 337). Portia was of opinion therefore (on October 19, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 224) that Gregory XIII. should communicate his wishes with regard to reform to the Archduke so that the latter could impose them on the university in his own name and as coming from his own initiative.

very much declined. In the medical faculty there were more professors than pupils; the total number of students was not more than 250 and of these 80 lived together in college and were maintained in great poverty.[1] Above all, the students of the faculty of law betrayed their poverty in their appearance and dress, and they were guided by no other aim than quickly to accumulate a little practical knowledge, so that they might earn their bread.[2] In the teaching of canon law and theology the attempt was made to get through it as quickly as possible, so that the students received little more than an external smattering of those sciences.[3] Moreover the lectures only lasted at the outside for half an hour, and there were three months' vacation for the higher classes.[4] The dogmatic theology lacked all true scholastic form;[5] the professors were badly paid, were for the most part former students of the university itself, and did not rise above a very ordinary degree of mediocrity; to attract better material from outside would only be possible by considerably increasing the emoluments, while the jealousy of the local professors would have made it impossible for foreigners to come.[6] In consequence of the remarks of Portia, that it would be well to improve the study of scholasticism, or to introduce it on account of the Protestant schools of the neighbourhood, the professors tried to attract a capable man from Louvain, but they were asked for an annual stipend of 600 thalers, whereas at Freiburg an annual payment of 200 scudi was looked upon as something extraordinary. The attempt thus failed, but it was seen from the first that unless there were an improvement in the revenues it would be impossible to assist the university.[7] Various plans for doing this came to nothing; there was a suggestion for handing

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 222.
[2] *Ibid.*, 220.
[3] *Ibid.*, 223.
[4] *Ibid.*, 221.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 222.
[7] Portia on March 14, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 371.

over to it the abandoned monasteries, or of obtaining a large contribution from the many religious houses which still existed.[1] A third solution was put forward, of which the rector and professors of the university declared themselves to be in favour in a memorial to Portia ;[2] it was suggested that each of the greater churches should set aside one benefice for the university. Portia recommended this suggestion of the professors to Cardinal Morone at the Diet of Ratisbon, where he insistently harped upon the importance of the University of Freiburg. It alone provided priests for the dioceses of Constance, Basle and Strasbourg, and it was generally believed that it was due to it that Catholicism had not disappeared in Swabia, on the Lake of Constance, and in the territory of Basle.[3] It appeared to the German Congregation that it would be difficult to put this plan into execution.[4] Nevertheless, at the suggestion of Portia, the rector and the leading professors addressed a memorial to the nuncio,[5] in which they reiterated their request. This petition was lost, and it was only on September 5th, 1577, that Portia, who was at that time nuncio in Cologne, could send a new copy to Rome.[6] In the December of the same year the matter passed outside his jurisdiction ; in Rome it was thought that it would first be necessary to obtain the consent of the Archduke Ferdinand, and Portia realized the impossibility of getting into touch with the Archduke from Cologne.[7]

The efforts made by Portia on behalf of the university as a source of supply of priests and religious, helped towards the religious regeneration of the whole of south-east Germany. At the same time, in his capacity of nuncio, he sought to

[1] See Portia's memorandum of October 19, 1575, *ibid.*, 224.

[2] Of March 5, 1576, in THEINER, II., 185 *seq.*

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 481 *seq.*

[4] Protocol of May 29, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 116.

[5] Of August 8, 1576, in THEINER, II., 186 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 495.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 161. *Cf.* SCHREIBER, II., 138, 308.

[7] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 206, *cf.* V., 520, n. 2.

bring his influence to bear in all the dioceses in the region of Freiburg. In this connexion he first turned his attention to the diocese of Basle.

Portia had already, in a letter to Rome from Augsburg,[1] before he set out for the scene of his new nunciature, spoken of the death of the Bishop of Basle, Melchior von Lichtenfels. He at once received in reply a brief[2] seriously calling the attention of the canons of Basle to their duties with regard to the forthcoming election. Bearing a letter from the Archduke Ferdinand, Sporeno, or the nuncio himself, if he were not detained by the election of the Bishop of Augsburg, was to go there, in order to prevent the nomination of an unsuitable man.[3]

As had happened before, after the death of the Bishop of Würzburg,[4] so now the pontifical brief came too late.[5] But, as had been the case at Würzburg, this time too the votes fell upon the most worthy candidate,[6] Jakob Christopher Blarer von Wartensee, hitherto canon of Basle and Constance, whose family had, during the period of the religious changes, given more than one distinguished man to the Church.[7]

[1] Of June 12, 1575, *ibid.*, V., 40.

[2] Of July 2, 1575, *ibid.*, 60, n. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 60.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 60 *seq.*

[4] See *supra*, p. 82.

[5] Portia reports the completion of the election on the 11th, the arrival of the brief on the 18th of July; see REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 62; Sporeno to Galli concerning the election on July 19, *ibid.*

[6] On June 22, 1575, Sporeno *loc. cit.*, 63. *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx.

[7] Gerwick Blarer, Abbot of Weingarten 1520-67, according to Truchsess, "a pillar and support of religion"; Abbot Diethelm Blarer, 1530-64, the "Third Founder of St. Gall"; Abbot Louis Blarer of Einsiedeln, 1526-44 (*Freib. Kirchenlex.* (2), II., 902, V., 62, XII., 1267). According to STÄLIN (VI., 758) Abbot Gerwick was "together with Otto Truchsess the most active promoter of the counter-reformation in Swabia"; according to MEYER VON KNONAU (*Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, VI. [3], 351) Abbot Diethelm was "one of the most distinguished representa-

When three months later Portia went to Freiburg, Blarer was not yet appointed bishop, because the Papal approbation had not yet arrived, and it became the first duty of the nuncio to obtain it.[1]

A memorial to the German Congregation in 1573 points it out as a serious drawback that the approbation of German dignitaries was often so long delayed in Rome.[2] The case of Blarer shows that the blame did not always lay with the Curia. A few days after his election[3] he had sent a petition for its confirmation, while at the same time he asked that he might receive priest's orders outside the usual time and receive episcopal consecration from a single bishop assisted by two abbots, and also retain his two canonries; there was also a request for the reduction of the annates on account of his poverty. But it was August before this petition, together with the acta of the election, reached Constance where an agent was to recommend it to the Cardinal bishop of that place, Mark Sittich von Hohenems. In the middle of September it came back in its entirety to Blarer, who, probably in an altered form, once more sent it to his agent, only to receive a definite reply at the beginning of October that the Cardinal was ill, and could not attend to business.[4]

Portia and Sporeno, who reached Freiburg soon after this, expressed themselves as much surprised at the delay. Blarer, so Portia said to the auxiliary bishop of Basle, had everywhere the highest reputation for piety and learning, even with the Pope. He would willingly take the matter up, and a reply

tives of the restored Catholicism in Switzerland." However, the heretical reformer, Ambrose Blarer, was also a member of the same family. For particulars about him *cf. Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II., (2), 902; *Allgem. Deutsche Biogr.*, II., 691.

[1] Memorandum of the suffragan of Basle, Mark Tegginger, on October 12, 1575. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx, n. 1.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 46. See *supra*, p. 38.

[3] On June 30, 1575.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 288, n. 2. Portia to Galli on December 13, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 77.

might be obtained from Rome within a month.[1] As far as the poverty of the sadly reduced diocese of Basle was concerned, both the nuncio and the Curia promised every facility.[2] Naturally, Gregory XIII. pointed out that it was not right that the officials in Rome should entirely forego their accustomed fees, and the diocese of Basle could still afford to pay something.[3] At his visit to Porrentruy Portia offered to pay the expenses of the confirmation in Rome out of his own funds, and Blarer could repay him in Germany.[4]

Before all these negotiations between the bishop and Portia,[5] and Portia and Rome were completed, several further months elapsed. It was the end of December when the nuncio sent to Rome the request of the bishop-elect for confirmation, and the reduction of the annates, at the same time recommending that account should be taken of his desire to retain, of the two benefices which he held, at anyrate that at Constance.[6] The profession of faith of the new bishop, the careful inquiries into his previous behaviour and his moral conduct, together with the instrument of election, could only be sent on March 14th.[7]

On April 5th the documents were in Rome ;[8] on the 11th of the same month the confirmation of Blarer was proposed

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxx.

[2] Portia on December 26, 1575, *ibid.*, 294 and lxxvi. An auditor of Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo was Blarer's representative in Rome. *Ibid.*, 319, n.

[3] Galli on January 11, 1576, *ibid.*, 318.

[4] *Ibid.*, 339, n. 2.

[5] They were carried through in Portia's name by Tegginger, suffragan of Basle, in December, 1575 (*ibid.*, lxxiv, n. 3). Tegginger disguised himself and, carefully avoiding the main roads, crept into Basle in order to ordain Blarer to the priesthood. Portia to Galli on December 13, 1575, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 78.

[6] Portia on December 26, 1575 ; also on March 14, 1576 ; *ibid.*, 295, 370 ; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 78, 93. *Ibid.*, 98 *seq.*, also Portia's letters to Blarer of May 30 and June 4, 1576.

[7] Portia on March 14, 1576 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 369 *seq.*

[8] *Ibid.*, 451, n. 5.

by Ludovico Madruzzo and granted on May 4th.[1] A Papal brief[2] allowed the bishop-elect to take possession of his diocese before the bulls were sent, and the annates were reduced to one third.[3] With regard to Blarer's desire to retain the benefice which he held at Constance, out of consideration for the Cardinal of Constance, nothing was definitely decided.[4] Blarer received through both Portia and Morone the authority to be consecrated by one bishop assisted by two abbots.[5]

On the occasion of his visit to Porrentruy at the end of January, 1576, Portia, on account of the good qualities of Blarer, made an exception to the usual custom of Rome of not treating with bishops who were not yet consecrated concerning the affairs of the pastoral office. He strongly urged upon him the reform decrees which he was insisting upon everywhere: synods, frequent canonical visitations, care in conferring sacred orders and the appointment of parish priests, and examination and concursus of parish priests, and above all the establishment of a seminary, as there was not a single school in the whole diocese, so that even the Catholics sent their sons to Protestant teachers in Basle. The bishop-elect listened with attention and promised to carry out his pastoral ministry in person. He pointed out that in some of the matters touched upon by the nuncio the work had already been begun, but that there were very great and real difficulties in the diocese; the poverty of the diocese was a special hindrance to the establishment of a seminary, and it would be impossible to find a way out of the

[1] *Ibid.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXV., 103, 106.

[2] Of March 12, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 97.

[3] SANTORI, *loc. cit.*

[4] Consultation on the subject on May 4, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 451, n. 5. Portia felt this rebuff very keenly (to Blarer on May 30, 1576, *ibid.*, 451). For Blarer's canonry in Basle, *ibid.*, lxxxii.

[5] *Ibid.*, lxxix. Portia to Galli on September 29, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 102. Gregory XIII. to Blarer on November 6, 1576, *ibid.*, 103.

difficulty unless the Pope would grant him the revenues of the abandoned monasteries.[1]

Portia formed a favourable impression as to the personality of Blarer, who was scarcely thirty-three ; he led a life that was truly ecclesiastical, loved study, was filled with the love of his neighbour and with piety, was convinced of the importance of the episcopal office and often said mass.[2] Blarer has " the capacity, the scientific culture, and the independence of spirit to accomplish great things."[3]

As bishop, Jakob Christopher Blarer became indeed the restorer of the diocese of Basle.[4] He insistently asked Charles Borromeo for his synodal constitutions ;[5] in 1581 he held a synod at Delsberg, inviting Peter Canisius,[6] laboured for the establishment of a Jesuit college at Porrentruy, which, after great difficulties, came into existence in 1591 ;[7] he was zealous in the visitation of his diocese, and admitted no one to the care of souls without a favourable report from the examiners.[8] It was especially by means of the college at Porrentruy that he succeeded in regenerating his clergy ; he himself paid the expenses of the education of poor youths.[9] Jakob Christopher only reaped the fruits of his labours and sacrifices under the

[1] Portia on February 14, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 86-91 ; Credentials for Portia to Blarer on November 12, 1576, *ibid.*, 72. A brief of March 22, 1578 (WIRZ, 409) once more warns the bishop of his duty with regard to good priests, visitations and seminary.

[2] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 90 *seq.*

[3] On February 27, 1576, *ibid.*, 92. Also on February 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 83.

[4] " One of the most remarkable clerics to appear at that time, an energetic and unfailing representative of the counter-reformation " (DIERAURER, III., 352). *Cf.*, his reports to Rome in SCHMIDLIN, III., 68-76, and FIALA in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.[2] 902-6.

[5] FIALA, *loc. cit.*, 903.

[6] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*, 69.

[7] SCHMIDLIN, III., 70. DUHR, I., 222-6.

[8] SCHMIDLIN, *loc. cit.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 73.

successors of Gregory XIII.; when in 1602 he carried out a solemn visitation by means of the auxiliary bishop, Franz Bär, together with the vicar-general and a Jesuit, the people everywhere flocked to the sermons and catechism, which was held twice a day by the Jesuits, willingly threw open the churches and gave every sign of their submission.[1]

A short time after Blarer had taken possession of his diocese his Protestant subjects demanded the free exercise of their religion. The bishop's desire and efforts, on the contrary, was to rule over none but Catholics. He won back the Sissgau, where the new doctrines had already taken too deep root, to the city of Basle. In order the better to cope with the Protestants in the other parts of his territory, on September 28th, 1579, he concluded a treaty at Lucerne with the Catholic cantons of Switzerland, which was solemnly sworn to at Porrentruy on January 13th, 1580. The cantons bound themselves to support the bishop in bringing back his heretical subjects to the true Christian religion, and their obedience to their lawful superior, but refused to make use of any force without their own consent. Uri, which at first had had no share in this treaty, was advised by Gregory XIII. to adhere to it,[2] and later on the Pope praised the bishop for this alliance.[3] Blarer himself preached to the Protestants in the districts of Birseck and Laufen. A short time before the death of Gregory XIII. a decision by arbitration assured to the Catholics as well as the Protestants in both these districts the free exercise of their religion, and forbade any use of force. It was only after the death of Gregory that greater results were obtained.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 72. For particulars of the auxiliary bishop, Bär 1550-1611) see GFRÖRER in the *Zeitschrift für die Gesch. des Oberrheins*, N.F., VXIII. (1903), 86-103.

[2] On November 22, 1579, WIRZ, 415.

[3] On May 10, 1580, *ibid.*, 420.

[4] FIALA in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*[2], II.[1] 903 *seq.*; DIERAUER, III., 355; DUHR, I., 476. *Cf.* CONSTANTINE SCHMIDLIN, Das Jahrhundert der politisch-religiösen Umwälzungen in den deutschen Vogteien des ehemaligen Fürstentums Basel 1502-1608 (special

Jakob Christopher, in taking possession of his office, so states the encomium on his epitaph, had found his diocese oppressed by error and sin, but owing to his prudence and firmness it had been saved.[1] Portia therefore had been right in the estimate which he had formed of Blarer from the time of his first meeting him in 1576, and that his intervention on his behalf had not been wasted. His exhortations to the other bishops whom he spoke with during the course of the same year were not altogether in vain. After his visit to Blarer at Porrentruy, Portia had gone to Besançon, and on his way back had met Johann von Manderscheid,[2] Bishop of Strasbourg, at Dachstein, where the bishop had built himself a splendid residence. For the most part Johann lived at Zabern; Strasbourg was closed to him, and Portia himself thought that his life would be in danger should he go there.[3]

In that city, which was entirely Protestant, Catholic worship was still tolerated, though with closed doors, only in two or three convents of nuns until their death.[4] Of the twenty-four canons six or eight still remained at Strasbourg,[5] the rest only passing some six weeks in the city every year, so as to receive the rich revenues of their office.[6] The cathedral chapter of Strasbourg was composed entirely of the sons of princes, counts, and barons, and was looked upon as the most distinguished in Germany; at the time of Portia's visit it included the sons of the Dukes of Saxony-Lauenberg, Cleves and Holstein. The canons were entirely secularized,

reprint from the *Geschichtsblättern*, IV.), Laufen, 1908-10, part II., and also TROXLER in the *Zeitschrift für schwiezerische Kirchengeschichte*, VI., 63 *seq.* Troxler is preparing a work on Blarer.

[1] SCHMIDLIN, III., 69, n. See also *infra*, p. 174.

[2] K. HAHN, Die kirchlichen Reformbestrebungen des Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderscheid 1569-92, Strassburg, 1913.

[3] Portia on February 23, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 354.

[4] *Ibid.*, 351.

[5] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 354.

[6] Gropper on November 5, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 436.

and wore the dress of secular nobles; new members were admitted at will, and with only the sanction of the provost. Portia would very gladly have seen the making of the profession of faith made a condition for admission, but the bishop did not dare to lay any such proposal before such important nobles.[1]

Johann von Manderscheid received from his contemporaries the character of a good life, and of love for the Church;[2] to the nunico he appeared to be very courteous, restrained, prudent, hard-working and intelligent, but too covetous of honours.[3] Portia recommended to the bishop the seminary, visitations and a synod; Johann Manderschied showed his good will in these respects but emphatically pointed out the difficulties of his position. No diocese in Germany had fallen so low as his, and none moreover was richer in privileges and liberties, but now it was plunged in licentiousness. In spite of long reflection, he had been able to find no means of raising his clergy, as to whose lack of culture and morals he expressed himself in much the same way as did public opinion.[4]

The auxiliary bishop, Johann Delphius,[5] pointed out, on the following day, that professors were lacking for a seminary; Portia might be able to come to their assistance in this respect. The scarcity of priests militated against any strong stand against concubinage; the priests who were expelled would be received with open arms by the Protestants, and could

[1] Portia on February 23, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 340.

[2] See DUHR, I., 134 *seq.* The Papal confirmation, which was also asked for by Cardinal Otto Truchsess (*cf.* his *letter to Manderscheid of July 2, 1569, with an autograph postscript, *Strassburger Bezirksarchiv*) was not granted to the bishop until June 26, 1573. SCHWARZ, Gropper, 39.

[3] Portia on February 23, 1576, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 346. *Cf.* HAHN, Die kirchenlichen Reformbestrebungen des Strassburger Bischofs Johann von Manderschcid, 53.

[5] For particulars of him see POSTINA in the *Festgabe für Hermann Grauert*, Freiburg, 1910.

not be replaced. To fill the parishes only by means of a concursus was equally impossible because of the want of priests, and because their appointment was in the hands of lay patrons.[1] As to the point that at that time it was impossible to obtain equality of rights for Catholics and Protestants in the city of Strasbourg, it would seem that Portia found himself in agreement with the account given by the auxiliary bishop. It was moreover of no use to count upon the extreme step of Imperial intervention, because no attention was any longer paid there to the commands of the Emperor.[2] With all the greater insistence did the nuncio urge the bishop to resist the spread of the new religion at anyrate in the territory where he had civil authority, and Johann promised this with great firmness. In Schlettstadt, which was seriously threatened, he had, in the course of his journey obtained from the council the promise to remain true to the old faith. He had introduced a good preacher at Oberehnheim, and wished to do the same at Schlettstadt; there was moreover a good parish priest there, who was much revered by the older councillors. The fate of both these cities depended upon the way in which religious events turned out at Colmar. The promulgation of the Council of Trent had proved to be impossible even under his predecessor.[3]

The Archduke Ferdinand had already exhorted the bishop to visit his diocese in 1570 and again in 1573,[4] but on both occasions without result, although a Papal brief had placed all the necessary faculties at his disposal.[5] Johann von Manderscheid contented himself with obtaining information as to the conditions in his diocese, and especially the state

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 347-50.

[2] *Ibid.*, 351.

[3] *Ibid.*, 352 *seq.*

[4] K. HAHN in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXVI. (1911), 206 *seq.*, 208 *seq.* Under date February 18, 1578, Ferdinand asked the Pope to found seminaries in Constance, Basle and Besançon. THEINER, II., 367.

[5] On March 30, 1574, in HAHN, *loc. cit.*, 211, n. 5.

of the clergy, by means of his assistant.[1] Portia now pointed out to him that such measures were not sufficient, that he ought rather to appoint true and real visitors, who would strive to correct, not only the faults of the clergy, but also the errors, abuses and immorality of the laity, and demand an account of the state of the churches, the ecclesiastical furniture and the celebration of the sacred functions. Portia's advice bore fruit:[2] after 1576 there was great activity in the matter of canonical visitations,[3] which continued after the death of Gregory XIII. Sixtus V. gave the bishop authority to visit all the ecclesiastical institutions in his diocese.[4]

On May 22nd, 1578, Gregory XIII. had already asked for information as to what steps had been taken so far for the establishment of a seminary.[5] As the bishop told Portia, he would gladly have invited the Jesuits to direct the institute, but feared the disturbances to which such a step might give rise.[6] It would seem that in this matter as well the nuncio succeeded in giving him courage. On the strength of this the bishop, in the very year following his visitation, wrote to the Pope[7] that he was thinking of establishing a Jesuit school, and of equipping it with the revenues of the deserted monasteries. In 1580 the college was opened at Molsheim;[8] a Papal brief confirmed the new establishment.[9]

[1] *Ibid.*, 207. *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 347.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348.

[3] *Cf.* HAHN *loc. cit.*, 204-49, 501-43, 573-98.

[4] On April 30, 1588, *ibid.*, 220.

[5] HAHN, *loc. cit.*, 271.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 349.

[7] On April 20, 1577, in THEINER, II., 297.

[8] DUHR, I., 133-6. N. PAULUS in the *Revue cath. d'Alsace*, 1887, 175 *seqq.*, *cf. ibid.*, 1867, 1869, 1875. HAHN, *loc. cit.*, XXV. (1910), 246-94. Owing to pressure of work, the Jesuits had refused, at first, to undertake the college, and had advised the bishop to apply to other Orders, "non enim Deus Societatis tantum Deus est, sed etiam aliorum." HAHN, *loc. cit.*, 270.

[9] Of April 27, 1584, HANN, *loc. cit.*, 277. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 41, 252.

If, at the beginning of his government, opinions were rightly divided about Bishop von Manderscheid, who was the son of a Protestant mother,[1] after the foundation of the Jesuit college, his ecclesiastical conduct continued to gain in zeal and firmness. In consequence of the remarks of the rector of the Jesuits, Ernfelder, he had himself ordained a priest.[2] The schools at Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Benfeld and Zabern were reformed on the model of that at Molsheim.[3] The bishop gladly seconded the efforts of the Jesuits for the instruction of the children and the common folk by means of the catechism.[4] A circular from the bishop to the chapters of the territory enjoined[5] that there should be hung up in all the churches a printed notice containing the principal points of the Catholic faith, and that this should be read aloud after the sermon. In those places where the bishop was also the civil prince, by the advice of Portia he took proceedings against the Protestants: henceforth only Catholics were to be recognized as citizens, and those who did not fulfil their religious duties were to be driven out.[6] The reform of the clergy, after the canonical visitation, began to make progress, so much so that in the city of Strasbourg itself Catholic life began to revive.[7]

Among the lower clergy of Alsace one who especially distinguished himself was Johann Rasser, who was first parish priest at Colmar and afterwards at Ensisheim.[8] A report to the Archduke[9] praises him in that not only "at

[1] M. Lossen in the *Abhandlungen der bayr. akad. der Wissenschaften*, 1889, 754, n. 18.

[2] Hahn, *loc. cit.*, 280.

[3] *Ibid.*, 282.

[4] Duhr, I., 459.

[5] Of September 20, 1582; Hahn, *loc. cit.*, 284.

[6] Hahn in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschchichte des Oberrheins*, N.F. XXV., 285.

[7] *Ibid.*, 291.

[8] Gfrörer in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F., X. (1895), 514 to 519. *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXVII., 332 (especially for his poetical and literary activities).

[9] From Landvogt George von Thurn, 1580; Gfrörer, *loc. cit.*, 515. Hirn, I., 270.

the altar, or in the pulpit, but also in the choir and the school, he served God and His Highness the prince so faithfully and well that such zeal and diligence, united to such keenness and unwearied labour had never yet been seen in anyone"; "the whole of his conduct and character gave occasion for no complaint." Rasser was the true founder of the academy of Ensisheim; he increased from his own property, and the annual revenues of his parish, the limited income received from the deserted monasteries. Worn out with years and feeble health in 1584 he thought of handing over the school to the Jesuits. It was only in 1614 that this project was carried out; in the negotiations carried on in 1584 with the Jesuit, Ferdinand Alber, the latter marvelled at Rasser's "sincerity, purity, rectitude and zeal for souls"; owing to his labours the people of Ensisheim became good Catholics.[1]

Rasser was also the principal adviser of the Austrian government in his district in ecclesiastical matters, and in the canonical visitations he repeatedly acted as its representative.[2] But his mixing himself up with the civil authorities had certain evil consequences; Bishop Blarer wrote once concerning the Archduke's exhortations for the carrying out of the Tridentine decrees,[3] that it was just as "as though a man had been given a good sword and had had his hands tied behind his back, and was then scolded and severely beaten."

Thanks to its parish priest Rasser, the Imperial free city of Colmar, which was ecclesiastically dependent upon Basle, had for a long time resisted the religious changes. But in May, 1575, despite the religious peace, two Protestant pastors had been forcibly introduced.[4] There soon followed a prohibition on the part of the council against people sending their sons to the school of the canons of St. Martin, against the use of the large bells and the organ in that church, as

[1] Duhr, II., 1, 271.
[2] Gfrörer, *loc. cit.*, 514.
[3] *Ibid.*, 504. Schmidlin, III., 76.
[4] Portia on June 12, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 40.

well as a prohibition to the Dominicans to preach.[1] There was also a danger lest the neighbouring cities of Schlettstadt, Oberehnheim, Türkheim and Kaisersberg should follow the example of Colmar. Portia at once had recourse from Augsburg to the nuncio in Vienna in order to obtain the intervention of the Emperor, as the Archduke Ferdinand had no power to intervene in the free cities of the Empire.[2] But no definite step was to be expected from the Emperor Maximilian II.,[3] even though Gregory XIII. had recourse to him in an autograph letter[4] on behalf of Colmar, and though later on the Curia did all in its power to save the Catholic religion in that city of the Empire.[5] Immediately after the arrival of the nuncio Portia at Freiburg the prior of the Dominicans at Colmar informed him that the Catholic religion there was bound to perish.[6] In 1586 the council of Colmar was entirely Protestant.[7]

More cautious, perhaps, than Johann von Manderschied, in his early days, was his colleague Markward von Hattstein (1560-1581) in the diocese of Spires. The principal city of the diocese had turned to Protestantism in 1540, and only the numerous clergy, the officials of the Imperial tribunal, and less than thirty citizens still adhered to the old faith, but the Council, which was very much opposed to Catholicism, in violation of the religious peace, forbade men to assist at Catholic sermons.[8] Moreover the city of Spires was surrounded by the territories of the Counts Palatine, who were zealous reformers; some parts of the diocese were surrounded by

[1] See Portia's report to Morone, 1576, *ibid.*, 304, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 40 *seq.*; HIRN, I., 203 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxii-lxvii.

[4] Of December 10, 1575; *ibid.*, 214, n. 1. The Pope also addressed himself to the Archduke Ferdinand on February 25, 1576; THEINER, II., 181.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., lxv.

[6] Portia on October 15, 1575; *ibid.*, 209.

[7] SCHMIDLIN, III., 67. F. LERSE: Geschichte der Reformation der ehemaligen Reichstadt Colmar, Mülhausen, 1856, 9.

[8] Portia on April 4, 1576; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 399.

the possessions of the Protestant Dukes of Wurtemberg, and the Margrave of Baden-Durlach. In some villages the bishop and the Count Palatine exercised their jurisdiction jointly.[1] The cathedral chapter of Spires was still Catholic, and the scholastic, Andreas von Oberstein, dean of the cathedral since 1586, was further "a man who enjoyed the highest reputation throughout Germany on account of his rare piety and sanctity, and his truly religious conduct, and who kept the canons obedient to their duties and under strict discipline."[2] According to Portia, too,[3] Oberstein was one of the most pious and deserving ecclesiastics in all Germany, as all bore witness, and as was specially recognized by the fathers of the Society of Jesus, since it was to him they owed their residence in that city and all that they possessed there, for it had been Oberstein who, in 1567, had been successful in bringing about the establishment of the Jesuit college at Spires.[4]

The attention of Portia had been drawn to Spires since 1573. The Calvinist Count Palatine, Frederick III., at that time was seeking from the Council the expulsion of the Jesuits from Spires, and had already gone so far as to cut off from the city the supply of wood and victuals. The bishop allowed himself to be intimidated, but not so the chapter.[5] The Jesuits had recourse through Portia to Gregory XIII., and the latter asked, through the nuncio at Vienna, for a letter from the Emperor to the Council of Spires, which for the time being settled the dispute.[6]

[1] SCHMIDLIN, III., 87 *seqq.*

[2] Minucci, 1588, *ibid.*, 90, according to STEINHUBER, Germanicum, I., 236.

[3] On July 30, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 147. Oberstein stayed with the Jesuits for three weeks making the Spiritual Exercises, after which he thought of becoming a Carthusian. DUHR, I., 543.

[4] *Ibid.*, 115. *Cf.* REMLING, Bischöfe, II., 375 *seq.*

[5] Portia on December 9, 1573 and January 6, 1574; *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266, 305.

[6] Galli on January 23, 1574; *ibid.*, 322; *cf.* 335, n. 4; 336, n. 21.

But in the following year it broke out afresh. As was always the case every fifteen years, on June 24th, 1575, there was a renewal of the terms of the contract existing, on the basis of the convention of 1420, between the council and the clergy of the city. On this occasion the council protested because this contract did not include "the sneaking Jesuits of Spires, who had been secretly introduced in these days."[1] Portia at once had recourse to the Emperor through the nuncio at Vienna, as well as to the Pope and Duke Albert V.[2] But the Bishop of Spires had already anticipated him. On July 20th, 1575, a letter from the Emperor arrived from Prague which again saved the Jesuits.[3] The briefs of Gregory XIII. to the chapter and the bishop[4] were no longer necessary when they came; but the hatred of the Council of Spires was not extinguished, and they forbade the citizens to harbour the pupils of the Jesuits.[5]

When the bishop sent to the nuncio his reply to the papal brief,[6] so that he might forward it, he subjoined two requests to it. He desired that the property of the church of Our Lady of Landau, which was falling down and was neglected by unworthy priests, might be given to the parochial church of St. Nazarius at Udenheim, so that it might not fall into the hands of the Protestants,[7] and also that the almost extinct convent of the Franciscans at Spires might be used for a seminary.[8] These suggestions gave the nuncio an opportunity of going in person to Spires. With regard to the convent of the Franciscans he pronounced in favour of the bishop's

[1] Portia on July 9, 1575; *ibid.*, V., 74. Extract from the Protestation, *ibid.*, 159, n. 2.

[2] *Ibid.*, 74-6.

[3] Portia on August 29, 1575; *ibid.*, 162, n. 4. DUHR, I., 119.

[4] Of July 30, 1575, in THEINER, II., 51 *seq.*, 52.

[5] DUHR, I., 119.

[6] Of September 6, 1575, in THEINER, II., 53. *Ibid.*, 52 *seq.* the reply of the Chapter on September 5.

[7] *Ibid.*, 53 *seq.* *Cf.* Portia on September 12, 1575; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 182.

[8] Portia on February 4, 1576; *ibid.*, 319.

wishes,[1] but he thought that the church of Landau, as the last remains of Catholicism, ought to be left to that city.[2] The German Congregation approved of these decisions.[3]

Before Portia came to these decisions he had met with several surprises at Spires. Immediately after his arrival, the suffragan, Fabricius, and the vicar-general, Beat Moses, informed him that the news of the arrival of a Papal legate would throw the whole city into an uproar, and that the nuncio must therefore either remain hidden at Spires, or chose the neighbouring Udenheim for his residence. Portia could not devote much time to the question and decided on the latter alternative. At Udenheim he at once received further news that the bishop was ill and unable personally to visit the nuncio.[4] Actually during the whole of his stay Portia was able to keep in touch with that timid man, either in writing or by means of Michael, the rector of the Jesuits.

In the meantime the nuncio took the opportunity of getting information as to the state of affairs at Spires. He learned that the bishop was looked upon as a member of the supreme tribunal, but in no way as the head of the diocese; he did not dare to mention the Council of Trent or reform.[5] Some even doubted his staunchness in the faith, as he was in constant relations with the Count Palatine and with John Casimir; both these had publicly stated that the diocese would be at peace so long as Bishop Markward lived, and that later on they would know what to do. The suspicions against his faith were removed when Markward in the most definite way declared that he had always been a sincere Catholic and wished always to remain so; he was cut to the heart to think that such suspicions were entertained about him; his only reason for keeping on good terms with the Count

[1] *Ibid.*, 401.

[2] *Ibid.*, 403. *Cf.* Portia to Bishop Markward on March 27, 1576; *ibid.*, 413-7; THEINER, II., 188.

[3] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 115.

[4] Portia on March 27, 1576; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 396 *seq.*

[5] Portia on April 4, 1576; *ibid.*, 400. Moreover see REMLING, Bischöfe, II., 370, 374.

Palatine was that Spires might not be destroyed as had already happened in the case of the diocese of Worms, which had been practically reduced to nothing.[1] Portia found the secular clergy of Spires better than elsewhere, a thing which was to be attributed to the zeal of the pious and prudent dean.[2] On the other hand the regular clergy were in a bad state.

In the convent of the Dominicans there was only one religious, who had recently been in prison; he belonged to a special congregation consisting of three houses with ten depraved religious. The nuncio suggested to Rome that this congregation should be suppressed.[3] The supreme authorities of the Order, moreover, had for a long time been working to that end, and Portia himself had been engaged upon the matter at Freiburg.[4] The profound decadence of the convent of the Friars Preachers had led to the Council of Spires causing Protestant pastors to preach in the church of that Order as well as in that of the Augustinians.[5]

Otherwise, that part of the diocese of Spires which lay in Wurtemberg and the Palatinate might be said to have been lost to Catholicism. A third part remained, but there the clergy were in a bad state; some of the priests had attempted to marry openly. Among the laity the Anabaptists had a strong following. At the instance of the chapter the bishop promised to make a visitation, but afterwards excused himself on the score of his duties as president of the supreme tribunal, and the disturbances caused by the war.[6]

In the diocese of Constance Portia thought it unnecessary to interfere, or to do more than make some inquiries into

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 409 *seq.* *Cf.* his letter to Portia of April 5, 1576; *ibid.*, 420.

[2] *Ibid.*, 400.

[3] *Ibid.*, 400 *seq.* As a matter of fact five convents belonged to that Congregation; see *ibid.*, lix, n. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, lviii-lxi, 325 *seq.* Acta capitulorum generalium O.P., ed. B. M. Reichert, V., Romae, 1901, 105, 123, 160.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 400.

[6] *Ibid.*, 402.

its condition, all the more so, as he wrote to the auxiliary bishop of Constance, Balthasar Wurer,[1] because of the zeal and capacity of that prelate, whom he had learned to appreciate and esteem by his personal dealings with him. Before his departure from Freiburg the nuncio nevertheless felt himself obliged in a letter to Wurer[2] to recommend to the reforming zeal of the auxiliary bishop all the principal abuses which he had noticed in the diocese of Constance; the radical cause of all the evils he declared to be the ignorance of the clergy, who took upon themselves the sacerdotal office without knowing its duties. The Austrian government treated the Protestants of Constance with great consideration; above all they refused to allow any Jesuit college there so as not to rouse religious feeling.[3] The Jesuit mission, however, was doing much good in Constance;[4] in 1592 scarcely half the inhabitants were still Protestants, and where formerly there had been only one Catholic there were now ten or more.[5]

Portia's activities in Upper Germany came to an end with his departure for Ratisbon. At the beginning of 1577 the Pope sent him as his representative to Cologne, and at the end of the following year he was chosen as nuncio to the Emperor, but he did not hold that office for long. Hardly recovered from a serious illness he set out for the national Diet of Bohemia at Prague, and died there as the result of a relapse, a victim to his devotion to duty and his zeal in the service of the Holy See.[6]

Portia's successor in 1578 in Upper Germany was Feliciano Ninguarda, who now, no longer as a simple Dominican, or as Papal commissary, but as Bishop of Scala and real nuncio,

[1] On June 5, 1576, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, 100-2. For the deplorable conditions prevailing in the diocese of Constance *cf.* SCHMIDLIN, III., 7 *seqq.*; GMELIN in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, XXV., 129-204; SCHELLHASS, *ibid.*, N.F. XXXII. *seq.*

[3] HIRN, I., 204.

[4] DUHR, I., 408 *seqq.*

[5] HIRN, I., 205.

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 8 *seq.*

took upon himself the reform work of his predecessor.[1] If Portia had especially distinguished himself as a capable diplomatist who, in his dealings with the civil and ecclesiastical princes and other dignitaries, had been able to give the first impulse to reform, Ninguarda in his turn sought above all to apply a healing hand to the evils of the clergy, and especially of those in the monasteries. The labours and sacrifices which he endured in carrying out his task were marvellous. Between the years 1578 and 1583 he indefatigably travelled about the vast district of his nunciature; he was not dismayed by the hardships of the winter in the north, or by the sight of the discouraging state of affairs; neither the weariness of the unending monotony of the work of reform, nor the resistance which he encountered, nor the want of results could ever make him fold his hands in despair.

Thus in 1578 he laboured with but scanty results at the reform of the cathedral of Freising, and the visitation of the monasteries of Neuenzell and Weihenstephan.[2] At the beginning of the following year he devoted his attention to the chapter of Brixen,[3] and addressed severe remonstrances to the Archbishop of Salzburg,[4] because after a lapse of ten years the decrees of the provincial synod of Salzburg had not been put into force. During the months of August and September he spent some time in visiting Constance.[5]

[1] His appointment, which had for its object the influencing of the Archduke Charles, was discussed by Odescalchi in a *letter of May 24, 1578, to the Duke of Mantua. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] SCHLECHT, Ninguarda, 68. Ordinance made to the canons on October 10, and their reply in THEINER, II., 361 *seqq.*

[3] Rescript to the bishop in February, 1579, to the canons on February 14, and their answer which caused a warning to be sent to the bishop on February 26, *ibid.*, III., 28 *seqq.*; to the Poor Clares at Brixen on February 22, *ibid.*, 33; to the Dominicans Trent on January 16, 1579; *ibid.*, 35.

[4] On April 15, 1579, *ibid.*, 37.

[5] SCHELLHASS in the *Zeitschrift für die Geschichte des Oberrheins*, N.F., XXXII. (1917), 3-43. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II, 141 529, 713.

Ninguarda devoted his activities to Ratisbon after the beginning of 1580; the year before, to the advantage of the diocese, the bishop, David Kölderer, had died; Gregory XIII. after some hesitation,[1] had consented to the request of the chapter[2] and the Archbishop of Salzburg[3] that the five year old son of Duke William V. should be chosen as bishop, and appointed Ninguarda as administrator of the diocese. The nuncio therefore devoted special attention to Ratisbon. He visited the cathedral church, the two collegiate churches, and the Charterhouse of Prühl; also the three convents of noble women, the Franciscans, Benedictines, Scots, and Dominicans, the nuns of S. Clare and Holy Cross, and the Augustinian Canons and Hermits.[4] In 1581 there was issued a severe ordinance against the immoral clergy of the diocese, which was also printed.[5] In 1580 there was a visitation of that part of the diocese of Eichstätt which came within Bavaria, especially Ingolstadt,[6] as well as of the capital of Bavaria[7] and Passau.[8] During the following years the work of reform at Salzburg especially absorbed the energies of the nuncio; in September 1581 he visited the canons, for whose benefit he embodied his demands in a decree of October 24th; similar enactments had already been issued for the clergy, the Hospitallers and the monasteries; on October 31st a general decree for the court, the city and the civil government completed the work.[9]

As one who was so zealous for the reform of the Orders,

[1] On November 21, 1579; *ibid.*, 16.

[2] On August 15, 1579; in THEINER, III., 11 *seqq.*

[3] On August 17, 1579; *ibid.*, 16.

[4] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 69. REICHENBERGER in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIV. (1900), 356 *seqq.*

[5] On April 25; in THEINER, III., 254.

[6] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 70, 124-50.

[7] *Ibid.*, 70.

[8] Ninguarda to Bishop Urban on August 20, 1580; in THEINER, III., 143-6.

[9] SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 71-4. Since 1580 George von Kuenburg had been coadjutor to the Archbishop of Salzburg who had been struck with apoplexy. WIDMANN, 104.

Ninguarda[1] encouraged the Benedictines of Swabia during the years 1580–1583,[2] as well as to the other religious congregations of Bavaria who were desirous of joining together in one congregation and establishing a seminary for young novices. This scheme came to nothing when it already seemed to be almost realized.[3]

In 1582 Ninguarda issued some enactments concerning prohibited books,[4] and the enclosure in monasteries.[5] His health, however, had in the meantime suffered badly; he could no longer walk and one arm was completely paralysed. He was accordingly given permission to return to Italy,[6]

[1] A mandate for the nuncio from the Archduke Charles to the religious superiors in his territory on June 23, 1578; in THEINER, III., 359. Ninguarda's visitation regulations for the Benedictine monasteries have been brought to light by B. ALBERS in the *Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem Benediktiner und Zisterzienserorden.* Regulations for the convent of nuns at Niedernburg (diocese of Passau) in August, 1581, and July, 1583, in volume XXI (1900), 197-216; for Tegernsee in July, 1581, *ibid.*, XXII. (1901), 113 *seqq.*, 334 *seqq.*; for Salzburg in September and October, 1581, *ibid.*, 338 *seqq.*, 349.

[2] THEINER, III., 138 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Ninguarda's pronouncement to the Bavarian Benedictines, Cistercians, Augustinian Canons and Premonstratensians on May 24, 1583, in ALBERS, *loc. cit.* XXII., 127; SCHMIEDER, *ibid.*, XII. (1891), 80 *seq.* A house for the seminary had already been bought in Ingolstadt; but, in spite of this, it was decided to find accommodation for the religious in a separated part of the Georgianum in Munich (*Römische Quartalschrift*, V., 127). Concerning the plan of a seminary for the female orders, see ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 348.

[4] On May 1, 1582, in THEINER, III., 326. *Cf.* REUSCH, I., 472. He confiscated those books which contained sham miracles, mythical stories of the saints and such like things (*ibid.*, 478; JANSSEN-PASTOR, I. [19-20], 77, n. For the inquiry into the miraculous hosts of Andechs, see SCHLECHT in the *Jahresbericht des Hist. Vereins Dillingen*, VIII. (1895), 65 *seqq.*

[5] On May 13, 1582, in THEINER, III., 327 *seq.*

[6] Madruzzo to Galli on July 21, 1582; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 472.

but was content to go to a spa to seek his cure.[1] In the autumn of 1582 and the following year he again devoted himself to important tasks.

In addition to his reforming activities among the chapters and monasteries, Ninguarda also had important business to transact and conclude at the courts of the princes and magnates. These took him in the first instance to Graz,[2] to the Archduke Charles, to whom he addressed severe remonstrances on account of his concessions to the Protestants The disturbances at Chur obliged him to make a stay of four weeks in 1578 with the Bishop of Chur at Fürstenburg, and in the following year to undertake long journeys in Switzerland.[3] But most important of all were the negotiation between Ninguarda and the Duke of Bavaria.

Although Albert V. had done so much on behalf of the Catholic cause, yet the interference of his officials in the affairs of the Church caused much discontent among zealous Catholics. The nuncio Portia had already had to listen to the gravest complaints on this subject, but had seen no way of providing a remedy.[4] Cardinal Morone, on leaving the Diet of Ratisbon, had made grave remonstrances to the Duke's councillor, Fend; Fend, however, had sheltered himself behind the plea that, in view of the negligence of the bishops, they ought to be glad that at anyrate the government took steps to remedy the grave abuses, that unless it did so Bavaria would no longer have any Catholic Church, and that the levies made upon the property of the monasteries rested upon Imperial privileges.[5]

Much the same reply was received by Ninguarda[6] when

[1] SCHLECHT, Ninguarda, 75. For the Papal permission to return, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 490.

[2] Where he stayed from May 30 until June 26, 1578, THEINER, II., 351 *seqq.*

[3] See *infra*, p. 166.

[4] See *supra*, pp. 72, 81, *cf.* 117.

[5] Fend's report of his conversation with Morone has been brought to light by SCHELLHASS in *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII. (1910), 366-78.

[6] THEINER, II., 365.

in the Pope's name he again raised the former complaints, though naturally in a courteous and prudent way, in the presence of Albert V. himself.[1] The Duke was displeased that all his efforts on behalf of the Church only met with rebukes, and as long as he lived Ninguarda did not dare to take any further steps in the matter, but under Albert's son, William V., hope again revived in ecclesiastical circles. The new Duke himself obviously had in view the regularization of his political relations with the Church, and immediately after his succession to the throne he assured the Pope[2] that he would as prince make every effort to keep his conscience unstained, and not interfere in matters which did not pertain to him.

But the question whether the interferences in ecclesiastical matters, which rested upon a long tradition, were the province of the Duke of Bavaria or not, was a question that was hotly debated. When Ninguarda, immediately after the succession to the duchy of William V., again made the old complaints, the Duke's councillors maintained that they were ; Ninguarda denied this. Georg Eder, the councillor of the Empire, to whom the Duke submitted the written opinions of the councillors and the nuncio, declared in a memorial that he took the part of the theologians rather than the jurists, as custom could never justify an abuse. Finally, he advised the Duke to consult with the bishops and the Pope concerning the points under discussion.[3]

William then drew up the debated points in twenty-two requests, which he submitted to Ninguarda and the nuncio at Vienna, Bonhomini, for their observations,[4] and in the spring of 1581 he sent his court preacher, Martin Dum, to the Pope to ask for absolution for what had been done in the past, as well as for the confirmation of the claims now put forward for the future, and the concession of new ones. Rome, however, referred the duke to the bishops.

[1] *Ibid.*, 362-5.

[2] On November 24, 1579, *ibid.*, III., 7.

[3] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 292-6.

[4] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 296; Auswärtige Verhältnisse, Urkunden I, 43 *seqq.*, 48.

In the meantime the desired meeting of the bishops was again and again postponed. At first it was arranged for September, 1581; in preparation the nuncio held conferences with the duke's representatives from June 28th to July 4th, and mnay points were then settled.[1] Under the presidency of Cardinal Madruzzo, and in the presence of the nuncios, Ninguarda and Bonhomini, a further conference was held with the Bavarian councillors on the occasion of the Diet at Augsburg in 1582.[2] But the assembly of the bishops had not yet been brought about at the beginning of the following year, so that Gregory XIII. had to remind the Duke of Bavaria of it on January 29th, 1583.[3] William V. replied[4] that he too was very desirous of this meeting of the bishops, and again pointed out that he did not wish for anything that he could not have by right and with a clear conscience. On August 15th of the same year there met together at Munich the Archbishop of Salzburg, and the Bishops of Freising, Ratisbon, Passau and Chiemsee, and from their negotiations with the representatives of the duke there resulted the concordat of Bavaria. The duke's councillor, Erasmus Fend, displayed special zeal, beyond all the rest, on behalf of the claims of the duke;[5] it was he who in September, 1581, had called attention to and insisted upon the conditions prevailing in France, Spain and Portugal,[6] namely, that what was permitted to the Emperor and to those sovereigns must also be allowed to the Duke of Bavaria in his own dominions. On the other side, Ninguarda showed himself very ready to meet the wishes of the government. The Bavarian councillors naturally did not succeed in obtaining all that they asked for, but several rights which the dukes

[1] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 296.

[2] On September 10; see SCHLECHT in the *Römische Quartalschrift*, V., 80.

[3] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 300, n. 14.

[4] On February 21, 1583 (new style), THEINER, III., 411.

[5] ARETIN, *loc. cit.*, 300 *seq.*

[6] To William V. on September 5, 1581; see ARETIN, Auswärtige Verhältnisse, Urkunden 1, 47 *seq.*

had hitherto only enjoyed *de facto*, were now granted to them *de jure* under the concordat. Both parties gained an advantage in that henceforth various legal uncertainties were cleared up.[1]

Nevertheless, almost another ten years elapsed before the concordat of Bavaria was promulgated in 1592. The reason for this lay in the fact that Duke William wished, together with its confirmation, for other things which Rome found a difficulty in granting. Above all he wished that Munich should be made an episcopal see, with a diocese including the district of the capital. It is easy to understand why such a request was made, since seven bishops shared the spiritual authority over Bavaria, namely, those of Salzburg, Chiemsee, Augsburg, Eichstätt, Ratisbon, Freising and Passau,[2] yet none of these seven had their see in a city which was subject to the Duke of Bavaria. Hence came the desire that the capital of the Duchy should also be the place of residence of one of the principal ecclesiastical dignitaries. The diocese of the new bishop was not to extend outside the city of Munich, but he was to be directly subject to the Pope, and to exercise a kind of authority over the other bishops who ruled in Bavaria; he was to be the president of the ecclesiastical council and to hold the office of nuncio. The plan came to nothing because of its singularity.[3]

When at the end of 1583 Ninguarda bore the petition for the diocese of Munich, together with other requests, across the Alps, his work in Germany was ended. At the beginning of 1583 he was appointed Bishop of S. Agata dei Goti, and in 1588 received the bishopric of Como, where he died in 1595. In 1584 Cardinal Galli inquired whether his health would permit of his going back to Germany; in 1586 he was again designated as nuncio to Switzerland, but no further

[1] Riezler, VI., 271 *seqq.* Doeberl, I., 466-74.

[2] Aretin, Auswärtige Verhältnisse, 64.

[3] Schlecht, *loc. cit.*, IV., 363-76. Ratzinger in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CX., 346-56, and in the *Forschungen zur bayr. Geschichte*, Kempten, 1898.

work was given to him in those countries for which he had made such great sacrifices.[1]

During the whole course of his travels through the vast territory of his nunciature, Ninguarda nowhere received a better impression of the piety of the faithful than in Switzerland.

In the cantons of Lucerne, Unterwalden, Uri, Schwyz and Zug, so he wrote in his report to Galli,[2] both the authorities and private persons received him everywhere as the representative of the Holy See, with a love and veneration such as he had nowhere met with in Germany. "All, from the highest to the lowest, show the greatest zeal for the mass, for the Catholic faith, and for Christian piety. Not only on festival days, but also on working days, the churches are filled with the faithful, with their rosaries or their prayer books in their hands. I can recall no place in the whole of Germany where the churches are so frequented by so many people or with such deep piety as in these Catholic cantons, where apostasy from the faith is punished by death."

But Ninguarda also saw very clearly some dark spots. The original cantons belonging to the diocese of Constance were much neglected by the officials of the bishop, who was generally absent. This had the result that the Catholic authorities, who, in the absence of the ecclesiastical organization, interfered with the best intentions, were gradually in self defence adding to their powers in a way that was both unfitting and harmful, so that ecclesiastical liberties were threatened with extinction. In one of his reports to the Secretary of State, Ninguarda speaks of the scandalous lives led by ecclesiastics, the complete non-observance of the enclosure in convents of women, the encroachments of the civil authority, who had reduced many convents to a state of absolute dependence, and had usurped judicial powers over the clergy. The one exception was Lucerne, where the

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, Introduction, p. cccxciii *seq.*

[2] On June 22, 1579, Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 361.

tribunal for ecclesiastics had for some time been left in the hands of the dean.[1]

Charles Borromeo had a little while before formed the same opinion as Ninguarda.[2] After his journey into the interior of Switzerland in 1570 he had laid two proposals before the Holy See for the religious revival of that country: there should be an authorized representative of the Pope in Switzerland, who, unlike former nuncios, should direct his attention, not to political questions, but primarily to the internal reform of the Church; there should also be established at Lucerne a Jesuit college for German Switzerland, and the projected seminary at Constance should be set up.[3]

In the time of Pius V. it had not been possible to realize either of these proposals,[4] but his successor at once took care that German Switzerland should have its educational establishments. Gregory XIII.'s plan of founding a Jesuit college at Constance was not carried into effect, so it was with all the greater pleasure that he acceded to the request of the citizens of Lucerne that some members of the Society of Jesus should be sent there. During the summer of 1574 they began their pastoral work as well as their school.[5] The instructions which the provincial of the Jesuits in Upper Germany gave to the two fathers who were first sent to Lucerne, recommended them to adapt themselves as far as possible and in all things to the simplicity of the people.

[1] Ninguarda to Galli on July 8, 1579; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 380 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 314 of this work.

[3] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccxxvii.

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII., p. 322 of this work.

[5] *Cf.* SEGESSER; Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 551 *seq.* and Ludwig Pfyffer, II., 94 *seq.*; FLEISCHLIN, Aus den Annalen des Gymnasiums zu Luzern, in the *Monatsrosen*, XXV.; GRÜTER: Das Kollegium zu Luzern unter dem ersten Rektor P. Martin Leubenstein, Lucerne, 1905; DUHR, I., 211 *seq.* See also J. BUCHER: Zur Gesch. des höheren Schulwesens in Luzern, in the publication issued to commemorate the opening of the Cantonal School Building, Lucerne, 1893.

Father Leubenstein was especially to occupy himself with preaching, and Father Liner with the catechism; to the latter the hospitals, prisons and the sick were also expressly recommended. "In the sermons they were to avoid words of rebuke, and love and prayer were to predominate. They were not to occupy themselves with the objections of the heretics, but must inculcate Catholic doctrines solidly, in a short and popular form, and not too learnedly. The same thing must apply to the catechism. They must be discreet in their requirements, learn the language well, and not be too easy in dealing with women outside the confessional. Generally speaking, they must not engage in controversies with the clergy, and at first, at anyrate, not even touch upon their shortcomings. By acting thus all would realize that they had no other end in view than the salvation of souls."[1]

The work of the Jesuits at Lucerne had hardly been begun when it was threatened by the unhealthy climate of the city, situated in a marshy lowland, so that in 1576 there was an idea of giving it up again. But the municipal council as well as the Pope insisted that the work which had been begun must be continued. In May, 1577, there followed the establishment of the college, to which was made over the most beautiful building in the city, the so-called Palace of the Knights (the present Rathaus). The school was opened in the autumn, and quickly succeeded. Noble benefactors, and, above all, the secretary of the municipality, Cysat, and the magistrate, Ludwig Pfyffer, occupied themselves concerning the material welfare of the establishment.[2] The work of the fathers was not limited to their labours in the school, which at first, indeed, was not their chief preoccupation; preaching and the care of souls took the first place. The results of their work was shown at the jubilee of 1576. Religious associations were soon formed, as for example the Confraternity of the Rosary in 1578, in which many pious persons enrolled themselves.[3]

[1] See MAYER, II., 192 *seq.*

[2] DUHR, I., 215 *seqq.*

[3] GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 31.

A long time elapsed before Borromeo's second suggestion was fulfilled, the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland, in reality a nuncio for the work of internal reform. As early as October, 1573, there had been the appointment of Bishop Volpi of Como as nuncio in Switzerland, but its only purpose was resistance to the Genevese, who wished to be joined to the federation as an additional canton. As far as can be ascertained Volpi contented himself with a written agreement, which the Pope in 1574 supported by a special brief.[1] When the nuncio Bartolomeo Portia and the Franciscan, Francesco Sporeno, were sent to the south-west of Germany in 1575, their mission included Switzerland, and in particular the dioceses of Chur, Lausanne and Sion.[2] But, apart from the fact that Sporeno was not a nuncio, Portia could not devote his attention exclusively to Switzerland, and thus Borromeo's idea was not fulfilled by his mission. Portia's warnings, however, met with a favourable reception from the Bishop of Basle, Jakob Christopher Blarer,[3] whose diocese extended into both Alsace and Switzerland. Of the instructions which Sporeno had received concerning Switzerland, he was only able to carry out one.[4] In February, 1576, he went to the Bishop of Chur, Beatus von Porta, at his castle at Fürstenburg, and visited Vintschgau. The lamentable state of the diocese of Chur gave Sporeno plenty to do. Under the pretext of recovering certain debts from the bishop, the partisans of the Salis family were troubling the Bishop of Chur to such an extent that the latter asked the Pope through Sporeno to relieve him of his office. Gregory XIII. would not consent to this. The bishop himself at length realized how dangerous a new election would be, and worked to get Abbot Joachim Opser

[1] Theiner, I., 135. Reinhardt-Steffens, Introduction, p. cccliii *seqq.*

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xv. See *supra*, p. 127.

[3] See *supra*, p. 139 *seqq.*

[4] For the commissions entrusted to Sporeno see *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 10, n. 1.

of St. Gall appointed as his co-adjutor with the right of succession.

Sporeno, who was soon afterwards recalled, was followed by Ninguarda, who, in addition to the question of Chur,[1] was to direct his attention to the reform of the secular clergy and the monasteries,[2] and did so with all zeal. He remained at Fürstenburg almost a whole month,[3] and besides the bishop, he visited the clergy and the monasteries, and issued regulations for the cathedral chapter.[4] In June he went to Lucerne, Oberwalden, Nidwalden, Uri and Schwyz to carry out the duties of his mission.[5] He met with a courteous reception, especially at Lucerne.

Ninguarda's work, however, was for the most part temporary and transitory, and it was while he was in Switzerland that the question of the nunciature was definitely settled, and a true nuncio appointed, who was to devote himself entirely to Switzerland.[6]

Already in August 1577 Uri, Unterwalden and Zug had suggested that the Pope should be asked to send a representative, who should devote himself to the necessary reform of the clergy in the federation, and in the dioceses of Chur, Sion and Basle. But no definite decision on this point had been arrived at. The matter, however, seemed to be all the more pressing in that in the democratic Forest cantons the authorities, in spite of their good will, had not the power to carry out a reform of the clergy. The conditions

[1] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccIxvii *seq.* MAYER gives a detailed account of Bishop Beatus in his Geschichte des Bistums Chur, II., 122 *seqq.*, 170 *seqq.*

[2] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 121 *seqq.*

[3] From November 9 to December 8, 1578, *ibid.*, Introduction, p. cccIxxviii.

[4] *Ibid.*, I., 205 *seq.*, 213 *seq.*

[5] Ninguarda to Galli on June 22, 1579, *ibid.*, 357 *seqq.*

[6] For what follows: SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 428 *seqq.*; FELLER, Lussy, II., 39 *seqq.*; MAYER, II., 202 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, Introduction, p. cccxcv *seqq.*; J. BERTHIER, Lettres de J. F. Bonomo (to Fribourg), Fribourg, 1894.

were different in Lucerne, where the Council, in conjunction with the Jesuits, were working to remove the abuses in the Church.

These different conditions partly explain the unfavourable attitude adopted by Lucerne, when the secretary of the municipality, Balthasar Luxsinger of Schwyz, urgently pressed Rome to send a nuncio. The authorities in Lucerne feared lest the position of their Captain of the Guard in Rome, Jost Segesser, should be threatened by the presence of a nuncio in Swiss territory, and treated the intervention of Luxsinger all the more coldly because he arbitrarily stated that he had the right to make official application to the Pope in the matter. They therefore demanded that Luxsinger should be called to account, and stirred up the seven Catholic cantons to send a letter to Gregory XIII. on February 24th, 1578, stating that if Luxsinger had asked for a nuncio this had been done without the knowledge of and against the wishes of the cantons; the sending of such a nuncio at that moment would give rise to suspicion and distrust, and was therefore undesirable, that Segesser was sufficient for all their business, and that the Pope could very well continue to make use of the Captain of the Guard in all his transactions with them. Ludwig Pfyffer expressed himself even more strongly in his letter to Cardinal Mark Sittich von Hohenems.[1]

In absolute disagreement with the biassed and selfish point of view of Lucerne, Melchior Lussy of Stans, who, with Pfyffer, was the most important representative of the Swiss Catholics,[2] maintained the need for a nuncio. The Governor of Uri, Walter Roll, expressed himself in like manner.[3] On March 17th, 1578, the canton of Schwyz associated itself with the plan of Uri, Unterwalden and Zug. In spite of this, however, Lucerne maintained its hostile attitude,[4] but just

[1] See THEINER, II., 391 *seqq.* and SEGESSER, Pfyffer, II., 424, n.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 315 *seq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 113 *seq.*

[4] See *Sammlung der eidgenössischen Abschiede*, IV., 2, 645; SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 429.

then an event occurred which resulted in the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland.

On February 15th, 1578, Gregory XIII. charged the Bishop of Vercelli, Giovanni Francesco Bonhomini, who had once accompanied Charles Borromeo on his travels through Switzerland, with the visitation and reform of the dioceses of Novara and Como.[1] Since the territories in Switzerland and the Federation belonged to the latter, Bonhomini was once again brought into direct contact with Switzerland. In the middle of July, 1578, the zealous bishop began by making a visitation of the most difficult part of his district, the Valtellina, where there had been no bishop within living memory. He there administered the sacrament of confirmation to 5000 persons, and gave communion to 3000, and encouraged the Catholics who had gathered together from the distant mountains to resist the religious changes. A prohibition on the part of the government of the three leagues put an end to this work on August 2nd.[2] Bonhomini then devoted himself to the visitation of the territory proper of the diocese of Como; at Lugano and in the Ticino he carried out the work of reform with such good results that even to-day his work there is still held in honour.[3] At the same time he brought pressure to bear on all sorts of persons for the sending of a special nuncio to Switzerland; he especially addressed himself with great insistence to Charles Borromeo. The latter wrote in January 1579 to Speciani, his distinguished agent in Rome with Gregory XIII.: since Bonhomini had carried out his visitation of the Ticino to the great satisfaction of the Swiss, it might also be hoped that he would be able to effect much good as a visitor of the interior of Switzerland itself, provided that the Bishop of Constance, Cardinal Mark Sittich, was of the same opinion. In this way it would be possible to discover by experiment what a nuncio could accomplish, and the visitation could also be extended to the territories

[1] Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 118-9.

[2] See *ibid.*, 133 *seq.*, 144 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, 157 *seq.*

[3] See Ehses Meister, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxiii.

bordering on the German Empire. As Cardinal Mark Sittich agreed to this, and was also willing to share the expenses of the visitation, Gregory XIII. ordered that the necessary briefs should be prepared for Bonhomini after Easter.[1]

Bonhomini was ready to obey the Pope's orders, but he expressed doubts as to the wisdom of the title of visitor, which would not satisfy the Swiss because they thought they deserved a nuncio as much as the princes. At Rome where an intrigue on the part of Lussy against Segesser was suspected they would not at first hear of a Swiss nunciature, but later on Charles Borromeo intervened on behalf of an appointment being made in the sense desired by Bonhomini. A decisive factor was the memorial which the Archbishop of Milan sent to Rome on April 6th, 1579.

In this he set forth in the clearest way the importance of the questions that had to be dealt with in Switzerland, and how the chances of success would be greater in proportion to the authority enjoyed by the Pope's representative. The visitor should therefore be given the title of nuncio. The name of visitor was much disliked, and bad ecclesiastics, who feared punishment, would try to make it even more hateful among the people. Moreover, many things would be withheld the visitor on the pretext that they were being kept for the nuncio.[2]

The result of this was the appointment on May 2nd, 1579, of Bonhomini as Papal nuncio in the dioceses of Constance Chur, Lausanne, Sion and Basle, and in all other territories "which were subject or united to the Federation and the allies." Bonhomini was to make a personal visitation of those territories and dioceses, and to carry into effect the decrees of the Council of Trent, for which purposes he was given full faculties.[3]

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 231 *seq.*, 246 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 316 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 325 *seq.*; *cf.* 340 *seq.* the credentials for the seven Catholic regions dated May 27, 1579. In the Bull of January 1, 1580 (*ibid.*, II., 1 *seq.*) which granted faculties to Bonhomini, the latter is described as "ad Helvetios, Rethos et Sedunenses

At the same time Gregory XIII. took another step which was of great importance for the religious revival of Switzerland by founding the Helvetian College at Milan.

In this establishment, which was to be dependent upon the bishop of Milan for the time being, at least fifty youths from Switzerland and the Grisons were to be educated, and trained as model priests. It was again Charles Borromeo who led the Pope to take this extremely important step for the carrying out of the work of Catholic reform. What the German College in Rome was for Germany, the Helvetian College in Milan was to be for Switzerland; a training ground for the formation of a capable, educated and zealous priesthood. The Pope expended an annual sum of 2400 scudi upon the institution, and gave his sanction to the handing over to it of the provostship of the Humiliati of S. Spirito, with its gardens, buildings and revenues. The college was given all the rights and the dignity of a university, and the tuition was undertaken by the Jesuits.[1]

After Bonhomini had had a personal interview with Borromeo at Milan, and another with Volpi at Como, he set out for the scene of his labours. It may truly be said that a new era in the ecclesiastical history of Switzerland began when this distinguished representative of Catholic reform crossed the pass of the St. Gothard at the beginning of July, 1579. The nuncio was accompanied by the canon of Milan, Bellini, as auditor, Canon Caresana of Vercelli as secretary,

eisque subiectos et confederatos ac in Basiliensi et Constantiensi diocesibus noster et Ap. Sedis nuntius cum potestate legati de latere."

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., 246; MAYER, II., 60 *seq.*; WYMANN, Der heilige Karl Borromeo &c., Stans, 1903. REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I. and II. gives new documents which throw additional light on the genesis of the college. See also WYMANN, in *Schweiz. Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 294 *seq.*, LIII. and LIV. passim. Picture of the magnificent building (Palazzo Elvetico), which is now used for State Archives, in WYMANN: Kardinal Borromeo und seine Beziehung zur alten Eidgenossenschaft, Stans, 1910, 92, 123, 127. For Borromeo's visitation of the Collegium Helveticum in March, 1583, see *Katholische Schweizerblätter*, 1896.

and the Jesuit Wolfgang Pyringer, an Austrian, as interpreter and preacher.[1]

Bonhomini made such speed on his journey as to reach Baden in Aargau in time to assist at the federal Diet. On July 10th, he there presented to the representatives of the seven Catholic cantons his credentials as Papal nuncio, pointing out at the same time that his mission, as well as the foundation of the Helvetian College, was a fresh proof of the good will of the Pope, so often manifested before.

The requests which he presented to the assembly concerned three points: first, intervention on behalf of the Catholics of the Valtellina, whose ill-treatment in the matter of the suppression of Catholic preaching and the unrestricted liberty accorded to that of the Protestants he had seen for himself in the previous year as visitor: secondly, that a person should be appointed by the Catholic cantons to assist him in his work at Chur and Sion, and if necessary in an even wider field: thirdly, full information as to the abuses and scandals existing among the secular and regular clergy, the removal of these being his principal duty.[2]

On July 16th Bonhomini began by making a visitation of the city of Lucerne, for which purpose he put himself into touch with the Council. In order to complete the work more quickly he shared it with the members of his legation. After a visitation had also been made in the territory of Lucerne the nuncio went on to Unterwalden, where he was lodged by Lussy in the Winkelriedhaus, and thence he proceeded to Uri and Schwyz. Everywhere the authorities received him with marks of honour, and he insisted especially upon the suppression of the concubinage of the clergy and the wearing of the sacerdotal dress. Ill-natured accusations made by guilty priests were soon recognized by the people as calumnies.[3]

Bonhomini found himself faced by a difficult situation by

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., cdxiii *seqq.*, II., x. For Pyringer *cf.* SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 855.

[2] REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 388 *seq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 396 *seq.*, 417, 431.

the fact that the authorities of Schwyz, in violation of canon law, had thrown Abbot Heer of Einsiedeln into prison because of crimes of a moral nature. By so doing they had incurred excommunication, which, however, Bonhomini prudently refrained from pronouncing. He solved the difficulty by conveying the abbot to Einsiedeln, interning him there in his own rooms, suspending him and instituting a canonical process against him. The people of Schwyz apologized for having arrested him, whereupon Bonhomini absolved them.[1]

The visitation of Schwyz passed off better than anywhere else. Bonhomini then went to Zug, the parish priest of which he described as the best priest he had yet found in Switzerland.[1] The nuncio bestowed great praise upon the laity of the Catholic cantons, in contrast to the clergy, who had to a great extent fallen into a very decadent state; although they were not free from covetousness and drunkenness, they otherwise led irreprehensible lives, and showed a strong Catholic feeling. Their weaknesses were explained by the temptations put before them by all the princes, and by the want of moral guidance on the part of the priests, who for the most part gave them a very bad example. Bonhomini devoted himself to their improvement with all the greater vigour; he refused to delay the work of reform as had been suggested at Lucerne. It made a very good impression when the Pope's representative, in spite of the fact that at first he found himself in financial straits, granted all dispensations and every kind of favour gratuitously.[3]

From these districts which were entirely Catholic Bonhomini then passed on to places where the population was avowedly mixed, and first of all Aargau and Thurgau. There he frequently found an unspeakably sad state of affairs. Of the eleven canons at Zurzach, ten were living in concubinage, though these promised to amend their ways. At Rheinau,

[1] See *ibid.*, II., xi.
[2] See *ibid.*, I., 431.
[3] See *ibid.*, 447, 452 *seq.*, 462 *seq.*

besides the abbot, there were only three religious; the abbot himself knew no Latin.[1]

Form Rheinau Bonhomini intended to go to St. Gall, but the Abbot of that place, Joachim Opser,[2] thought it his duty to advise caution because of the fear of a Protestant rising: "We are not in Italy, nor yet in the five cantons," he wrote to Bonhomini. The latter replied that he did not understand what he meant by so unworthy a letter, but felt it his duty to remind the abbot that he must not treat with contempt the help which the Holy See was offering him.[3]

At the beginning of September Bonhomini interrupted his visitation by stopping for six days at Constance. There he discussed the affairs of Switzerland and the interests of the Federation with Ninguarda, as well as the religious state of Constance itself, and came to an agreement with him as to uniformity of procedure in the visitations. He carried away a good impression of the activities of Ninguarda, and with him visited the convent of nuns at Münsterlingen and the ancient Benedictine abbey of Reichenau, and was also with him on the occasion of the removal of Abbot Funck of Petershausen. The resistance which he encountered in his efforts to introduce the enclosure at Münsterlingen was very displeasing to Bonhomini. "I have not yet met with any opposition among the Protestants;" he wrote to Rome, "it has all come from ecclesiastics and monks, and now the nuns are beginning, but God is stronger than them all."[4]

Bonhomini had to put off the visitation of the abbey of St. Gall because the abbot excused himself on the ground

[1] See *ibid.*, 481. As late as 1584, the Provost of Zurzach was called upon by Charles Borromeo to reform himself and to bring back the inhabitants of Kadelburg to the Church; see Fribourg Diocesan Archives XI., 239 *seqq.*

[2] For Opser's worthy predecessors *cf.* E. Ziegler, Abt. Otmar II. von St. Gallen: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in der Schweiz, Zurich, 1896.

[3] See Reinhardt-Steffens, I., 467, 472.

[4] See *ibid.*, 486.

of having had to go to take the baths, and when he came back it was not possible to have speech with him. The nuncio visited several parishes and monasteries in the territory of the abbey. In two convents of women he not only found that, as was the case everywhere, the enclosure was not kept, but also that the breviary was not recited at all. "How great is the negligence of ecclesiastical superiors in these matters!" exclaims the zealous disciple of Borromeo in one of his letters. "The Council of Trent is quite unknown; the convents of women will give me plenty to do, but with the help of God I hope to overcome all the difficulties."[1]

After a wearisome journey through Thurgau Bonhomini went to Porrentruy, to the Bishop of Basle, Blarer von Wartensee, who, as he states in his report to Rome, "is not like the others, but shows a pious anxiety to meet me." The principal subject of discussion at the meeting at Porrentruy was the plan for an alliance between Blarer and the Catholic cantons, which was to result in the restoration of Catholicism in those parts of the diocese of Basle which had fallen into Protestantism—80 places with 40,000 inhabitants. Bonhomini advised a change in the abnormal position by which Blarer did not reside in his own diocese, and caused Porrentruy to be separated from Besançon and united to Basle.

An attempt made by the nuncio at Porrentruy to reform the Cistercian monastery of Lützel in Alsace not only led to troublesome controversies with the religious, but also with the officials of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol, who saw in the conduct of Bonhomini an interference with his sovereign rights.[2]

At the beginning of October the nuncio was at Soleure, where he carried out the visitation of the city and the neighbouring countryside, preached, and took proceedings against two concubinists.[3]

After Bonhomini had met with so many difficulties, he

[1] See *ibid.*, 489.

[2] See *ibid.*, 489, 543 *seq.*, 553 *seq.*, II., xii-xiii; *Zisterzienster-Chronik*, XXI. (1909), 84 *seqq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 556.

experienced all the greater joy when he met with full approval of his mission at Freiburg, which he reached on October 10th. Not only was the welcome of the city more solemn and splendid than it had been anywhere else, but more important still was the fact that he found a kindred spirit in the provost, Peter Schnewly,[1] a man distinguished alike for his learning and piety, who supported his efforts for reform in the most zealous way. In spite of the plague Bonhomini visited many places in the territory of Freiburg, although he had to put off the completion of his visitation until a later time, because pressing business recalled him to Lucerne.[2] The grave accusations which the ecclesiastics of Uri, Schwyz, and Unterwalden had made in September, 1579, against the Pope's representative, were to be discussed at the Diet which was to be held there. Faced by the terrible nature of the abuses which he met with, Bonhomini may have occasionally acted with harshness,[3] but in the main his conduct was entirely justified, and the accusations made against him were mere pretexts; the real cause of the opposition to him lay in his enactments against concubinage; to this there was added the democratic spirit of independence which found it hard to endure the interference of a stranger.

How little real foundation there was for the accusations made against Bonhomini may be clearly seen from an extraordinarily characteristic document bearing the title: "Accusations and complaints made by the whole clergy of the three cantons of Uri, Schwyz and Unterwalden."[4] This states

[1] Bonhomini's letters to Schnewly, the most important source for the introduction of the Jesuits into Fribourg, have been published by Berthier in the *Revue de la Suisse cath.*, 1894. Schewly's treatise on State and Church has been published by Holder in the *Archiv für kath. Kirchenrecht*, LXXIX. (1899), 291 *seqq.*, 425 *seqq.*; LXXX. (1900), 18 *seqq.* For particulars of Schnewly himself *cf.* BRASEY: Le chapitre de l'insigne collégiale de St. Nicolas à Fribourg, Fribourg, 1912, 42 *seqq.*

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., xiii.

[3] *Cf. Zisterzienster-Chronik*, XXI., 16, 123 *seq.*

[5] German and Latin text in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 495 *seq.*

that "the foreign bishop" says that he wishes to enforce the enactments of the Council of Trent, but in reality his reforms are directed against that Council, which places the work of reform in the hands of the diocesan bishop; this is the Bishop of Constance, who takes no interest in his diocese; reform at the hands of the auxiliary bishop would be willingly tolerated, but not at those of a stranger, and least of all of an Italian, for the latter, on the pretext of making a visitation is only trying to obtain information as to the wealth of the Germans in the Alps! This is followed by the equally untrue statement that Bonhomini, like the vendors of indulgences in the days of Luther, had demanded money for his indulgences. It is interesting to see how this memorial deals with the principal point at issue, the enforcement of celibacy. It is impossible under the present circumstances of benefices and of the houses of parish priests to do without the service of women, since no ecclesiastic can himself collect his revenues, which to a great extent consist in tithes in kind, or look after gardens or manage the house. It is not denied that concubinage is a sin and a scandal, but it is not given to everyone to live in chastity! Some indulgence must be shown, because they had not been trained to a higher ecclesiastical life. Lastly the memorial of accusation formally asks the civil authorities to drive out "the foreign bishop." If it is insisted upon imposing this Italian upon them they would rather expatriate themselves in a body!

Bonhomini's treatment of this accusation, which the secretary of the municipality of Lucerne, Renward Cysat, rightly described as a "vile document, and one unworthy of priests" was very dignified. On October 29th he first of all informed the envoys of the seven cantons of the Pope's decision to maintain a permanent nuncio in Switzerland after his departure, to look after the interests of religion. He then passed on to the accusations which had been made against him on the part of the recalcitrant priests. His first idea had been not to let such an act pass unpunished, but after mature reflection he had decided to pardon it, and further begged the delegates to abstain from any sort of

punishment. On the other hand, he made inquiries on his own plenary authority into the accusations made against him, and sent the result to the Pope for decision as the one supreme judge. Bonhomini then passed on to the consideration of the points which lay at the root of the existing abuses : the concubinage of priests, the usurpation of punitive jurisdiction against the clergy, the neglect of the enclosure by convents of nuns, and the conferring of ecclesiastical benefices in defiance of canon law. The abuse mentioned in the second place had already been removed, therefore Bonhomini asked all the more urgently for help in dealing with the concubinage of the clergy. With regard to this he addressed a special exhortation to the authorities of Schwyz, Uri, Unterwalden and Zug, imploring them no longer to allow God to be constantly offended, the people to be exposed to great dangers, and their Catholic name dishonoured. He then pointed out in detail the necessity he was under, both because of the canon law, and the instructions he had received from the Pope, of punishing the violation of celibacy by suspension. The enforcement of the enclosure in the convents of nuns, in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, was not a matter of very great hardship, because this did not entirely prevent visits from relations, or their being lodged in houses outside the convent. The question of the conferring of benefices too was easier to arrange than was thought by many people. The right of patronage would not be violated, but rather confirmed. They might ask the authorities at Freiburg concerning the suggestions he had made to them, and follow their example. Finally, Bonhomini pointed out that the requirements for reform contained nothing more than the Catholic cantons had already accepted by their adherence to the Council of Trent.[1]

How great an impression was made by Bonhomini's attitude is seen from the letter which the seven cantons wrote to the Pope on October 30th. They thanked him for sending

[1] See THEINER, III., 57 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 590 *seq.*

the nuncio, whose coming, because of their religious needs and especially the reform of the clergy, had been very necessary and much desired. This letter expressly states that Bonhomini had fulfilled his mission perfectly, and had shown himself helpful and kindly towards them.[1] The nuncio, too, had every reason for not being dissatisfied with the results of his labours, even though he had not been able, as far as his demands were concerned, to arrive at an agreement with the Catholic cantons with regard to united action. In the meantime he proposed, in view of the existing condition of Switzerland, henceforward to adopt a method more in conformity with his purpose, and more likely to be effectual, by dealing separately with each canton concerning his plans for reform. By this means he was able to effect much good, especially in Lucerne and Freiburg, which later on, owing to the power of example and the influence of those two cities, gradually made its way into the other cantons.[2] In order to carry out his lofty aims he continued as before to labour unceasingly both in word and in writing. He was very soon able to point to good results in the cantons of Uri and Schwyz,[3] more especially in his struggle against concubinage, which was so strongly approved of by the Holy See.[4]

Even the Abbot of St. Gall, Joachim Opser,[5] now showed himself more amenable. Bonhomini was able to carry out his visitation there, and on September 28th to hold a meeting of the clergy with regard to the publication of the reform decrees. He did the same at Wyl. What strong Catholic feeling there still was in Switzerland was shown by the enthusiastic welcome accorded to him in the territory of Appenzell, which had not seen a bishop for a century. At the same time he was not without experiences of another

[1] See *ibid.*, 604 *seq.*

[2] See SEGESSER, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 432.

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 625, 636.

[4] See *ibid.*, 617, 628, 641.

[5] For J. Opser, who eventually sided completely with the Catholic Restoration, see SCHWEIWILER in the *Zeitschr. für schweiz. Kirchengeschich.*, XII., 43 *seqq.*

kind, such as his offensive rejection by the Charterhouse of Ittingen and the Abbey of Wettingen, where the abbots had been stirred up by the local governors. Bonhomini summoned them to appear at Lucerne.[1] Thence he went on December 12th for the second time to Freiburg, in order to continue his visitation and hold a diocesan synod. After Freiburg he intended to visit the Valais. Although the governing body of the Protestant movement there held itself entirely aloof, yet the tendency towards a state church, and the submission of the church to the state had obtained such a hold there that the Pope's representative met with an offensive refusal; the prevalent opinion that the visitation was a pretext for the covetousness of the Curia formed an excuse for the prevention of the correction of a very demoralized state of affairs by the supreme authority.[3] The same was the case elsewhere, but Bonhomini's energy and courage refused to be dismayed by any difficulties. When the circumstances demanded it, he knew how to give way, and this was shown by his conduct before the envoys of the Catholic cantons at Lucerne in January, 1580.

As a result of the complaints that had been made, especially by the monasteries of Thurgau, as well as of the difficulties which Bonhomini had met with from the governors of the Catholic cantons in the conferring of benefices, a very unfavourable impression of him had got abroad, which even affected the people of Lucerne, who thought that he had treated them with little consideration. Bonhomini explained and defended his conduct and disarmed all opposition by declaring that in future, before he published any edicts he would inform the cantons of them. He hoped that in

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., xv. With reference to Ittingen, see the essay by BÜCHI in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, I., 84 *seq.* This essay deals with the course of the reform in the religious houses of Thurgau. For Wettingen, see *Zisterzienser-Chronik*, XXI., 122 *seqq.*

[2] Fueter is right in laying special emphasis on this point in his review on the reports of the Swiss Nuncios in the *Historische Zeitschrift*, CI., 163.

return for this they would help him in punishing guilty priests.[1]

After this Bonhomini was kept busily employed by the disputes between the Bishop of Chur, Beatus von Porta, and his bitter adversaries. His behaviour in this matter showed how little truth there was in the idea which the nuncio's enemies had formed of him as a fiery southerner. There being no hope of being able to settle the matters at issue between the Bishop of Chur and his adversaries by the way of law, nor of inducing the League of the House of God to recognize all the rights of the Bishop of Chur, Bonhomini maintained the principle that for the saving of the diocese it was necessary to make great concessions in economic questions, for in Chur, he wrote, it is not right but might that decides matters.[2] He further insisted that Beatus von Porta should take up his residence at Chur. At the conferences which he held with Beatus at Fürstenburg in Vintschgau the bishop refused to return to Chur. All that Bonhomini could obtain was a resignation into the Pope's hands, which was at first to be kept secret; he then went to Innsbruck, to the Archduke Ferdinand, and afterwards to Brescia for an interview with Charles Borromeo. By his advice, after summoning a synod in his diocese of Vercelli, he set out upon a journey to Rome, in order personally to inform the Pope and the Cardinal Secretary of State concerning the affairs of Chur and other matters in Switzerland. In June he was back at Chur, where he prevented any further action on the part of the League of the House of God by announcing the eventual resignation of the bishop. He then went to Baden to the federal Diet, where he laid before the representatives of the seven cantons the proposal that they should definitely embark upon the reforms of the secular and regular clergy which he had suggested.[3]

The difficult question of Chur entailed new and fatiguing

[1] See MAYER, Konzil von Trient, I., 261 *seq.*; REINHARDT-STEFFENS, II., 43 *seq.*; HÜRBIN, II., 247.

[2] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 634; II., xx.

[3] See *ibid.*, II., xxi *seq.*

journeys in July and August, without however any definite result. The nuncio was comforted, however, by finding a more favourable disposition towards reform at Lucerne. At Freiburg he was able to remove all the difficulties concerning the establishment, which he had long and eagerly advocated, of a Jesuit college, which Gregory XIII. had erected by a bull of February 25th, 1580 "to promote the salvation of souls, the instruction of youth, and the eradication of innovations in the faith."[1]

In the autumn this indefatigable man, in the interests of the dioceses of Lausanne and Basle, undertook a journey to Burgundy, visiting Cardinal de la Baume, Archbishop of Besançon, and displaying his zeal for the introduction of ecclesiastical reform in the Franche Conté. He then visited Bishop Blarer at Porrentruy for the second time, and urged him to move more quickly against his subjects who had apostatized from the Church. He then visited, with the concurrence of the officials of the Archduke Ferdinand, the Abbey of Lützel in Alsace, and with that of the Archbishop of Besançon, the city of Porrentruy. Then he went by way of Basle, to Thurgau, where the obstinacy of the Abbot of Kreuzlingen and the abbess of the Cistercian convent of Feldbach caused him great annoyance. He there met with the same experiences as his master Borromeo had done in the Ticino; in both places it was the ambition and selfishness of the governors which stood in the way of reform and encouraged the recalcitrant monasteries.[2]

The month of October was occupied by a journey into South Germany and the Tyrol. Bonhomini was successful in winning over the Archduke Ferdinand to a settlement of the disputes at Chur, and of ecclesiastical affairs in the Austrian part of the dioceses of Basle and Constance, as well as in overcoming the opposition of the provincial of the Jesuits, Paul Hoffaeus, to the foundation of the Jesuit college at Freiburg on the ground of the lack of suitable and

[1] See *ibid.*, II., xxii.
[2] See *ibid.*, xxv *seqq.*

trained subjects.[1] At Ratisbon, whither he went on November 7th, he had a conference with Ninguarda on the subject of Chur. There he found the state of affairs more critical than ever; the very existence of the diocese was at stake. Although he was personally threatened, he did not lose courage. Trusting in the power of prayer, in which he asked the help of all his friends, he succeeded at last in bringing about a settlement between the chapter and the League of the House of God, by which, by the sacrifice of certain rights, the existence of the diocese was saved. The new election, which had become necessary owing to the resignation of Bishop Beatus, was put off until *Corpus Domini* in the following year, and Bonhomini thought that he could leave the ancient Roman city with an easy mind on October 29th.[2] At Lucerne he was at last successful in coming to a satisfactory agreement with the government, concerning the reform of the clergy in accordance with the mind of the Council of Trent.[3] Thus, with his mind relieved, he was able to set out for Freiburg accompanied by Peter Canisius and another Jesuit; as the people of Berne had complained on a previous occasion that the nuncio always avoided their city, he this time took the road through Berne. But on his arrival there he found himself exposed to the vulgar attacks of the populace, in spite of the fact that he was accompanied by an official of the city of Lucerne.[4] At Freiburg, where he spent the greater part of December, he was happily successful in removing the last difficulties in the way of the establishment of the Jesuit college, to which, in virtue of the Papal authority, the property of the lapsed Premonstratensian abbey of Marsen had been assigned.[5] Bonhomini presented the two

[1] See Duhr, I., 227.

[2] See Reinhardt-Steffens, II., xxviii *seq.* *Cf.* Hirn, II., 218 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxviii.

[3] See Segesser, Rechtsgeschichte von Luzern, IV., 452 *seq.*; Reinhardt-Steffens, II., 546 *seq.*

[4] Mayer, I., 280 *seq.* Reinhardt-Steffens, II., 554 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Büchi in the *Freib. Geschichtsblätter*, 1897; Duhr, I., 26 *seq.* For particulars of the eminent Rector of the Jesuit

fathers to the Council with the words: "Men of Freiburg, you have here a precious stone which you must wrap up carefully, enclose it in a silken covering, and treat it with special veneration as a holy thing."[1]

At the beginning of 1581 Bonhomini repaired to his diocese of Vercelli, whence he hastened in March to Chur to superintend the election of the bishop at which Peter Rascher was elected on June 3rd.[2] He knew already that after this act his nunciature in Switzerland was ended. A decisive factor in the Pope's decision was the by no means energetic action taken by the Catholic cantons in reference to the occurrences at Berne, in defiance of the rights of nations, which had made a deep impression in Rome.[3] The Swiss nunciature was to remain vacant for a time, so that men there might learn better to appreciate the presence of a representative of the Holy See in their midst.[4]

Bonhomini then returned to his diocese of Vercelli, but he was not able to devote himself to it for long, since in August, with expressions of the most lively confidence, the Pope entrusted him with the visitation of the diocese of Novara. While he was getting ready for this, there came on September 16th, 1581, his appointment as nuncio at the Imperial court in succession to Ottavio di Santa Croce, who had died unexpectedly.[5]

His selection for this post, which was as honourable as

College at Fribourg (the Silesian Peter Michael), see DUHR, *loc. cit.* and also KÄLIN in the *Freib. Geschichtsblätter*, 1901.

[1] See RIESS: Petrus Canisius, 473.

[2] See MAYER: Geschichte des Bistums Chur, II., 174 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the Brief of February 11, 1581, in the *Archiv für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, II., 57.

[4] See EHSES-MEISTER, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxix. *Cf.* HÜRBIN, II., 247.

[5] See *ibid.*, xxix-xxx. After Bonhomini's departure, Ninguarda was once more left to deal with the more important matters connected with Switzerland. See MAYER, I., 223 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, X., 209 *seq.* For S. Croce, *cf.* HANSEN, I., 302, II., lxvi.

it was important, shows how highly Bonhomini's work in Switzerland was appreciated in Rome, for that distinguished disciple of Borromeo, though he was often incapacitated by illness, had, in his noble zeal for duty, left no place of ecclesiastical importance unvisited, and, filled with a burning love for the Church, had done all that was in his power for the renewal of the secular and regular clergy, who had fallen into so decadent a state. "Would that such a man had been sent" wrote Canon Marcantonio Bellini to Charles Borromeo, "before the apostasy of Switzerland."[1]

Bonhomini had made no mistake in thinking that it would be the work of years to set upon a firm basis the work of reform which he had begun in Switzerland. The abuses there had been so long rooted, and had spread so far, that it was not enough "to have once cleansed the temple."[2] What was above all wanted was an auxiliary force to carry on the work in the way it had been begun.

Such a force, ever unwearied, the nuncio found in the Jesuits. He had had personal experience of their work at Lucerne, but he aimed at establishing more of their houses. His plan for introducing the Jesuits at Baden had come to nothing. On the other hand Bonhomini, by the foundation of the college at Freiburg, had ensured the work of reform, and removed the danger of the city and its territory being drawn by the neighbouring Protestant cantons to embrace the new doctrines.[3] In course of time the college of Freiburg became a stronghold of the Catholic Church in the west of the Federation, as that at Lucerne already was for the centre of Switzerland.[4]

Further help came to the Swiss Catholics by the mission

[1] Letter from Einsiedeln dated August 15, 1579, in REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 435. "The results achieved by Bonhomini before he had even completed his first six months in Switzerland were altogether extraordinary," says BÜCHI in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, I., 148.

[2] See GRÜTER, *loc. cit.*, 33.

[3] *Cf.* DUHR, I., 228, 440, 479.

[4] According to DIERAUER, III., 339.

of the Capuchins. Already in 1570, Charles Borromeo, with his wonted foresight in all things ecclesiastical, had turned his attention to them. It was the Archbishop of Milan who, together with Bonhomini, supported the efforts of Walter Roll and Melchior Lussy for the establishment of a Capuchin convent at Altdorf.[1] It was in 1581 that the first fathers reached the little town where legend places the scene of William Tell shooting at the apple ; above the church was built the small and hospitable convent so well known to all visitors to the Forest Cantons.[2]

Bonhomini had already introduced some Capuchins into the Valtellina in 1578, but the foundation of a convent there was not possible on account of the disturbances concerning the Bishop of Chur.[3] On the other hand the pontificate of Gregory XIII. saw the successful establishment of the convents at Stans and Lucerne, where the sanctuary of Wesemlin was entrusted to the fathers.[4] These convents, which afterwards increased in number, were the starting point of the revival of religious life in Switzerland, and Charles Borromeo devoted special attention to them.

At the end of 1583 the great Archbishop of Milan once again appeared in person in Switzerland, accompanied by a Jesuit and a Franciscan. He began by holding a visitation for the reform of the Misoxthal in the Grisons. The zeal and self-sacrifice which he displayed were rewarded by extraordinary results. The people flocked in great numbers to the sacraments, many Protestants returned to the Church, while many who were hesitating were confirmed in the faith, and ancient abuses were removed. The opposition of the Protestants in the Grisons, however, prevented the further carrying on of the visitation in the Grisons and Valtellina,

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 192 *seq.* ; II., 123, 141, 225, 238, 255, 306.

[2] See Chronica provinciae Helveticae Ordinis Capucinorum, Solod., 1884, 6 *seqq.* *Cf. Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 292 *seq.*

[3] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, I., 158 ; II., 493.

[4] See *Chronica*, 12.

as well as the foundation of a Jesuit college at Rovereto.[1]

Towards the end of his life Charles Borromeo had in view another journey into Switzerland, in order to consecrate the Capuchin churches at Altdorf and Stans, but death prevented him from putting this plan into execution. The great merits of the Archbishop of Milan in the preservation and purification of the Catholic Church in Switzerland[2] can never be forgotten there; to this day, in every part of the country there are numerous signs and proofs of grateful love and veneration for the man whom Paul V. included in the catalogue of the saints.[3]

[1] In addition to the sources quoted Vol. XIX. of this work, pp. 92, 93, see also MAYER, I., 193 *seq.*; *Geschichtsfreund*, LIV., 210, 213. With reference to the work of CAMENICH, C. Borromeo und die Gegenreformation im Veltlin, Chur, 1901, see WYMANN in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XXIII., 633 *seq.*, and MAYER in the *Schweiz. Rundschau*, II., 416 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* KÖHLER in the *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte*, XIII. (1917), 149.

[3] See MAYER, I., 201; WYMANN in the *Geschichtsfreund*, LII., 263 *seq.*, LIV., 144 *seq.*

CHAPTER V.

The Catholic Revival in Germany.

At the same time as Portia, on May 5th, 1573, Gaspar Gropper had been sent beyond the Alps as the second of the new nuncios in Germany. Gropper came from Lower Germany, from Soest. After profound studies in law he devoted himself first to the service of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, and afterwards of the archdiocese of Cologne. Together with his celebrated elder brother, Johann, he resisted in 1558 the unfortunate election of the Count of Mansfeld as Archbishop of Cologne, fled to Rome, and there, after his brother's death, obtained the benefice which he had held, and became a member of the Rota.[1] Thus he seemed to be the man best fitted to protect the interests of the Church in Lower Germany.

With the exception of Augsburg and the dispute concerning the monastery of Holy Cross,[2] Gropper's duties at first only concerned the diocese of Münster in Westphalia. Gradually, however, these duties were added to. A bull of July 1st, 1573,[3] assigned to him as his sphere of action, first the cities and dioceses on the Rhine, namely, Trêves, Cologne, Mayence, Spires, and Worms, then Augsburg, with the whole of Westphalia, including Münster and Minden, and lastly, all the territories of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves and Berg.[4] Naturally, this vast territory, in almost the whole of which Catholicism and Protestantism were struggling for the supremacy, was

[1] Schwarz, Gropper, xx-xxviii, *cf.* 363-85.

[2] See *supra*, p. 123 *seq.*

[3] Printed in extenso in Mergentheim, II., 228-39. The faculties contained therein were extended and amplified by a Brief of March 12, 1574, *ibid.*, 242-5.

[4] Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 41; *cf.* xxxv. Credentials dated June 11, 1573, to Duke William of Cleves in Keller, 194 *seq.*; to the Archbishop of Mayence in Theiner, I., 97; to the Bishop of Würzburg, the Cologne Chapter, the Council and Burgomaster

too large for the energies of a single man, and after a brief sojourn in the centre of Germany, Gropper's activities were almost entirely confined to the Lower Rhine and Westphalia. For the visitation of Minden, Bremen, Lübeck, Verden and Hildesheim, his place was filled by Alexander Trivius, a canon of Bonn, who had been the companion of Cardinal Commendone for many years.[1]

Gropper soon had to relinquish the care of central Germany entirely to his colleague, Nicholas Elgard, who there carried on a work that was distinguished for its zeal, and was highly valued in Rome.

Elgard, who was a native of Elcherait near Arlon in Luxemburg, and had been educated by a parish priest of the neighbourhood, had been sent after his ordination as priest to the German College in Rome by the Archbishop of Trêves, and again went to Rome as the envoy of the aristocracy of Augsburg in the dispute concerning the monastery of Holy Cross, where the German Congregation had chosen him to accompany the nuncio Gropper.[2] Very soon, however, this travelling companion threw his principal into the shade. As early as October, 1573, both the nuncio and his companion thought that they had accomplished their mission and asked to be relieved of their office.[3] Rome, however, would not hear of this; the complications in Gropper's field of activity became greater and greater; fresh duties continued to be laid upon him from Rome, so that Gropper had to content himself with transferring a part of his burden to the shoulders of his companion, who was not yet thirty. In June, 1574, Elgard, as Gropper's representative, set out upon a journey which took him from Cologne to Eichsfeld, to the Archbishop of Mayence, to Fulda, Würzburg,

of Cologne and the Bishop of Münster in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 36-8; to the Archbishop of Cologne on July 8, to the Bishop of Minden on July 18, *ibid.*, 42-3. Instruction for Gropper on July 19, 1573, *ibid.*, 43-56.

[1] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, xcii-xcvii.

[2] *Ibid.*, xxviii *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, lxx.

Bamberg, and to the Prince-elector of Trêves at Mergentheim.[1] Elgard's reports found high favour in Rome ;[2] a mission to the centre of Germany, which it had at first been intended to entrust to Alexander Trivius, was given to him, and in the middle of winter, on January 16th, 1575, Elgard again set out upon his travels. He visited Fulda for the second time, and met the Archbishop of Mayence at Aschaffenburg. Following his own natural inclination for the direct care of souls, he occupied himself with this for about five months at Eichsfeld, which was almost entirely ngelected, and thence made two expeditions into Protestant territory. In April he had a conversation immediately after the midnight office with the dean of the cathedral at Halberstadt, and with the same complete secrecy he went on to Magdeburg. In May he went to the neighbourhood of Naumburg, intending to get detailed information with regard to that diocese, as well as Meissen and Merseburg. At the end of July Elgard left Eichsfeld, and passing through Hersfeld, went for a third time to Fulda, Mayence, Würzburg and Bamberg, where he received orders from the Pope to go to Ratisbon, to assist at the election of the future King of the Romans.[3] From Cologne, whither he returned after the election on December 3rd, 1575, he accompanied Gropper to Münster, for the election of the bishop. Both before this journey and after it, the Pope's orders took him to Westphalia, to the Archbishop of Cologne, and twice to the court of Cleves ; thence he was sent by the orders of the Secretary of State in Rome to the Diet of Ratisbon, to place himself at the disposal of Cardinal Morone.[4] At the suggestion of the latter, Elgard was appointed auxiliary bishop of Erfurt ; worn out by his zeal and his labours, he died there in 1587, when he was hardly forty years old, one of the most worthy representatives of the Holy See in Germany at that time, and one of the brightest glories of the German College.[5]

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxiv-lxxvii.

[2] Galli to Gropper on November 6, 1574 ; *ibid.*, 212.

[3] *Ibid.*, lxxiv, lxxxi, lxxxiii-lxxxix.

[4] *Ibid.*, xci.

[5] *Ibid.*, xcvii, 390-402. STEINHUBER, I., 209-20.

If in Bavaria and Salzburg, as far as the higher clergy were concerned, the impulse towards an improvement in religious conditions came entirely from Portia and Ninguarda, the position of the Papal representatives in Central Germany was not quite the same. There certain energetic defenders of the Catholic Church arose among the prelates themselves, who did not receive their inspiration and guidance in interesting themselves in the disastrous state of affairs from the nuncios.

In the profoundly decadent diocese of Bamberg, however,[1] Gropper and Elgard were the only ones to urge men to rise up from the abyss of decadence, but for the moment their words fell on sterile ground. The clergy of Bamberg were no better than their bishop, but Bishop Veit von Würtzburg had done good service to the diocese as its temporal ruler,[2] though from the moral point of view he was the principal stumbling block of the diocese. After he had, to the general scandal, accorded a solemn public funeral to the mother of his sons and his open concubine, he had, however, amended his ways, and at the instance of the Bishop of Würzburg had received priest's orders. Gropper's report on this state of affairs[3] brought him orders to visit the diocese, when he had hardly completed his duties in the north.[4] This duty was afterwards transferred to Trivius, and by him was given to Elgard.[5] The latter brought great pressure to bear, especially for the establishment of a Jesuit college at Bamberg, with the idea that they should at least begin with the founda-

[1] Looshorn, Geschichte des Bistums Bamberg, 1556-1622, Bamberg, 1903.

[2] W. Hotzelt: Beit II. von Würtzburg, Fürstbischof von Bamberg 1561-77, Freiburg, 1919.

[3] Of September 26, 1573, in Schwarz, Gropper, 411.

[4] Galli on the 12th and 19th of December, 1573, *ibid.*, 76, 85. Gropper's reply of January 20, 1574, *ibid.*, 114. The German Congregation on December 10, 1573, in Schwarz: Zehn Gutachten, 83.

[5] Credentials for Trivius dated July 30, 1574, to the bishop and chapter of Bamberg, in Schwarz, Gropper, 168 *seq.* Instruction for Trivius dated August, 1574, *ibid.*, 176 *seqq.*

tion of some sort of school. But he could not do anything with the timid bishop, either in this matter or in anything else.[1] When in the course of his travels he came again to Bamberg in the following year, he found no more signs of results of his efforts than if he had never been there.[2] In other respects he considered the bishop to be a kindly old man, who was still true to the Catholic faith.[3] He admitted no canon who had not made the profession of faith, and was thinking of demanding the same thing from all the professors. At Forcheim, near Bamberg, he would not allow a Protestant to be admitted into the Council.[4] Elgard praised the auxiliary bishop, Jakob Feucht, as a zealous preacher, though, in order to publish his sermons, he neglected reform.[5] The common people at Bamberg were not in such a bad state, and could easily be brought back to better ways, since the Protestant preachers had not as yet been able to obtain access to the city.[6] With regard to the monasteries in Bamberg, the Papal envoy could find little good to say.[7] Yet Gregory XIII. lived to see, in 1583, a bishop given to Bamberg in Ernest von Mengersdorf who was very zealous for reform.[8]

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 305. His memorandum about a Jesuit College, answer of the bishop and Elgard's reply *ibid.*, 306-13, *cf.* 319 *seq.* On December 3, 1575, Galli desired Elgard to press for a school without Jesuits, *ibid.*, 331 *seq.* *Cf.* Elgard to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 214 *seq.*

[2] To Galli on November 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 328. *Cf.* to Galli on October 1, 1575, *ibid.*, 319.

[3] To Madruzzo on July 31, 1574, *ibid.*, 171.

[4] To Galli on October 8, 1575, *ibid.*, 323.

[5] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 323. Earlier, on July 31, 1574, Elgard had been more unqualified in his praise of the assistant bishop (*ibid.*, 173).

[6] *Ibid.*, 324. "Populus non est emnino pessimus sed miserrimus" (*ibid.*, 316).

[7] To Galli on October 4, 1575, *ibid.*, 320-3.

[8] SCHMIDLIN, II., 143. On August 29, 1579, a brief was addressed to Zobel von Gibelstadt, Veit von Würtzburg's

In quite a different case from Bamberg was Eichstätt, where the bishop, Martin von Schaumberg (1560–1590) had from the first realized the importance of the Council of Trent. With the exception of the Bishop of Lavant, his auxiliary bishop had been the only representative of the episcopate of Germany at Trent during the last period of the Council. Immediately afterwards Schaumberg set up the first seminary in Germany in accordance with the prescriptions of Trent, and maintained it at his own expense until Gregory XIII. provided it with revenues of its own.[1] He generally drew the professors from the German College in Rome, to which he also sent many pupils.[3] Immediately after the Council Bishop Martin began to devote his attention to the moral regeneration of his diocese; however frank and friendly he was in his relations with them, he nevertheless in the case of bad priests made use of ecclesiastical censures, imprisonment, fines, suspension and banishment. The diocesan synods recommended by the Council could with difficulty be held at Eichstätt, yet the bishop managed to provide a substitute by capitular meetings of the eight deaneries. At his death Schaumberg left behind him a body of clergy whose morals were above reproach, and the scarcity of priests had been overcome; most of the people went regularly to mass and frequented the sacraments; no Protestant was admitted to the rights of citizenship.[3] If all the bishops had been like

immediate successor, in which he was severely blamed for having appointed a Protestant governor of Carinthia and Styria (THEINER, III., 21). Zobel's successor, Martin von Eyb, who had notified his election to Rome on January 17, 1581 (THEINER, III., 248), was likewise rebuked by the Pope, on April 1, 1581, for the very same thing (*ibid.*, 249). His excuses of June 17 (*ibid.*, 250) were rejected by the Pope on July 15 (*ibid.*, 252). *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxvi.

[1] SUTTNER, Geschichte des bischöflichen Seminars in Eichstätt, Eichstätt, 1859. SCHMIDLIN, II., 76.

[2] STEINHUBER, I., 280 *seqq.*

[3] JULIUS SAX: Geschichte der Bischöfe und Reichsfürsten von Eichstätt, II. (1884), 453 *seqq.* SCHMIDLIN, II., 75-9. Between

Martin von Schaumberg, in the opinion of a Protestant scholar, there would never have been any separation from Rome.[1]

The diocese of Würzburg had, in the second year of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., an even greater bishop in Julius Echter of Mespelbrunn.[2] No Bishop of Würzburg ruled over the diocese for 43 whole years as he did (1573–1617), and none of his predecessors or successors have even approached his important services to the diocese. Equally great as a civil ruler and as a prince of the Church, and endowed with extraordinary shrewdness, vast prudence, an iron will and a great power of administration, he restored the diocese of

1587 and 1590, Robert Turner wrote to a Jesuit who was to become cathedral preacher at Eichstätt and described the conditions prevailing there as follows: "Principem esse gemmam sacerdotum, populum suavissimum et sanissimum, ecclesiam optime conformatam, clerum numerosum sine labe communi, quae nos et prodidit Luthero et perdidit Deo" (Epistolae, Cologne, 1615, 375). According to Ninguarda's secretary the bishop was "integerrimae vitae sed timidus, unde canonici liberius vivunt, cum eos coercere non audeat." SCHLECHT in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, V. (1891), 127.

[1] In the funeral panegyric Turner said of him: "Qui tota vita ita dixit, ita fecit, ut et vita verbo et verbum vitae et utrumque fidei fecerit fidem, usque eo, ut ab haeretico audiverim, si omnes sacerdotes fuissent hac vita Martini, numquam secessio fuisset facta a Roma" (Orationes, Cologne, 1615, 223). *Cf.* Eiszepf's extracts from the funeral oration in SCHLECHT, *loc. cit.*, 126, n. 4.

[2] GROPP, I., 409 *seq.*, JOH. NEP. BUCHINGER, Julius Echter von Mespelbrunn, Bischof von Würzburg und Herzog von Franken, Würzburg, 1843. C. BRAUN, Heranbildung des Klerus, I., 162 *seqq.* A. L. BEIT in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CLX. (1917), 113-27. TH. HENNER in the *Neujahrsblättern der Geschellschaft für fränkische Geschichte*, XIII. (1917). *Cf.* HENNER's Jubiläumsschriften (Munich, 1918), CI. B. HESSDÖRFER (Würzburg, 1917), B. BRANDER (*ibid.*, 1917). Various notices by RULAND in the *Serapeum*, 1863, 219 *seqq.*; 1864, 104 *seq.*; 1866, 33 *seqq.*; 1867, 9 *seqq.*; 1870, 260 *seqq.* W. GOETZ in *Herzogs Real-Enzyklopädie*, IX³., 628 *seqq.* v. WEGELE in the *Allg. Deutsche Biographie*, XIV., 671 *seqq.*

Würzburg from a state of complete disorganization and bankruptcy to a healthy condition, and from the religious point of view, brought it back permanently to the old Church.

Among those who were well disposed towards the Church the election of the not yet thirty years old dean of the chapter was hailed with joy. He was born in 1545 of parents who were staunch Catholics, at the castle of Mespelbrunn[1] in Spessart; he had made his studies at good Catholic schools, as a boy with the Jesuits at Cologne,[2] as a young man at the academies in Belgium, France and Italy,[3] and had obtained his licentiate in law in Rome itself.[4] Although he was the youngest of the canons, in 1567 he was scholastic of the cathedral, and in 1570 its dean. In this capacity, a short time before he was raised to the episcopal dignity, he asked the superior of the Jesuits on the Rhine whether good and zealous priests could not be sent from Cologne to Würzburg;[5] twenty days after his election he wrote in the same sense to Rome to obtain some teacher from the German College for his diocese.[6] An annual report of the Jesuits on the Rhine[7] seems, therefore, to be right in describing

[1] For particulars of the castle see SCHULTE VOM BRÜHL, Deutsche Schlösser (1889); *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, 1873, 231 *seq.*; for the year of his birth: *Archiv für Unterfranken*, V., 2 (1839), 181 *seq.*

[2] HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 627, 695.

[3] The Archbishop of Mayence lays stress on both these facts in his letter to Gregory XIII. of March 16, 1574, in THEINER, I., 236; the Archbishop of Trêves did the same on March 20, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 127.

[4] RANKE (Päpste, II⁹., 80), and others are wrong in saying that he was at the German College; see LOSSEN in the *Forschungen zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII. (1883), 361, n. 1; BRAUN, I., 163, n. 1. About his studies and the years before his episcopal election see SCHAROLD in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, VI., 3 (1841), 154 *seqq.*; WEGELE, Geschichte, I., 130-4.

[5] The superior's letter of August 11, 1572, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 626.

[6] In BRAUN, I., 163.

[7] Of September 16, 1574, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 695.

the new prince bishop as the declared friend of the Jesuits and of ecclesiastical reform. Julius swore to the Tridentine profession of faith on March 27th,[1] and two days later promised in a letter, in which he asked for confirmation from Rome,[2] to carry on the work of reform of his predecessor, Frederick von Wirsberg. He prepared himself for his sacerdotal ordination and episcopal consecration on May 20th and 22nd, 1575, for several days and with great devotion by means of the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits, and often said that he wished to live in a manner befitting a Catholic bishop,[3] and either to do all that appertained to his office or resign the episcopal dignity.[4]

Nevertheless the first years of the government of the new bishop did not seem to hold out any great hopes for the future. Many had expected from him an immediate and strong course of action, as for example that he would, by means of a diocesan synod, remind a clergy that was forgetful of its duties, of their obligations, and that he would employ force against those who were obstinate. Instead of this the new bishop contented himself with demanding as a condition for ordination, or for the conferring of a benefice, the making of the Tridentine profession of faith,[5] with trying to influence the clergy by means of spiritual exercises,[6] and with reprinting the Breviary of Würzburg,[7] and if, in 1575, he expelled immoral

[1] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 681.

[2] THEINER, I., 238, *cf.* 236. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 127, 138, 211.

[3] Jesuit letters of June 16 and 18, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 291 *seq.* *Cf.* HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 705.

[4] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 305. *cf.* 355.

[5] Portia to Galli on January 26, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 38.

[6] In the years 1574 and 1575. REININGER, 201.

[7] RULAND in the *Serapeum*, 1863, 219 *seqq.* He also had a prayerbook of the Archduke Maximilian of Austria (for soldiers) republished in 1600 and the following years (*ibid.*, 1864, 104 *seqq.*). About the printing of the Catechism of Canisius in 1590 and 1614, *ibid.*, 1867, 9 *seqq.*; about the Würzburg hymn books, 1591-1615, *ibid.*, 1866, 33 *seqq.*

women from the houses of the clergy and the canons, this was limited to the city of Würzburg itself.[1] Some preachers were also expelled, but down to 1577 only fourteen had thus been driven out.[2] Echter is a tedious temporizer, wrote one of the Jesuits.[3] Even the Pope complained[4] that in spite of the insistence of Elgard, Julius would not be persuaded to hold a diocesan synod before his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, held a provincial one ; at the same time, only common action on the part of the bishops could effect a sensible improvement of the clergy. Gregory XIII. did not deem it out of place to remind the bishop of his promise to set up a Tridentine seminary, and charged Gropper,[5] as well as Elgard,[6] to address remonstrances to him on this subject as well as about the synod ; Portia, too, on the occasion of his visit to Würzburg in 1577, again brought pressure to bear on behalf of both synod and seminary.[7]

But if Bishop Julius only proceeded very slowly, this was not from any want of zeal, but because he only wished to undertake what he could carry out. It was impossible, so

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 305.

[2] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 37.

[3] " satis magnus cunctator," in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 674, n. 1. In a written complaint of the year 1573 (published by S. MERKLE in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, XLI. (1899), 263 *seqq.*) the bishop is even suspected of Protestant leanings. RANKE (*loc. cit.*, 79 *seq.*) thought it probable that Julius had hesitated as to whether he should make his bishopric Protestant and hereditary. Opposed to this view are LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 359 *seq.*, S. KADNER in the *Beiträgen zur bayr. Kirchengeschichte*, IV. (1898), 128-36 ; WEGELE, *loc. cit.*, 158.

[4] On November 27, 1574, in THEINER, I., 238. " Chi tentarà per se solo si concitarà un odio immortale de' principi, et forse senza frutto potendo avvenire che da gl' altri non habbia approbatione," declared Julius in reply to the nuncio Portia. Portia to Galli on January 26, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 38.

[5] On November 27, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 226.

[6] On January 22, 1575, *ibid.*, 242.

[7] Portia, *loc. cit.*

he pointed out to Elgard, and later on to Portia,[1] to proceed with severity against the ecclesiastics of the territory, because in that case they would leave the country, and the whole district would be deprived of Catholic worship. He devoted his attention rather to the training of young and good priests, and the moment he found any such at his disposal, he put him in the place of some unworthy priest. Elgard did not venture to contradict him, but he was of the opinion[2] that Bishop Julius in his excessive zeal, embarked upon too many plans, so that one hindered the other;[3] but that it was fair to say that, considering his youth and the fact that he had only recently begun to govern, he had fulfilled his duties as bishop with steadfastness and resolution.[4] Portia too, in 1577, recognized the bishop's zeal.[5] It was quite true that his hands were tied on every side by great obstacles. Julius complained to Cardinal Madruzzo at the Diet of Ratisbon that the patrons of more than 300 parishes would not allow the parish priests they nominated to be subjected to the examination desired by the Church. So that he might have some support against these patrons he suggested that the Pope might make a complaint to the bishop in a brief, to the effect that he had not opposed this arrangement with sufficient energy; this suggestion was actually carried out.[6]

If Bishop Julius saw the only hope of better conditions for the Church in the schools and the rising generation, he was able to find confirmation for this view in the experience of his predecessor. Frederick von Wirsberg had been a zealous pastor; he himself preached and administered the

[1] Elgard on August 23, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*; Portia *loc. cit.*

[2] To Galli on November 24, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 329.

[3] "Tam multa fervore quodam proponit, ut metuam, ne seipsum multitudine nimia confundat et impediat." *Ibid.*

[4] "Ego ipsi plurimum confido in Domino. Nam pro ea aetate et initio administrationis suae constanter et fortiter officium episcopale praestitit." Memorandum of July, 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 355.

[5] *loc. cit.*, 37 *seq.*

[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 493, 512.

sacraments. After he had taken possession of his see he issued a series of enactments against the Protestants. On fixed days of the week the Council of Trent was read to the clergy, and later on this reading was again repeated. The higher clergy and religious superiors were obliged in 1569 to take an oath according to the formulary of Trent, and to exact the same thing from their subjects.[1] But in spite of all this the bishop himself realized that the ecclesiastical revival was making very little progress. Often the pious old man rose in the night to pray God to raise up for the diocese a more energetic successor.[2]

As far as the education of youth was concerned, Frederick von Wirsberg had prepared the ground for his successor in a remarkable way. His first attempt at setting up an establishment for higher education in 1561 failed indeed,[3] but in 1567 a Jesuit college, as well as a house of studies was established.[4] Nevertheless the want of a true university in the district of Franconia was badly felt, since the youths who attended the high-schools returned home almost Protestants, or at any rate were "neither flesh nor fish."[5] There was also a want of a theological seminary in accordance with the prescriptions of the Council of Trent, since the college of Frederick von Wirsberg was intended for students in all the faculties. The prince bishop Julius supplied these deficiencies, and established education in Franconia in such a way as to make it independent of outside resources, and well provided for in every way. First of all he obtained for the Jesuit college the pontifical and Imperial privileges which converted it into a university.[6] He further established

[1] GROPP, I., 386. WEGELE in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, VIII., 60 *seq.*

[2] GROPP, I., 388.

[3] BRAUN, I., 106 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 124 *seqq.*, 139 *seqq.*, 145 *seqq.*

[5] Julius to the Chapter on February 28, 1575, *ibid.*, 178.

[6] Gregory XIII. on March 28, 1575, in GROPPER, I., 499 *seq.*; WEGELE, Geschichte, II., 80 *seqq.* Maximilian, II., on May 11, 1575, *ibid.*, 84; *cf.* BRAUN, I., 167 *seqq.*

three colleges which were intended to ensure to the rising generation a means of recovery and protection from danger.[1] The first, the college of St. Kilian, for forty theological students, was to form the true Tridentine theological seminary; to this was attached a house for students in all the faculties.[2] The second, the Marian College, intended to serve as a preparatory school for that of St. Kilian, was also for forty students; this was to serve for the classics and philosophy.[3] The third institution for poor boys, was in its turn to serve as a preparatory school for the Marian.[4] To these three there was added in 1607 a seminary for 24 young nobles;[5] in this way, provision had now been made for all, as far as education was concerned. The teachers and professors in all these institutions were drawn by Bishop Julius from the Jesuits.

So as to prepare a suitable residence for his university, as well as for the college of St. Kilian, he erected a splendid new building.[6] He too had to contend with the same financial difficulties which had prevented Bishop Frederick from founding the university which he too had had in view. But in spite of all difficulties, and in spite of the opposition of his unintelligent chapter and their hostility to the Jesuits, Julius was successful in carrying out his intentions. Sometimes it is true, there was a tendency on his part to have recourse to force, the natural effect of his iron will. When

[1] A written document, dated January 2, 1589, decreed that the work of education should be distributed among three colleges. BRAUN, I., 316 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 175 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 259.

[4] *Ibid.*, 312.

[5] BRAUN, I., 351. F. K. HUMMER, Das von Fürstbischof Julius gestiftete Seminarium nobilium zu Würzburg, Würzburg, 1906.

[6] BRAUN, I., 285 *seqq.* BUCHINGER, 147 *seqq.* Opening celebrations on January 2, 1582 (WEGELE, Geschichte, I., 196 *seq.*, II., 127). About the university, see *Kunstdenkmäler von Unterfranken und Würzburg*, XII. (1914); R. STÖLZE, Erziehungs und Unterrichtsanstalten im Julius-spital seit 1580 bis 1803, Munich, 1914.

for example the chapter would not concede the use of an empty monastery for the projected Tridentine seminary, he himself handed over the building to the Jesuits, *brevimanu*, and the chapter had to give way whether they liked it or not.[1]

The zeal of Bishop Julius was not yet satisfied with all these institutions. He was not only a promoter of learning, but he was also a father of the poor and needy.[2] The destructive military campaigns of which the Duchy of Franconia had been the scene during the XVIth century, had directly injured many pious institutions, and given their unscrupulous administrators an excuse for being unfaithful to their trust. The prince-bishop now intervened; he examined the state of these institutions, saved some from ruin, and improved and reorganized them in general. Several of his enactments on behalf of the still existing hospitals, such as that for Arnstein in 1573, for Heidingsfeld in 1585, for Münnerstadt in 1591, for Dettelbach, Gerolzhofen, Mellrichstadt, Neustadt, and Rottingen in 1616, together with the ordinances on behalf of Ebern, Karlstadt, Volkach, Hassfurt, Iphofen and Königshofen, are couched in eloquent language.[3] In many instances the efforts of Echter on behalf of ancient institutions took the form of an almost entirely new foundation. He himself described the spirit which guided him in his works of charity in an autograph postscript to the statute for the hospital at Volkach, which he had rebuilt from its foundations;[4] "I do not remember having ever read of anyone dying a bad death who willingly devoted himself to works of charity, for such a one has many to intercede for him, and it is impossible for the prayers of many people not to be heard."

The most important of the bishop's charitable foundations was the great Julian hospital which still exists in the city

[1] BRAUN, I., 180, 259 *seq.* In 1581 Gregory XIII. issued a prohibition preventing the bishop from seizing the property of the Jesuits (*ibid.*, 206, n. 1). *Cf.* DUHR, I., 126 *seqq.*

[2] BUCHINGER, 243 *seqq.* JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 239.

[3] BUCHINGER, 244.

[4] Of 1607, *ibid.*, 246.

of Würzburg. Persons with means were not to be admitted to this wealthy institution, and no attention was to be paid to recommendations in admitting inmates, because owing to such recommendations and payments the sick would be crowded out by the healthy. This bishop wished to assist none but the needy: the poor, the sick, the orphans, pilgrims on their way, and all in need, and these were assisted gratuitously out of the large revenues. The cathedral chapter made objections to this splendid undertaking as well, but at last agreed that the revenues of the deserted monastery of Heiligental and other funds should be made over to the hospital. Bishop Julius himself laid the first stone on March 12th, 1576, on March 12th, 1579, he signed the charter of foundation, and on July 10th, 1580, he was able to consecrate the church of the hospital.[1]

The great Bishop of Würzburg also distinguished himself in yet a third kind of foundation, and the epitaph which his successor placed upon his tomb records the fact that he had built more than 300 churches.[2]

When Bishop Julius had won for himself an established reputation both with his own subjects and throughout the Empire, and had laid the necessary foundations for a religious revival, he set himself in 1585 to the task of restoring the ancient faith, and carried it out with the resolution and prudent gentleness which distinguished him. As early as 1582 the nobility of Franconia had demanded of him the suppression of the ecclesiastical council, and of the Jesuits, as well as a chapel for Lutheran sermons, and marriage for the clergy of the country.[3] This last blow struck on behalf of Protestantism failed before the calm firmness of the bishop.[4]

[1] Buchinger, 247-56.

[2] Gropp, I., 429.

[3] Buchinger, 277, 290 *seq.* Janssen-Pastor, V.[15-16], 235. Jos. Chmel, Die Handschriften der k.k. Hofbibliothek in Wien, I., Vienna, 1840, 368, supplement to no. xxvii. The knights also expressed their opposition to the foundation of the university.

[4] Buchinger, 291.

Three years later, in the year of the death of Gregory XIII., Julius Echter took the offensive.[1] Missionaries and visitation commissions were sent throughout the country, and every subject was obliged to declare whether he preferred to return to the old faith or leave the country. The prince-bishop himself took part in the visitation.[2] In two years 120 Lutheran pastors had to leave.[3] Very few of the Protestants preferred exile to returning to Catholicism.[4] As early as June, 1586, we are told that hardly a sixth part of the state remained Protestant. Bishop Julius himself estimated the number of converts at that time at 53,000; only 34 persons had gone into exile. In the two years 1586 and 1587 fourteen cities and 200 villages, with their 62,000 inhabitants had again become Catholic.[5] Very often the reports speak of the readiness and joy with which the people came back to the ancient faith.[6] By 1590 Protes-

[1] Euch. Sang, Triumphus Franconiae, Würzburg, 1618, reproduced in Gropp, I., 637-46.

[2] Buchinger, 172 *seqq.* Heppe, Fulda, 161 *seqq.* where some extracts from original sources may be found on pp. 173, 174 n., 179, 183 *seq.*, 187, 188 n. Ritter, I., 626.

[3] Ritter, I., 627. Sang (*loc. cit.*, 639) merely remarks: "Tempore progrediente non deni aut viceni, sed centeni . . . ex diocesi moti sunt."

[4] "Inventi sunt, quanquam numero non ita magno, qui . . . hinc migrarunt" (Sang, Triumphus, *loc. cit.*, 643). Some actual figures in Janssen-Pastor, V.[11111], 238; Duhr, I., 488 *seq.* *Cf.* Ritter, I., 628. Speaking of the entirely Protestant county of Wertheim, Sang says (p. 645): ". . . ut intra paucorum mensium spatium nova denuo et nobilissima ad catholicam religionem accessio facta fuerit, et ex universis vix unus aut alter inventus, qui piis monitis repugnaret et de abitu loqueretur vel cogitaret." Certain districts bordering on Saxony remained Protestant. Denzinger in the *Archiv für Unterfranken*, X., 1 (1850), 121 *seqq.*

[5] Duhr, I., 486, 488.

[6] *Ibid.* "But in general Würzburg was like every other place where the counter-reformation had been energetically undertaken. In the very next generation the people had become completely

tantism in Würzburg may be said to have been destroyed.[1]

Although Bishop Julius had done nothing against the Protestants in his duchy which had not long been in common use against the Catholics in Protestant districts, yet his method of procedure called forth strong complaints. The three secular Electors, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Count Palatine of Neuberg, together with the Duke of Wurtemberg and other princes made strong protests by letter. A series of Protestant writings heaped abuse upon the courageous person of the reformer, but Bishop Julius did not allow himself to be deterred by this. He replied to the princes calmly and in a dignified way, treating these abusive letters like votive offerings by hanging them up for a time at the altar of his castle chapel.[2]

In spite of the uproar caused by events in Franconia, Bishop Julius was by no means the only Catholic prince who set himself to the task of restoring the ancient faith in a state that had become almost completely Protestant. The signal for this really came from the tomb of the man who, sent in the first instance from Rome, had planted Catholicism in Germany, namely from Fulda. What bishops who were already advanced in years had not ventured to do, was there ventured upon by a Benedictine abbot of only twenty-two, Balthasar von Dernbach,[3] and his example, in spite of the

changed and devoted both to the Church and to the Jesuits." (Goetz in *Herzog's Real-Enzyklopädie*, IX.,[1] 634). *Cf.* Heppe, Fulda, 193: "The altered manner of public life made it almost impossible to imagine that the Protestant teaching had once flourished here." Janssen-Pastor, V.,[15-16] 238.

[1] Buchinger, 169 *seqq.* Schmidlin, II., 128.

[2] Buchinger, 179 *seqq.*, 332. Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 170 *seqq.*, 188 *seq.* Mission of the Elector of Saxony, *ibid.*, 176 *seqq.* Memorial presented by the knights to the chapter and the bishop's reply, *ibid.*, 174, n. 1, 178; *cf.* 186 *seq.*

[3] H. Heppe, Die Restauration des Katholizismus in Fulda, auf dem Eichsfelde und in Würzburg, Marburg, 1850; also *Katholik*, 1863, I., 716-46. J. Gegenbaur, Geschichte der religiösen Bewegung im Hochstifte Fulda während des 16 Jahr-

failures at first, had the effect of inspiring courage in others.

Fulda and its surrounding territory had at one time been rich in monasteries, but, as Elgard wrote in 1575,[1] the principal monastery was now no longer a monastery, and the rest had disappeared. Of the religious of the ancient and celebrated abbey of St. Boniface, those who formed the chapter had to be nobles; of these there were only four, and they, like the other canons, lived each one by himself in his own house. As the last remaining trace of their special position they wore the scapular over a dress that could hardly be described as a fitting raiment for a secular priest.[2] Besides the members of the chapter ten monks attended the office in choir. The learning of the canons was so little that they were unable to succeed in understanding even sufficient Latin.[3]

In the city of Fulda, as in the whole of the principality, the appeal of the Confession of Augsberg had become more and more strong ever since the middle of the century. As is shown by the repeatedly renewed demands of its subjects, toleration of the new faith had not yet been allowed, although Abbot Philip Schenk von Schweinsberg had in 1542 allowed freedom in the matter of communion under two kinds and in the use of the Latin tongue at baptisms. In spite of the Catholic sentiments of the abbots, the new doctrines continued to make progress under the influence of the neighbouring

hunderts (Progr.) Fulda, 1861. KOMP, Fürstabt Balthasar von Fulda und die Stifts-rebellion von 1576, in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI. (1865), 1-26, 106-33, 186-208, 288-99 (revised reprint together with certain hitherto unpublished documents by G. RICHTER, Fulda, 1915; *cf. Fuldaer Geschichtsblätter*, X. (1911), 39 *seqq.*; XI. (1912), 65 *seqq.* KOMP, Die zweite Schule Fuldas und das päpstliche Seminar, 1571-3, Fulda, 1877. H. V. EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach und die katholische Restauration im Hochstifte Fulda, 1570-1606, Munich, 1890.

[1] On March 9 to Galli, in THEINER, II., 74.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 75.

Protestant states, and the last traces of the ancient religion threatened soon to disappear entirely.[1]

It was under these threatening conditions that Balthasar von Dernbach assumed the reins of government in 1570. The new abbot came from a completely Protestant family of Hesse.[2] In his early youth he went to Fulda, where his great-uncle William von Klaur was abbot. We do not know exactly how it was that Balthasar embraced the Catholic faith, not only externally, but with all his heart, nor how he succeeded in preserving the spotless purity of his morals in a society that was certainly not a school of virtue. It is certain that the gifted youth soon drew attention to himself; as his subsequent life showed he was possessed in the highest degree of strength of character, resoluteness, steadfastness, prudence, and gentleness combined with deep piety and zeal for religion.[3] Even before he was twenty he became a canon, in 1568, and was elected abbot in 1570.

From the commencement of his rule[4] Balthasar set himself

[1] Komp in the *Hist-polit Blätter*, LVI., 8. Against Heppe's description of the edict of 1542 and its significance, see *Katholik*, 1863, I., 719 *seqq*. Evidence that the old faith had not been completely wiped out, *ibid.*, 724 *seqq*.

[2] "In it (in Lutheranism) his father had lived and died; also, without doubt, he himself, the abbot, had been baptized, instructed and educated in it from his youth" (Instruction for the ambassadors of the Protestant princes to Balthasar on September 24, 1573, in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 200). "Di cui lodano infinitamente la bontà et la constanza, che in cosi giovenile età non eccedendo il 23 anno in lui risplendono, che truovandosi cinto da heretici et nato di padre et di parenti infettissimi, etc." (Portia on December 9, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 265). *Cf.* Egloffstein, *loc. cit.*, 2 *seq*. According to other accounts, Balthasar's father was the only knight of Hesse who still remained Catholic (Komp, Zweite Schule, 7; *Katholik*, 1863, I., 745). His mother, though originally Protestant (see Komp, *loc. cit.*, 26), communicated in 1574 at Fulda under one kind (Hansen, Rheinische Akten, 680).

[3] *Cf. Katholik*, 1853; I., 744.

[4] He says so himself in a letter of December 28, 1573, to Gregory XIII. Theiner, I., 92.

to restore as far as possible the Catholic faith in his principality. He began by removing from his entourage all untrustworthy officials, and frequently at great expense summoned capable men to his counsels.[1] A second step was the establishment of a Jesuit college. The nobility, in paying their homage, had asked for a school; two of Balthasar's new councillors, who had both studied at Trêves under the Jesuits, called his attention to the new Order, of which Balthasar had not even heard, and on October 20th, 1572, the new establishment was opened at Fulda.[2] The chapter, to whom the abbot had at his election given a promise in writing that he would not annoy "the diocese and the abbey with foreign ecclesiastics" had consented to this.[3] Gregory XIII. allowed the Franciscan convent, which had been empty for twenty years, to be used for this purpose.[4] In 1579 the number of the pupils had already risen to 250.[5]

Other enactments followed these first steps. Prohibitions were issued against the singing of Lutheran hymns at divine worship, and the use of the books of the innovators; Catholic practices were again introduced, such as the administration of baptism in Latin, processions, etc.; a sodality of Our Lady was established. Balthasar interested himself especially in the improvement of his clergy and of the monks of his abbey, by insisting upon the prescriptions of Trent,[6] and

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 7. Hansen, *loc. cit.*, 691. Abbot Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on April 20, 1577, in Theiner, II., 300.

[2] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 9-12. Duhr, I., 128 *seqq.*

[3] *Cf. Katholik*, 1863, I., 729 *seqq.* (against Heppe). That, in spite of this promise, the Jesuits could have been introduced without the chapter, was admitted by the Dean of the chapter and two of the canons. *Ibid.*, 732.

[4] Brief of June 28, 1573, in Schannat, Diocesis, 352. Zaccaria Delfino recommended the Abbot to the German Congregation. Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 22.

[5] Hansen, *loc. cit.*, 738.

[6] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 12. Schannat, *loc. cit.* 350. There is room for doubt as to whether the date of the mandate is March 14, 1573, or 1574.

Gregory XIII. supported the efforts of the prince-abbot by granting privileges.[1] Above all Balthasar himself influenced others by the example of his holy life and fear of God. He zealously assisted at the office and sermons, carefully observed the ecclesiastical fasts, and prepared himself to receive his abbatial benediction by making the spiritual exercises of the Jesuits.[2]

It was easy to foresee that the Protestants would not accept all this in silence. As early as March 8th, 1571, the knights held a meeting at Hünfeld, asked once more for the concession of the Confession of Augsburg, and told the abbot that they had indeed asked for a school, but not a Jesuit school.[3] With the knights was associated the chapter,[4] which, in spite of its former approval of the foundation of a Jesuit college, now refused its consent to the carrying out of the plan.[5]

Soon the agitation affected others. The municipal council asked[6] that the religious peace should not only be understood according to the letter, and complained that they had been deprived of the chalice as well as of the use of Latin at baptisms.[7] The magistracy expressed their desire for the

[1] A dispensation for the ordination to the priesthood of a 23-year-old candidate dated June 22, 1573; and faculties for absolution from heresy of the same date, in SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 351; a dispensation for the ordination of illegitimate candidates dated February 17, 1574; and another one for the absolution of apostates on May 17, 1574, *ibid.*, 366, 367. *Cf.* SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 76; MERGENTHEIM, II., 227 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 102: "And thus Fulda was provided with counter Reformation faculties quite as richly, or even more richly than were most of the German Ordinaries."

[2] KOMP, *loc. cit.* For the confirmation a Würzburg document of Bishop Frederick von Wirsberg in the *Augsb. Postztg.*, 1899, suppl., 163.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 10.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 11, 12.

[6] On May 28, 1573, in HEPPE, Restauration, 29, n. 1.

[7] On July 24, 1573. *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Gesch.*, II. (1838), 77 *seqq.*

Confession of Augsburg,[1] and laid their demands before the abbot through the municipal council and the chapter.[2] Rejected by Balthasar, the chapter and the nobles met in a Diet at Geisa, in order to draw up a common petition, in which a supposed consent of the abbot to the Confession of Augsburg was mentioned.[3] Whereas the other petitions were still couched in terms of respect to the prince, that of the nobles and canons clearly struck the note of future rebellion.

Balthasar did not allow himself to be alarmed. On August 26th, 1573, he replied by issuing a detailed religious edict,[4] in which he justified the course he had adopted by custom and the terms of the religious peace, and ended by commanding them in the name of the obedience they owed to their sovereign to accept the ancient faith. Every kind of interference in ecclesiastical government was forbidden, as well as all discussion of the subject or any speech against the Catholic religion. Balthasar summoned the knights and the canons to his presence, each party separately, and warned the canons that in convoking the nobles they had exceeded their powers and had dared to take the part of the innovators ;[5] the knights he referred to his edict on religion. The latter replied by once more demanding the free use of the Confession of Augsburg.[6] The heads of the magistracy, when they received the edict, declared that they would act in common with the council and the citizens, but the latter, at a further meeting, expressed themselves almost unanimously against the abbot.[7]

The storm which these repeated meetings and petitions stirred up soon threatened to lead to disturbances, even outside the borders of the state. The significance of a Catholic

[1] Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 30 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 31.
[3] On August 24, 1573, *ibid.*, 32.
[4] In Schannat, *loc. cit.*, 356-63.
[5] Komp in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI., 14.
[6] On August 27, 1573, in Heppe, Restauration, 32.
[7] *Ibid.*, 36.

Fulda in the midst of its neighbouring states, all Protestant, was recognized from the first by the adherents of both the old and the new religions; it was like a Catholic fortress placed in the midst of an enemy country. Zaccaria Delfino recommended the cause of the abbot to the German Congregation in Rome in this light.[1] The Landgrave William of Hesse said that he could not tolerate the Jesuits at Fulda because they not only attracted the flower of the nobility of Hesse to their college, but were also able to spread their books everywhere in secret.[2] Abbot Balthasar was further the first ecclesiastical prince who had dared to make use of the religious peace of Augsburg in favour of Catholicism. Should he be successful, his example would certainly find imitators among the other prelates; on the other hand, if they could succeed in crushing and driving out the courageous Abbot of Fulda, the Protestant princes would be encouraged to adopt a similar policy with regard to the other ecclesiastical princes.[3] It thus came about that the private disputes at Fulda very soon became a question involving the whole of Germany, and drew down a violent storm on the head of Balthasar. The Prince-elector of Saxony, the two Landgraves of Hesse, and at first the Margrave of Ansbach,[4] who, however, soon withdrew, united in making a common attack. There was already talk of armed intervention, of the expulsion by force of the Jesuits, who, as a new sect, were not included in the religious peace,[5] of the removal of Balthasar, and the election of a Protestant prince-abbot.

On October 21st, 1573, an embassy from the three princes

[1] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 22.

[2] KOMP, Zweite Schule, 23.

[3] Rhetius on January 25, 1574, in HANSEN, Rheinische Atken, 668 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 764.

[4] At a meeting on September 14, 1573 (HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 38) which took place under the auspices of the Elector Augustus (EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 9, 84). For a meeting of tbe ahove named princes held at Leipzig, *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, III, lxxvii, 288, 305, 345.

[5] *Ibid*, 331.

arrived at Fulda ; in the event of the abbot refusing the free concession of the Confession of Ausgburg and the banishment of the Jesuits, the envoys were to proceed to threats, and to demand from the dean and chapter the election of the young Count Palatine, Frederick ;[1] the abbot gave his reply on the following day, asking for time for reflection.[2] Without the permission of the prince the envoys then went to the municipality and reminded the council and the magistrates that the Protestant princes would give them their support, in maintaining "the pure doctrine."[3] In spite of the protest of the abbot they also got into touch with the nobles and the chapter.[4] A special envoy from the Landgrave William Johann Meckbach, advised the citizens to avail themselves of the Landgrave's help.[5]

Naturally the noble canons and knights were emboldened by all this. At the beginning of November they again presented themselves before the abbot. But the canons again received a severe rebuke ; the nobles, who once more demanded the expulsion of the Jesuits and asked for a Protestant preacher, were informed by the prince-abbot that he was prepared to submit the whole affair to the Emperor and the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber for decision.[6] The chapter sought to adopt another method of procedure, by issuing an order of expulsion to the Jesuits

[1] The envoys' instruction of September 24, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 199 *seqq.* The Elector of Saxony, however, was not really so eager in the Fulda affair as he gave himself out to be (MORITZ, 413, n., 415 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266, 323). Landgrave William was opposed to the abbot for political reasons as well ; see Graziani to Galli on January 20, 1574, in THEINER, I., 412.

[2] Report of the envoys of October 24, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.* 203-9. KOMP in the *Hist.-polit Blätter*, LVI., 15 *seq.*

[3] Report in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 209-11.

[4] *Ibid*, 211, 221.

[5] *Ibid.*, 45.

[6] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 15-8. DUHR, I., 130. Supplica of the Chapter of November 3, 1573, in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 222-5.

on their own account, as shairng in the government of the abbey.[1]

Balthasar was not left without help in his difficulties: by the intervention of a friend, the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber at Spires had already, on November 13th, 1573, issued an edict from the Emperor in his favour.[2] Albert V. assured the abbot of his support[3] and recommended his case to the Emperor, as also did the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Archbishop of Mayence.[4] Later on Gregory XIII. took up the cause of the persecuted abbot strongly. Balthasar had asked for his intervention;[5] the Pope, according to his desires, could do two things for him; he could obtain a prohibition from the Emperor to the princes to interfere in his government and, under the pretext of religion, invade his territory, and he could issue an Imperial declaration that the rights over religion in his own territory belonged to him, and that the Jesuits, since they had been approved by the Pope and the Council of Trent, were included in the religious peace. The Pope might further exhort the chapter of Fulda to obedience. Gregory XIII. acceded to these two requests on February 13th, 1574, in two letters, to the Emperor[6] and to the canons of Fulda.[7] On April 3rd he also had recourse to the more important Catholic princes of Germany, namely, the Dukes of the Tyrol,[8] Styria[9] and

[1] Of November 6, 1573, in SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 363 *seq.* (extract); HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 231-4. Concerning the reply of the Jesuits of November 12, see DUHR, I., 130. A letter of consolation from the General of the Order to Thyräus of February 16, 1574, in REIFFENBERG, Historia S.J. ad Rhenum inferiorem, Cologne, 1764, 135.

[2] SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 364 *seqq.* KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 19.

[3] On November 27, 1573, in HEPPE, Restauration, 238 *seqq.*

[4] Albert on the 22, Ferdinand on the 30, Maximilian II. (to the Archbishop of Mayence) on the 24 January, 1574, in THEINER, Schweden, II., documents 289 *seq.*

[5] On December 28, 1573, in THEINER, I., 92.

[6] *Ibid.*, 256.

[7] In SCHWARZ, Gropper, 121.

[8] In THEINER, I., 256 *seq.*

[9] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 133.

Bavaria,[1] and the three ecclesiastical Electors,[2] asking them to unite with the Emperor on behalf of the abbot. He also asked the new King of Poland, who had gone to Fulda on his journey to his kingdom,[3] to take up the cause of the abbot with the Protestant princes.[4] It is an act of madness, and something contrary to the laws of the Empire, Gregory wrote to Portia on the same date,[5] for a prince to wish to prevent another from living as he chooses in his own house, or from having with him those religious whom he chooses; not even among the Turks would anything of the sort be done.

Nevertheless, peace was far from being restored by the decision of the Imperial Chamber. Johann Meckbach, the envoy of the Landgrave of Hesse, again presented himself at Fulda;[6] he was to suggest to the chapter whether they ought not to remove the abbot as a lunatic, and put in his place either the dean or the young Count Palatine. The justificatory letters of Balthasar to the Prince Elector of Saxony[7] and the two Landgraves[8] were rudely rejected.[9] Augustus of Saxony sent Balthasar's letter to the Landgrave William and advised him to ask the chapter to expel the Jesuits, and send the canons an auxiliary force of 500 or 1000 horse.[10] From Spires too there came news of the enrolment of troops to march against the ecclesiastical princes; a beginning was to be made with Fulda. The abbot was advised to hand over the principality to his brother and fly in disguise to Cologne.[11]

[1] DUHR, I., 131.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 134.

[3] SCHANNAT, Historia. Cod. Prob., 429.

[4] SCHWARZ, 133.

[5] Galli to Portia on April 3, 1573, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 401 *seq.*

[6] On January 14, 1574, HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 54 *seq.*

[7] Of December 4, 1573, *ibid.*, 49.

[8] Delivered by the envoy Johann Klinghard, who arrived in Cassel on January 12, 1574, and in Marburg on the 17th. *Ibid.*, 58 *seq.*

[9] Reply of the Saxon on December 18, 1573, *ibid.*, 52, n.

[10] *Ibid.*, 53.

[11] Lopperz on February 11, 1574 (HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 672).

Soon afterwards, on March 1st, 1574, Maximilian sent out four injunctions in defence of the prince abbot ;[1] these were addressed to the three principal opponents of Balthasar, the nobility of Fulda,[2] the magistracy[3] and the chapter. But these Imperial edicts caused as their first result nothing but a fresh outbreak of indignation. In order to win over the Emperor to their side, Balthasar's three principal adversaries sent him a joint letter[4] to which the citizens associated themselves, while the nobility decided to have recourse to the tribunal of the Chamber.[5]

In one matter, however, the letters of the Pope and the Emperor produced a very definite effect: the canons dissociated themselves from the nobles, passed over to the side of the abbot, and declared that the views which they had hitherto held and the reasons by which they had defended them had been mistaken.[6] They everywhere spoke openly of the force of the declaration made by Ferdinand, now made public for the first time, as an appendix to the religious peace of Augsburg,[7] to which they denied any juridical authority, even supposing that it was authentic. It had been the Landgrave William of Hesse who, in the letter from the three Protestant princes which he himself had written, had brought to light this declaration, which had hitherto been quite unknown ; according to this the nobles, the cities, and the municipalities which were not immediately subject to the Empire were to be left free to use the Confession of Augsburg, so long as they could show that it had been in use with them before 1555.

[1] HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 60. KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 20 *seq.*

[2] HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 235-7.

[3] SCHANNAT, *loc. cit.*, 430 *seq.*

[4] Drafted by the Landgrave William at the beginning of April and dispatched on May 1, 1574 ; printed in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte*, N.F., II. (1869), 187 *seqq.* *Cf.* HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 62.

[5] *Ibid.*, 61 *seqq.*

[6] Their explanation of June 18, 1574, *ibid.*, 65-70.

[7] *Ibid.*, 67 *seq.*

If the withdrawal of the chapter of Fulda was a blow for the Protestant party, no less so was the reply of the Emperor rejecting the demands of the citizens.[1] Thus matters seemed to have taken a favourable turn for the prince abbot. At the end of March, 1574, there was hope that the disturbances at Fulda had been brought to an end ;[2] a letter from Würzburg in the middle of April expressed the view that the piety and firmness of the abbot would have great results for Germany, would dispel the vain fears of the other princes, and encourage them to unite together for the defence of the Church.[3]

Abbot Balthasar then proceeded unperturbedly with his plans. On March 27th, 1574, he openly instructed the magistracy to banish all those who refused to become Catholics.[4] When the Imperial decision came he turned likewise upon the nobles, and forbade communion in the Lutheran form in the cities and the whole territory.[5] In the June of the same year Protestant officials and ministers were again dismissed.[6] As it had been steadily maintained in the statements and demands of the nobles and the citizens that the Confession of Augsburg had already been in possession for ten years past, on August 13th, 1574, Balthasar summoned the burgomaster and the council to his castle and asked each one what proofs they had for such an assertion. Most of them could find nothing to say. Then on August 20th the abbot presented to them their own petition, proving that they had repeatedly asked him for a Protestant preacher,

[1] On July 3, 1574, *ibid.*, 73; printed in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für hessische Geschichte*, II., 94 *seqq.*

[2] HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 677.

[3] The Jesuit Thyräus to L. Kessel on April 15, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 409, n. 2 (in the last line read " sedari " instead of " sectari ").

[4] HEPPE, Restauration, 61.

[5] *Ibid.*, 73. Protest of the knights against it on October 7, 1574, and reply of the abbot on February 17, 1575, *ibid.*, 74 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 71. Lopperz on July 18, 1574, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 691.

which showed that they had never had one. On October 15th and 16th he repeated this demonstration before the magistracy.[1] Under the existing circumstances this had a special importance for Fulda, for if the Confession of Augsburg had never been legally in use, it was impossible to appeal to the declaration of Ferdinand I. on the religious peace of Augsburg.

These proofs, however, were not sufficient to block the movement. The knights had recourse to their princes, and protested against the threat of expulsion from the principality.[2] Balthasar referred them to legal procedure. In the difficulty they experienced in finding a handle, the nobles clung to the declaration of Ferdinand I., and with their colleagues of Eichsfeld demanded[3] its confirmation by the Diet of the Electors, which had assembled at Ratisbon in 1575 for the election of the future Emperor. The electoral Diet at length referred the matter to the Imperial Diet of Ratisbon in the following year, before which the nobles and citizens of Fulda appeared with a long list of grievances against their prince.[4] But discussion of the matter was no longer necessary, since in the meantime open rebellion had broken out at Fulda.

In 1575 Balthasar had once more devoted himself to the work of reform with his accustomed zeal. In February, Nicholas Elgard, the companion of the nuncio Gropper, went to Fulda. He had already been there in the June of the previous year, and it was during his stay there that the canons had sent to the nobles their letter of withdrawal; by way of excuse for their previous conduct, they called

[1] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 23 *seqq.*

[2] On October 7, 1574, Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 74.

[3] In a memorial presented on September 5, 1575, according to Heppe (*loc. cit.*, 76), in October, according to Komp (*loc. cit.*, 25). Concerning Heppe's version of the Fulda-Eichsfeld trouble and the affair of the Declaration at the assembly of the Electors, p. 95 *seq.*, *cf.* the opinion of Moritz (151, n. 8) who does not agree with Heppe.

[4] Printed in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 111-20. *Cf.* Moritz, 265, n. 3.

attention, through the dean, to the utter ruin which threatened the principality at the hands of the Protestants, for which reason they had tried to hold back the abbot from taking any rash steps.[1] At his second visit Elgard went into matters with the abbot and the chapter in greater detail.

The principal difficulty in the way of reform lay in the fact that, in some parts of the principality, it was not clear to which diocese they belonged. For this reason the abbot had proposed to the chapter that the whole of the little state should be incorporated in one of the neighbouring dioceses, or that Fulda should be made into a diocese of its own; failing this the existing state of affairs should indeed be continued, but the whole position subjected to reform. Elgard was of the opinion that it would be advantageous to confer on the abbot an authority similar to that of a bishop over the whole of his principality.[2] He could be appointed as Papal delegate for possibly six or seven years, or else the Bishops of Mayence and Würzburg could appoint a special official for Fulda with the necessary powers.[3] Elgard further recommended the third plan of carrying out a radical reform of the existing state of affairs. As far as the chapter was concerned, this would consist in its return to the rule of St. Benedict, though on account of the heretics, the wearing of the monastic habit might be omitted. The canons, however, did not give Elgard any reply on this point, but they told the abbot that on entering the Order they had found a certain manner of life in use, and that they were only bound to the observance of that, and that the existing customs must be preserved.[4]

Elgard had, nevertheless, obtained this much, that the canons began to feel ashamed of their conduct though the true remedy could only come from Rome. Thither then,

[1] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 213. Elgard to Madruzzo on July 31, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 171.

[2] Elgard to Galli on March 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 75.

[3] Elgard to Galli on October 19, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 326 *seq.*

[4] THEINER, II., 76.

Elgard sent his views. First of all he insisted that there was no need to give up hope, as something is always accomplished by continued exhortations and warnings. The Pope should address a brief to the canons, and urge them themselves to draw up a scheme of reform.[1] Elgard had been led to give this advice by his secret conviction that the canons were prepared out of very shame to remove some of the abuses, if only in order not to have to own to them in Rome.[2] He further suggested the sending of a special representative to Fulda with wider faculties; the abbot might be urged to cause some of the young nobles to be educated with the Jesuits and at the German College. Once the chapter was filled up and renewed with such men, everything else would right itself.

Elgard's suggestions were acted upon in Rome in their entirety.[3] The news that the Pope desired that some youths should be sent from Fulda to the German College in Rome was received with great joy by Balthasar.[4]

Elgard had recommended in Rome that the canons should be treated with gentleness, for otherwise they would be driven to side with the seditious citizens and the angry nobles.[5] The abbot too was warned by other friends not to ask for too much at a time.[6] But Elgard saw for himself after a few months on the occasion of his third visit to Fulda how little the abbot allowed himself to be dismayed by the difficulties which he met with. There were at that time in the neighbourhood of the principality bands of soldiers who had been enrolled for the Huguenot wars, and who were uttering threats against the abbot on account of his "Jesuitical reforms." In spite of this, not only did Balthasar go on

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 213.

[3] Briefs to the abbot and chapter of May 7, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 284.

[4] Elgard on February 17, 1575, *ibid.*, 258. *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I., 221 *seq.*

[5] THEINER, II., 76.

[6] KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 106 *seq.*

with the building of the Jesuit college, but at that very time set to work with all zeal to put an end to the disgraceful lives of the canons.[1] By this time there was hardly a Protestant left at his court, and those who would not take the Tridentine profession of faith were dismissed.[2]

When, in January, 1576, Balthasar took steps once more to fill the abbey with worthy monks, he asked for the concurrence of the chapter in their maintenance, as well as for the construction of the necessary buildings. The canons replied that the present revenues did not suffice for this. The abbot declared his readiness to take upon his own shoulders the administration of the property, and therefore insisted upon an examination into the accounts, and finally, when this was refused by the administrator, he threw him into prison.[3] Steps were then taken against the immorality of the canons. He was dissuaded from his design of whipping the concubines out of the city in a body, but he nevertheless caused the dean's "lovely maiden" to be arrested in the public streets, and only released her after she had promised on oath not to set foot any more in the monastery.[4]

Then there occurred what Elgard had feared: the chapter once more made common cause with the nobles.

The barons were especially irritated with Balthasar because he had redeemed not a few lordships which they had pawned, and that for the small sum for which they had been pledged. Moreover, Balthasar had resolutely opposed their attempts to be made directly dependent upon the Empire, with the assistance of their neighbours in Franconia who were thus directly dependent, and so free themselves from Balthasar's authority over them.[5]

Besides the canons and the knights, the citizens as well were irritated by the new measures taken by the abbot. He

[1] Elgard to Galli on August 10, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 301.

[2] An unknown correspondent to Elgard on December 3, 1575, *ibid.*, 332.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 107.

[4] *Ibid.*, 108.

[5] *Ibid.*, 109 *seq.*

would not approve the election of a zealous Protestant as municipal secretary, and asked the council for the keys of the city.[1] Attendance at Protestant worship was forbidden throughout the district.[2] An ordinance of December 27th, 1575,[3] ordered fathers of families and all citizens to attend mass on Sundays and festivals, together with their households. The controversy over a new regulation of the city earned for the two senior burgomasters an imprisonment of 14 days.[4]

In this way the idea gradually took shape in the minds of the nobles and the canons of removing the abbot and placing the abbey in the hands of an administrator. The understanding between the malcontents and the nobles of Franconia makes it easy to see why for the same purpose they joined forces with their powerful neighbour, Bishop Julius of Würzburg, upon whom the greater part of the principality was dependent ecclesiastically, and who had so far given little trouble to the Protestants in his own principality in eastern Franconia. It is much more difficult to understand how Bishop Julius should have allowed himself to be mixed up in such a project. He himself a few months later tried to justify his action to the Pope. He was influenced by his anxiety, he said, lest the principality of Fulda might pass entirely into the hands of the heretics; if he had not intervened it would already be in their power.[5] That such a

[1] *Ibid.*, 111. HEPPE, Restauration, 117.

[2] EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 32.

[3] Promulgated on January 1, 1576, printed in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 106, n. 2, *cf.* 116; SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 368 (with the impossible date, July 27, 1576).

[4] On March 27, 1576, HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 119.

[5] On July 17, 1576, in THEINER, II., 192. As late as 1582 Julius told Madruzzo that he felt certain the abbot would never be able to govern the nobles and people of Fulda which would also be a source of embarrassment to neighbouring countries (Madruzzo to Galli on August 4, 1582, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 493, *cf.* III., 39 *seq.*). WEGELE says (Gesch, I., 161): "With regard to motives . . . the only point that he brings forward in his own defence, namely, that he refused to allow the Abbey of Fulda to fall into the hands of the enemy through internal intrigues for

danger existed cannot be denied; it is equally clear that Bishop Julius could not feel much sympathy with the proceedings of Balthasar, who was his direct opposite in everything. If he had not intervened the conspirators would have found another administrator, and a Protestant; that would have meant the end of Catholicism in Fulda, and he himself would have been seriously threatened in Würzburg. It is thus possible to understand to some extent the course of action adopted by the great Bishop of Würzburg, but it will always remain a stain upon his memory.[1]

The nobles had already entered into relations with Julius. When the questions at issue between the abbot and the chapter became more and more involved, Balthasar proposed a decision by arbitration, for example, by the prince Electors of Trêves and Mayence. But the chapter wished to have as arbitrator either the Bishop of Würzburg alone, or else the entire Roman Empire, and Balthasar at length agreed to this.[2] Julius suggested the following plan: the two prelates of Würzburg and Fulda were respectively to nominate each other as co-adjutors with the right of succession, but Balthasar rejected this strange plan. There then began secret meetings of the canons and nobles with Neidhardt von Thüngen, the dean of the chapter of Würzburg, and some of the nobles of Franconia, and on May 6th a decision was arrived at that an embassy of three nobles and two canons should treat with the bishop concerning his acceptance of the title of co-adjutor.[3]

The carrying out of their plan was made easier for the conspirators by the fact that Balthasar, on May 1st, 1576, had gone to the second largest town of his principality, to Hammelburg in the immediate neighbourhood of the territory of Würzburg. There had been no Catholic priest at Hammel-

which he was in no way responsible, must be considered as something more than a mere pretext, for it must be admitted that the danger he feared was by no means remote."

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 177 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 106. Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 135, n. 1. *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 33.

[3] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 111.

burg since 1553, and Balthasar celebrated mass there for the first time, which was not, however, done without the opposition of the council. On June 8th he told the citizens of Hammelburg that he did not intend to interfere with the practice of their religion, but that Catholic worship must be permanently carried out in Hammelburg for the future. He would recommend the Catholic priest not to show hostility towards the Confession of Augsburg, but he expected the same attitude towards the old faith from the preachers.[1]

In the meantime Balthasar received bad tidings one after another. Bishop Julius, whom he asked for an account of his dealings with Fulda, openly admitted on June 13th, that in order to lessen the danger to the abbot, he had accepted the coadjutorship. Immediately after this Balthasar learned that the nobles, the canons and the city had publicly declared on June 17th that they wished to elect a new ruler. In spite of this the abbot took no precautions; even when the news came that the conspirators with 100 horsemen were only two hours distance from the city, he still refused the advice to take to hasty flight, saying that those who were coming were all bound by their oath of fealty.[2]

On June 20th the rebels entered Hammelburg, produced a long list of grievances and threatened to hold the election of a coadjutor.[3] On the afternoon of the following day, the feast of Corpus Domini, Balthasar went in a friendly way to meet Bishop Julius, who had announced his coming; in spite of the advice of a trusted friend, that he should rather go at once to the Diet of Ratisbon, he still continued to put his trust in the bishop.[4]

On the Friday the rebellion broke out openly. Without warning, the conspirators went to the abbot, demanded that he should voluntarily abdicate and formally hand over the coadjutorship to the bishop, who, with Balthasar's consent,

[1] *Ibid.*, 111-7. HEPPE: Das evangelische Hammelburg und dessen Untergang durch das Papsttum, Wiesbaden, 1862, 82-131.

[2] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 121 *seq.*

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 123. HEPPE, Restauration, 140 *seq.*

[4] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 124.

was also present. Already they refused to accord to the abbot his title, and the air was filled with cries and uproar, yet the abbot, although so gravely threatened, remained firm.[1] Other means were then adopted. On the morning of Saturday, shortly after midnight, a great tumult broke out. The marshall of Würzburg climbed through a window into the abbot's lodgings, the door was thrown open, the alarm bell rung, the abbot's servants disarmed, and the Jesuit who accompanied him ill-treated. The whole day was passed in pressing the abbot with angry threats: "If your lordship will not consent, it will be a case of: sign or sink"; if they were forced to come back again and the abbot would not consent, they would cut him into as many pieces as he had drops of blood in his veins, and they[2] would kill him like a mad dog.[3] In the evening of the same day Balthasar let himself be persuaded to sign an already prepared document, and hand over the administration of the abbey to Bishop Julius. On Sunday the citizens took the oath to their new master; on the following Wednesday, in the presence of the abbot and the bishop, homage was paid in Fulda, after the new administrator had been canonically elected and installed in the church.[4]

Balthasar went first to Neuhof. There he was met by his two brothers and his chancellor, Winkelmann, who were returning from the Diet at Ratisbon, and brought the news that the Emperor had, on June 28th, 1576, ordered the reinstatement of the abbot under severe penalties, and that the Imperial commissaries had set out with them from Ratisbon and were already at Würzburg.[5] On July 3rd Balthasar had again been forced to sign a report to Louis of Hesse, announcing his resignation in the sense desired

[1] *Ibid.*, 125 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 129.

[3] *Cf.* Balthasar's letter to the Pope dat. August 1, 1576, where events are described, in THEINER, II., 191, and EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 41 *seq.*

[4] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 129-33.

[5] *Ibid.*, 187 *seq.* EGLOFFSTEIN, *loc. cit.*, 48.

by his adversaries ;[1] but they could not induce him to sign a similar letter to the Pope,[2] notwithstanding the fact that he was entirely in his adversaries' hands. On July 12th, he escaped them by flying to the territory of Mayence, where he found refuge in a small castle near Hausen.[3] Thence he sent his complaints to the Pope.[4]

Naturally what had happened at Hammelburg had made a deep impression on Gregory XIII.[5]

That act of violence was, as Erstenberger, the secretary of the Imperial Chancery put it, a glaring example of the way " they were trying to extirpate and devour the priests " :[6] fi strict reparations were not insisted upon, it would find many imitators, and that would mean the end of all Gregory XIII.'s plans for reform in Germany. As Giovanni Delfino wrote six days after the occurrence, the case was one of the most important that had occurred in those times, not only on account of the violence offered to the person of the abbot, but also because of its serious consequences, and the arrogance hwich their enemies would display if this offence did not meet with prompt and severe punishment.[7] Similar expressions also are of frequent occurrence in the correspondence of Roman circles.[8] Gregory XIII. therefore demanded in the most definite terms the reinstatement of the abbot. On September 3rd he sent a special messenger with five briefs, to the Emperor, Bishop Julius, the Archbishop of Mayence,

[1] Reproduced in HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 275 *seqq.*

[2] Reproduced in SCHANNAT, Diocesis, 10 *seqq.*

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 189. On August 4 he retracted his letter to the Landgrave. HEPPE, *loc. cit.*, 281 *seq.*

[4] On August 1, 1576, in THEINER, II., 190 ; SCHANNAT, Hist., 269 *seq.*

[5] " S.S^{tà} ha questo fatto molto a core (Galli on August 11, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 118) ; una causa che preme a N.S. quanto meritamente deve " (Galli on August 18, 1576, *ibid.*, 129).

[6] July 28, 1576, in MORITZ, 414, n. 2.

[7] To Galli, Ratisbon, 1575, June 29, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 66.

[8] *Ibid.*, 94, 122.

the Duke of Bavaria and the chapter of Fulda,[1] and when Balthasar's letter arrived, further briefs were sent of September 15th to Maximilian II., the Bishop of Würzburg, the Prince Elector of Mayence, the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol and Balthasar himself.[2] The brief to Bishop Julius threatened him with excommunication.[3] Immediately after the events at Hammelburg Morone as well addressed reproofs to Bishop Julius.[4] They had in Rome, however, taken into consideration the fact that the reinstatement of Balthasar might prove impossible ; in that case Bishop Julius was provisionally to hand over the abbey into the hands of a third party, who was to be nominated by Morone, until a definite settlement of the case had been arrived at ; in this way an honourable way out of the difficulty was opened to the Bishop of Würzburg as well.[5]

The Imperial edicts for the reinstatement of Balthasar were not carried into effect. Bishop Julius declared that without a judicial decision he could not renounce his canonically acquired rights over the abbey ;[6] the nobles of Fulda and the canons refused to obey them ;[7] the nobles of Franconia refused to accept Balthasar as their neighbour ;[8] the nobles of Franconia and Fulda, moreover, were able to get together more than 4000 horsemen, so that the Emperor was unable

[1] Galli to Morone on September 4, 1576, *ibid.*, 147. The Brief to Maximilian II., in THEINER, II., 193.

[2] Galli to Morone on September 15, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 149. The Briefs to Julius and Balthasar in THEINER, II., 193 *seq.* ; the one to the Emperor in SCHANNAT, Hist., 270, the one to Julius also in SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 368.

[3] But Morone was left free to send it or not (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 149). On October 31 it was in the hands of the bishop (THEINER, II., 197).

[4] On June 27, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114.

[5] Galli to Morone on September 1, 1576. Gregory XIII. to Bishop Julius on September 15, 1576, in THEINER, II., 193.

[6] KOMP in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 189 *seq.*

[7] EGLOFFSTEIN, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 53 *seq.*

[8] Morone to Galli on August 9, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114. *Cf.* MORITZ, 411 *seq.*, 416 *seq.*

to enforce his orders.[1] Morone, too, held back the brief which threatened the Bishop of Würzburg with excommunication; in Germany, he wrote,[2] there is very little submission to the Holy See, so he was afraid that Bishop Julius might be won over to Protestantism, a fear that even Balthasar later on described as groundless.[3]

A stormy outlook now opened for the prince-abbot Balthasar. From the first he had resigned himself to tribulation. He told Elgard in a moment of danger that he was more fitted to be the anvil than the hammer,[4] and when the Jesuit Lopperz came to him with tears in his eyes after his arrest, the abbot consoled him by telling him that he had often prayed to Our Lord to be pleased to prove him, and to prove him greatly for the glory of God and the Church.[5]

Balthasar's *via dolorosa* was a long one. He had to wait for 26 years for his reinstatement, and during that time he had, so to speak, to pass as a beggar from door to door in order to obtain what was his plain and clear right. But the sorely tried man remained steadfast. With the revenues, which the convention of Hammelburg had assigned to him as the price of his resignation,[6] he might have led a life of ease, but he refused the convention, and thus condemned himself to the loss of his princely state, and to humiliation and struggles. For many years he remained without any assured means of support, and had to depend upon the hospitality of strangers, while his chapter enjoyed the revenues of the abbey and mocked at their abbot.[7] Standing firm, amid his sacrifices and privations, and in no way dismayed

[1] Morone to Galli on October 10, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II. 166.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 198.

[4] "se passurum, non percussurum." Elgard on August 10, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 301.

[5] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 131.

[6] *Ibid.*, 129. Balthasar in THEINER, II., 192.

[7] Balthasar to Gregory XIII., on April 20, 1576, THEINER, II., 301.

by the artifices of the pettifogging notaries and their endless scribblings, Balthasar continued unmoved to defend his cause, which was at the same time the cause of the whole of Catholic Germany. If he had not distinguished himself before as a statesman, he now proved himself to be such.

When it was seen that the Imperial mandates could not be put into force, Maximilian II. laid the matter before the Diet of Ratisbon, which had just assembled.[1] The Council of the Prince Electors declared in favour of the abbot, but that of the Princes on the other hand was divided, since even among the Catholics, Bishop Julius had "great friends" who "perhaps had more regard for his friendship than for justice."[2] Even the Duke of Bavaria for a short time allowed himself to be won over by the Bishop of Würzburg.[3] The Protestants in general were not against the abbot, who was present in person at Ratisbon from the end of August;[4] the zealous Lutheran Landgrave William himself preferred him as a neighbour to the powerful Julius.[5] On condition that Balthasar would allow the free use of the Confession of Augsburg they were prepared to join the Catholics with their eighteen votes, and thus secure a majority for the abbot. But Balthasar could not be induced to enter into any such agreement.[6] In view of the divergence of opinion Maximilian II. at length decided on October 5th that the abbey should be placed in sequestration to the Empire until a definite settlement could be arrived at.

With the commencement of the reign of Rudolph II. the

[1] Balthasar to Gregory XIII., on November 10, 1576, *ibid.*, 194-6. Moritz, 411-8.

[2] Morone to Galli on October 7, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 166.

[3] Egloffstein, Fürstabt Balthasar von Dernbach, 44 *seq.* (Albert's letter of renunciation to Julius is dated August 8, *ibid.*, 50, n. 5). Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 119 *seq.*, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 114, 122. Lossen in *Forsch. zur deutschen Geschichte*, XXIII., 354.

[4] Moritz, 415.

[5] *Ibid.*, 416 n.

[6] Theiner, II., 195.

negotiations concerning the carrying out of the Imperial decree led to fresh difficulties for the abbot. The new Emperor had to refer the question to his advisers, but, as Balthasar seriously suspected, the latter had been persuaded by his adversaries not to show him any favour. If the abbot asked for his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, as administrator of Fulda, it was said that that prelate was not impartial, as he had given shelter to the exiled abbot; if he proposed the Prince Electors of Cologne and Trêves, the answer was made that they were too far off. Thus the choice was bound to fall either upon a Protestant or upon a partisan of Julius.[1] Moreover it was customary in the case of sequestration for the confiscated property to be left to its owner on the condition of his maintaining an administrator; in the case of Balthasar this was not observed.[2]

At last the Grand Master of the Teutonic Order, Henry von Bubenhausen, went to Fulda on March 12th, 1577, as administrator. The bishop renounced his right to the oath of fealty of his subjects, but retained the right of appointing officials who were bound to him by oath, so that the common folk imagined that they were still the subjects of the bishop.[3] Bubenhausen proved himself in all things in favour of his feudal lord, the Bishop of Würzburg, and opposed to the abbot. Balthasar still had to work for a long time before he was at length assigned a definite place of residence, and a fair share of the revenues of the abbey. He very much feared, he wrote to the Pope, that the sum would be calculated in such a way that he would not be able to give anything to his loyal supporters. He had only been able to send one councillor to the Emperor to watch over his affairs, since his means did not permit of his going in person to Vienna and making his appearance there as a prince.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 196.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on the 8th and 20th of April, 1577, *ibid.*, 298 *seq.*, 300 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 299.

Gregory XIII. intervened on behalf of Balthasar,[1] and succeeded in getting the Emperor to invite him together with the bishop to Vienna for a conference.[2]

The result of this meeting was favourable to Balthasar. An Imperial decree of December 4th, 1577, referred his case to a judicial decision, and in the meantime assigned him an annual charge of 10,000 florins on the revenues of Fulda and the castle of Neuhof as a residence.[3] But Balthasar received neither the 10,000 florins nor Neuhof, as the administrator entered a protest; he had to take refuge in the territory of the Archbishop of Mayence at Seligenstadt,[4] until, in 1578, Rudolph II. assigned to him the castle of Bieberstein near Fulda, with its rents and services.[5] Still more painful for him was the fact that the Emperor referred his case to the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber, where such matters were apt to drag on interminably, sometimes for ten years.[6] As he wished to see whether the intercession of Gregory[7] would not win over the Emperor, and as the Pope had forbidden him to trust his case to the civil courts,[8] the abbot tried once more to gain his ends by negotiations and agreement with the Bishop of Würzburg. But these negotiations, which since 1578 had been carried on by the Archbishop of Mayence, before the Bishop of Spires, and in 1582 at Mayence and the Diet of Augsburg, came to nothing.[9] In 1584 therefore, recourse was had to legal

[1] On June 7, 1577, *ibid.*, 303.

[2] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 195.

[3] *Ibid.* *Cf.* Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on October 26, 1577, in THEINER, II., 305 *seq.*

[4] Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on February 16, 1578, *ibid.*, 383 *seq.*

[5] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 200.

[6] *Ibid.*, 306, 383.

[7] Of December 14, 1577, *ibid.*, 307.

[8] Gregory XIII. to Rudolph II. on February 4, 1584, in THEINER, III., 542; to Balthasar on February 27, 1580, and February 5, 1584, *ibid.*, 543.

[9] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 202-4.

procedure,[1] which at last, after another eighteen years delay, brought about a settlement. By an Imperial decree of August 7th, 1602,[2] the prince abbot Balthasar was reinstated in all his rights and dignities, and his adversaries were ordered to make restitution.

In all these controversies the abbot's most staunch supporter was the Pope. It is true that the three ecclesiastical Electors also repeatedly took his part,[3] but the sorely tried man always had recourse in the first place to Rome. Gregory XIII., as he himself said,[4] never ceased to write to the Emperor ;[5] he frequently addressed himself to the Bishop of Würzburg,[6] and repeatedly threatened him with excommunication,[7] while he sought to obtain the support of the other Catholic princes. No nuncio went to Germany without having the cause of the abbot committed to him as one of his principal duties.[8] There can be no doubt that without the continued insistence of the Pope and the nuncios the cause of Balthasar would have failed miserably.

[1] Komp, *loc. cit.*, 204 *seq.* A sensation was caused in 1576 by the written defence of the chancellor Winkelmann : " Informatio iuris," *ibid.*, 206. Gregory XIII. to Balthasar and to Julius on September 9, 1576, Balthasar to Gregory XIII. on October 25, 1577, in Theiner, II., 303 *seqq.*

[2] Schannat, Historia, 431 *seq.* ; Diocesis, 373.

[3] *Cf.* the documents in Theiner, II., 302 *seq.* (forwarded to Rome by Balthasar on June 4, 1577) and in the *Röm. Quartalschrift*, 1897, 431-45 (brought to light by Ehses).

[4] To Balthasar on November 11, 1581, Theiner II., 264.

[5] See *supra* p. 228, and letters of December 23, 1576 ; April 5, 1578 ; November 11, 1581 ; February 4, 1584, in Theiner, II., 198 *seq.*, 386 ; III., 542.

[6] See *supra*, p. 224, and letters of December 18, 1576, and February 4, 1584, in Theiner, II., 199 ; III., 542 ; Schannat, Historia, 272 *seq.*

[7] Theiner, II., 193.

[8] Komp in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 198. *Instructions for the Imperial nuncio Annibale di Capua, of December 7, 1576 (Var. polit. 129, p. 173, Papal Secret Archives), and Bonhomini of September 30, 1581 (Barb. p. 208, Vatican Library).

The Protestants of the territory of Fulda had not obtained the advantages they expected from the expulsion of their lawful master, for Bishop Julius at first acted with the greatest severity towards the adherents of the Confession of Augsburg.

He has appointed a Protestant as administrator, Balthasar complained to the Pope,[1] the Catholics are persecuted and put in prison for trifling offences ; the banished pastors have returned, and the concubines have been recalled, even those who have taken a solemn oath not to do so. The officials, so he again said later on,[2] who had been dismissed by him for disloyalty, or who were tainted by the new doctrines, were now upheld, and in the course of a few months the learned and pious Catholics whom Balthasar had collected from all parts with great labour and expense, would all have gone away.

In reality, however, Julius was very far from allowing any legal status to the Confession of Augsburg. When, immediately after the arrest of Balthasar at Hammelburg, such proposals had been laid before him, he had managed adroitly to evade them.[3] Similar requests had been laid before the administrator, Henry von Bubenhausen, but the Emperor had decided that the religion of the magistracy must be authoritative for Fulda.[4]

The Jesuit college, the object of so many attacks, was maintained at Fulda, and continued to grow.[5] In 1584 a pontifical seminary for forty noble students was added to it ; the Jesuit Lopperz was enabled to bring this institution into being by pointing out to Gregory XIII., on the occasion

[1] On August 1, 1576, THEINER, II., 191.

[2] To Gregory XIII. on April 20, 1577, *ibid.*, 300.

[3] HEPPE, Das evangelische Hammelburg, 154 *seqq.*

[4] HEPPE, Restauration, 146-50.

[5] DUHR, I., 132. Lopperz to Gregory XIII. on December 15, 1584, in THEINER, III., 543. *Cf. Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Provinz* of January 1, 1577, in HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 713 ; KOMP, Zweite Schule, 26 *seq.* Credentials for Lopperz to the Pope of October 27, 1583, in THEINER, III., 417 *seq.*

of a visit to Rome, that the conversion of the rest of the country depended upon the nobility of Germany. The prince abbot Balthasar assisted the Jesuits of Fulda as far as his revenues permitted.[1] He had recourse by means of personal letters to Sixtus V. and Gregory XIV. on behalf of the seminary. In order to give new life to the Catholic faith, he wrote, no better means could be imagined than this seminary, since "the common people depend to such an extent upon the nobility that they easily and willingly accept any religion which they see to be supported by the aristocracy."[2]

The reason why the doctrines of the innovators were able to make such progress in the territory of Fulda is explained by these words, as well as the fact that they were easily stamped out again among the common folk. They had never taken any deep roots in their hearts. When Balthasar returned to his principality in 1602, he found all the necessary conditions for a restoration of Catholicism. The last of the recalcitrant canons had died in the previous year.[3] The instructions and other activities of the Jesuits had reformed the capital, and restored the religion of bygone days its good name.[4] Within a few years the whole principality of Fulda was once more substantially Catholic.[5]

The sorely tried abbot had found a friend and a protector from the first in his metropolitan, the Archbishop of Mayence, Daniel Brendel, of Homburg; when the first difficulties arose concerning the project of a Jesuit college at Fulda,

[1] *Jahresbericht der Rheinischen Provinz* of January 1, 1580, in HANSEN, *loc. cit.*, 738. KOMP, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, LVI., 202. For the erection of the high altar and the foundation of two free places in the college of Fulda on September 29, 1599, see SCHANNAT, Dioecesis, 371 *seq.*

[2] To Gregory XIV., 1590, *ibid.*, 370. The same opinion is expressed in Balthasar's letter to Sixtus V. of May 12, 1585, in EHSES-MEISTER, I., 74, *cf.* 103.

[3] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 291.

[4] DUHR, I., 133.

[5] KOMP, *loc. cit.*, 293 *seq.* *Katholik*, 1863, I., 741 *seqq.*

Daniel at once took his part and encouraged him.[1] Nor was it long before Daniel himself began to follow the example of the reforming abbot.

The new doctrines had made considerable progress even in Mayence, and at first conditions were not changed under that zealous Catholic, Daniel. Mayence has a Catholic prince, wrote an eye-witness, Robert Turner of the Germanicum, in 1581, but the government is in the hands of his Protestant subjects.[2] Out of consideration for the neighbouring Protestant princes, the archbishop was obliged to fill the greater part of the offices at his court with Protestants; even in the kitchen there were Lutheran servants, and noble boys entered the service of the prince on the condition that they were not to become Catholics.[3] Above all the archbishop stood in need of trustworthy fellow workers. With the exception of his chancellor and a simple court chaplain, wrote Elgard,[4] he has no one he can talk to about Catholic interests. Especially was he in need of a capable and moral priesthood.

Nevertheless the election of Daniel to the see of St. Boniface marked the salvation of the archdiocese; his cleverest rival for the mitre was a secret adherent of Protestantism, and immediately embraced it openly.[5] As bishop, Daniel—as he himself stated to the nuncio Gropper—sought from the first with all his might to maintain the Catholic faith among both clergy and people.[6] As far as good will is concerned Elgard thought,[7] the archbishop leaves nothing to be desired,

[1] Document dat. Dec. 10, 1571, in *Collegii Fuldensis exordia et annuae literae, library of the seminary at Fulda. Brower, Fuldensium antiquitatum libri IV., Antwerp, 1612, 365. Schannat, Dioecesis, 354. *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 266.

[2] "Sedet ad clavum princeps catholicus, tractat clavum subditus haereticus." *Triumphus Bavaricus*, in Turner, Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadt, 1583, 109.

[3] Turner, *loc. cit.*, 108.

[4] To Galli on February 27, 1575, in Schwarz, Gropper, 264 *seq.*

[5] Knieb, 58.

[6] Gropper to Galli on October 1, 1573, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 413.

[7] On August 10, 1575, *ibid.*, 301 *seq.*

but he is too much immersed in affairs of state, and with the exception of the Jesuits has no one to work with him. It was just at the time of Elgard's visit, that the difficulties that lay in the way of any sort of reform were shown. Daniel had just then attempted to purify the morals of his clergy, but everything was shipwrecked by the opposition of the chapter, which held up the election capitulation of the archbishop as an impregnable shield against any sort of reform.[1] As far as the greater part of his diocese was concerned, the archbishop could do little more than prepare the way for a better future by his care to provide good priests. His efforts in this respect won for him the high praise of Gregory XIII.[2] As early as 1558 Daniel Brendel sent some youths, among them the future Bishop Julius of Würzburg, to be educated at the Jesuit college at Cologne.[3] He soon planned and founded a similar institution at Mayence,[4] and very gratefully welcomed the offer of Gropper to receive youths from Mayence at the German college in

[1] *Ibid.*, 302, 352. That efforts for reform were made is proved by a Jesuit letter from Mayence dat. March 30, 1575 (library at Leyden, Cod. 77): "Generale quoddam bellum concubinariis in variis Germaniae partibus indictum est, Pontificis, ut arbitror edicto, sed impellentibus, ut alii fingunt, Iesuitis. Dux Bavariae libens edicto paruit et S.S^mi voluntatem perfecit. Reverendissimus noster, ne ea in parte segnior videretur, totam etiam suam dioecesim expurgare coepit." All concubines driven out. "Singula iam fere canonicorum collegia Moguntiae sunt expurgata. Sunt sane permulti, qui admodum gaudent, tanto se onere elevari et a turpi vita vindicari. Longum esset, quae in Effordia, ubi duo de nostris agunt, acta sunt commemorari. Missi sunt in eam dioecesis partem, quae oppidis aliquot, pagis vero plus quam ducentis abundat, et Saxoniae proxima est, aliquot visitatores, in quibus fuit D. suffraganeus qui aliquot milia confirmationis sacramento armavit. In Badensi quoque marchionatu quatuor ex societate degunt, sacerdotes duo, totidem adiutores; multum hi catholicam fidem promovent."

[2] Letter of October 26, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 209.

[3] HANSEN, Rheinische Akten, 334, 339.

[4] DUHR, I., 103 *seqq.*

Rome.[1] For the primary schools he sought for Catholic masters, who were to teach in accordance with the Catholic catechism and had to make the Tridentine profession of faith.[2]

Daniel was several times urged by Gropper[3] and afterwards by Elgard[4] to hold a visitation of his diocese. Their exhortations had their effect, at anyrate for part of the archdiocese, namely the Thuringian district of Eichsfeld, on the western border. On March 4th, 1574, the archbishop set out to visit that long neglected part of his state,[5] which had not seen its pastor since 1544.[6]

Lutheranism had made great progress at Eichsfeld. As was the case at Fulda,[7] it had been spread outside the cities by the aristocracy, who had learned the new doctrines at the university of Erfurt, and who since 1547 had introduced Protestant preachers into the Catholic churches.[8] The leading inhabitants in the two principal cities, Heiligenstadt and Duderstadt, had also been won over to the new doctrines during the time of their studies at Erfurt, and about the time of the Peasants' War had drawn the whole citizen population with them.[9] The magistracy at Eichsfeld favoured the innovations and tried to deceive the archbishop as to the true state of affairs.[10] As soon as Daniel had seen with his own eyes how matters stood, he wrote to the Emperor

[1] Daniel to Gregory XIII. on December 1, 1575, in THEINER, I., 95. Johann Schweikart von Cronberg, afterwards Elector, was among their number. STEINHUBER, I., 110. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 209. KNEIB, 125.

[2] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 414.

[3] *Ibid.*, 110, 414.

[4] *Ibid.*, 262.

[5] KNIEB, 127.

[6] *Ibid.*, 59. Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 212.

[7] See *supra*, p. 231.

[8] KNIEB, 47 *seqq.*, 63 *seqq.*

[9] *Ibid.*, 42 *seqq.*, 79 *seqq.*

[10] *Ibid.*, 45, 61 *seq.*

Rudolph II.[1] that "the horrors, the devastation and the moral and ecclesiastical abuses in several places" were far worse than anything he could have been told or have imagined. It had been quite impossible during his short stay to restore everything to its former state.

Nevertheless, during his stay at Heiligenstadt Daniel did all that he could; he placed at the head of the officials a convert from Mecklenburg, Leopold von Stralendorff, who was trustworthy and experienced;[2] he again forbade communion under both kinds, and redeemed several territories which had been pledged to Protestant nobles.[3] At his visitation of Duderstadt he replaced two evangelical preachers by two Catholic priests.[4] The same thing was only done in the country districts at that time in a few cases, namely when the pastor had committed some offence against the lord of the manor.[5] Some of the parishes asked that they might be given Catholic pastors,[6] but owing to the want of good priests it was often found impossible to comply with their requests.

On the whole, compared with the Protestant princes of his time, Daniel acted with great gentleness.[7] When, as the result of a nocturnal attack he had got into his power the hated tyrant Barthold von Wintzingrode, and had thus recovered the castle of Bodenstein which belonged to him by right, he left the religious conditions unchanged in the neighbourhood of the castle.[8] He renewed the promise of religious liberty to the knights, and allowed some of the nobles to have private Lutheran worship in their own houses.[9] Even later on he adhered strictly to the religious peace.

[1] On April 16, 1579, *ibid.*, 128.
[2] *Ibid.*, 128 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 129 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 133.
[5] *Ibid.*, 130 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 149, *cf.* 212, 215.
[7] KNIEB, 136.
[8] *Ibid.*, 133 *seqq.*
[9] *Ibid.*, 136.

In his struggle with the Prince-Elector Augustus he laid it down as his guiding principle that in view of the "general peace and common welfare of the country" he did not wish to claim anything to which he had not a right, and further that he did not desire or seek anything but "to be left in quiet possession of those things which belonged to him, and to which he was bound by his office and which it was his duty to carry out."[1] In spite of this leniency Daniel's stay of two months in Eichsfeld was of great importance for Catholicism, and Gregory XIII. expressed his great gratitude to him for it.[2]

Immediately after Daniel had left Eichsfeld Stralendorff thought it necessary to issue a severe decree in order that the enactments of the Prince-Elector might not be flouted. The "running back" of the Protestant preachers into the neighbourhood was prohibited under severe penalties at Duderstadt and Heiligenstadt, and in the case of contumacy under the penalty of banishment. It caused much bad blood when Stralendorff thus threatened the Protestants with a measure which they had themselves employed a short time before against the Catholics of Eichsfeld, namely that those who died in Protestantism were not to be buried in consecrated ground.[3] Daniel approved of the steps taken by his chief magistrate. Otherwise the archbishop left the carrying out of the Catholic restoration to a commission composed of the excellent auxiliary bishop of Mayence, Stephen Weber, and three other members. Two Jesuits and a worthy secular priest assisted the commission;[4] it began its visitation of Heiligenstadt at the end of December, on February 1st, 1575, it reached Duderstadt, and in the middle of the month turned its attention to the parishes of the territory. The country people for the most part

[1] *Ibid.*, 214.

[2] On September 17 and November 27, 1574, in THEINER, I., 241; SCHWARZ, Gropper, 225.

[3] KNIEB, 139 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 140. Elgard gives a very favourable report of the four commissioners, June 18, 1575, to Galli, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 295.

accepted the reform without much difficulty. The common people, the commission reported, is "dissatisfied with the evangelical preachers who have been imposed upon them"; the people do not wish for anything but that "by your princely favour, they may be removed once and for all."[1] By 1575 in 72 villages where there was no reason to fear the influence of the nobility, almost the whole of the population had been persuaded to receive communion at Easter.[2] During 1579 and 1580 Elgard, who had been auxiliary bishop of Erfurt since 1578, administered the sacrament of confirmation to 5000 persons in Eichsfeld.[3] By the end of 1576 the Protestant pastors had been driven out from fourteen villages and replaced by Catholic priests;[4] and the removal of the preachers went on slowly but steadily during the years that followed.[5] In 1576 Daniel established a Jesuit college at Heiligenstadt, the "most important work" that he accomplished in Eichsfeld for the restoration of Catholicism.[6] The foundations for a revival of Catholic life were laid under the government of Daniel, but another ten years elapsed before the whole of the little state, with the exception of a few places, was reunited to the Church.[7]

Elgard had experience of the way in which attachment to Catholic usages was still rooted in the people when, in 1574, he took part in the visitation, instead of the auxiliary bishop, who had been recalled to Mayence, and was thus a witness during the season of Pentecost of the great pilgrimage which still took place at that time to the celebrated Hülfensberg. Great crowds flocked thither, and the nobles themselves from the neighbouring Protestant territories were present. Some of the leaders of the aristocracy, who had been brought up in Protestantism, remained on the

[1] KNIEB, 149.
[2] *Ibid.*, 148.
[3] *Ibid.*, 203.
[4] *Ibid.*, 200.
[5] *Ibid.*, 206.
[6] *Ibid.*, 179 *seq.*, 201 *seq.*; DUHR, I., 109 *seqq.*
[7] KNIEB, 244-416.

mountain the whole day without food in order to hear Elgard preach a second time in the evening, having heard his sermon in the morning. A Jesuit who had been summoned from Heiligenstadt preached on the Monday after Trinity to from 2000 to 3000 people.[1] The number of the pilgrims increased during the following years, and at Hülfensberg too the number that approached the sacraments continued to grow.[2]

The resistance to the reform, both at Fulda and in Eichsfeld, came from the nobles and the inhabitants of the cities; in those country districts too where the aristocracy or Protestant citizens had influence over the rural population, the visitors met with difficulties.[3] At the beginning of March, 1575, almost the whole of the nobles of Eichsfeld met together at the instigation of the two brothers, William and Henry von Westerhagen, without the permission of the Prince-Elector, and addressed a petition to their lord,[4] and when the latter rejected it and prohibited such meetings without the permission of the Prince-Elector,[5] had recourse to William of Hesse, who with his customary zeal for Protestantism interested him in their cause.

William wrote to Daniel and asked for the support of the Prince-Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony.[6] But Frederick of the Palatinate, who complied with the request, was no longer able to occupy himself with the matter after Daniel had made his reply. William had asked the Prince-Elector of Saxony, by means of a special envoy, to send from the Saxon archives to the Emperor and the tribunal of the Imperial Chamber the declaration of Ferdinand I. to which, following the example of Fulda, the nobles of Eichsfeld had

[1] *Ibid.*, 158, *cf.* 107 *seq.* Elgard to Galli on June 18, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 297.

[2] KNIEB, 201.

[3] *Ibid.*, 149, 164, 206 *seq.*

[4] Of March 9, 1575, *ibid.*, 150; printed in HEPPE, Restauration, 251-6.

[5] On March 22, 1575, *ibid.*, 257-60.

[6] *Ibid.*, 88-91. KNIEB, 151-5.

called the attention of the Landgrave.[1] But Augustus curtly replied that the nobles of Fulda and Eichsfeld could themselves have recourse to the Emperor, at whose command he would hand over the declaration to the tribunal of the Chamber. In his reply to the Landgrave William, Daniel called attention to the way in which the Protestants had abused his patience, and to the way in which their ignorant preachers, some of whom could hardly read, committed outrages against their lords, and treated the sacraments without respect. Nothing was known of Ferdinand's declaration. William then tried to defend the Protestant preachers,[2] and once more, with threats, and appealing to the laws of the Empire, demanded religious liberty for his co-religionists. He also worked for a defensive alliance with the Prince-Electors of the Palatinate and Saxony.[3] Frederick of the Palatinate, who was the most violent upholder of his religious convictions in his day, had the effrontery to say that no man should have violence done to him on account of his religion![4]

There was certainly no question of violence in Eichsfeld, according to the view of the archiepiscopal visitors; on the contrary, they complained of the extraordinary leniency of the archbishop. Three preachers had so far been sent away by him; two of them had been recalled by the efforts of the nobles, and the third was not inconvenienced by his removal. So instead of resisting force by force, nothing happened except in the case of the recalcitrant; a final date, June 24th, 1575, was fixed, but this was again extended.[5] The visitors thought that such procedure would only confuse the people; the populace feared lest "they should be left defenceless to be flayed alive by the Junkers."[6]

[1] *Cf. supra*, p. 213.

[2] April 12, 1575, in KNIEB, 155. The document shows the credulity of the Landgrave. Examples of it, *ibid.* and in HEPPE, Restauration, 91.

[3] On April 6th and 9th, KNIEB, 155.

[4] *Ibid.*, 156.

[5] *Ibid.*, 164, 170.

[6] *Ibid.*, 164.

Twice again the nobles had recourse to the archbishop; the first time through their colleagues outside Eichsfeld, and again by a new petition. They did not, however, obtain anything; after their interview with Daniel their envoys gave them the advice that they should impose due moderation upon the evangelical pastors, and not use the property of the Church for their own advantage, but only for the honour of God.[1] They then once more brought before the Prince-Elector of Saxony their previous request that he would support the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand at the coming Diet of the princes at Ratisbon. The Prince-Elector agreed to do this, and the Landgrave William was also prepared to support their demands, but insisted that the other Protestant princes should also be stirred up to take action.[2]

Apart from the nobles the resistance to the reform found its chief support among the population of the cities, whose leaders, like the nobles, had received their education at the university of Erfurt. In spite of this it would be comparatively easy, for example, to win back Heiligenstadt to the faith; in 1574 the citizens told the magistrate Stralendorff that they would willingly attend the Catholic mass, if only there were better priests.[3] As a matter of fact every year Catholicism gained ground at Heiligenstadt. In 1584 there were 2064 communions, and more than 3000 in the following year. Greater and greater vigilance was used to see that none but Catholics were admitted to the municipal council, and processions, which had once been customary, were again introduced.[4]

On the other hand, the powerful Duderstadt, where Catholic worship had been entirely forbidden since 1562, obstinately resisted Catholic reform, so that by 1574 the whole of the citizens had apostatized.[5] After Daniel, on

[1] *Ibid.*, 165-70.
[2] *Ibid.*, 171 *seq.* *Cf.* Moritz, 122; Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 93.
[3] Knieb, 142.
[4] *Ibid.*, 203 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 88.

the occasion of his visitation, had removed the two pastors, and taken away the churches from the Protestants,[1] the citizens had at first gone voluntarily to the Catholic mass, but, under the influence of the council and the masters of the guilds, this was soon changed. Those who attended Catholic worship were mocked at, threatened with being excluded from the magistracy, and their sons beaten. Moreover, the new parish priest who was appointed, a priest who was not very exemplary in other respects, proved himself weak before the pressure of the Protestants, and with a miserable forgetfulness of his duties, handed over to them once more one of the churches of Duderstadt. The preacher then fulminated from the pulpit against the Pope and the Catholics, to whom no obedience must be paid. The council forbade the citizens to attend the sermons of the Catholic parish priest, and threatened those who disobeyed with expulsion from the city.[2] When the visitors demanded the restitution of the church which had thus unjustly been taken away, the citizens were filled with anger, and swore they would shed their blood for their faith, and to kill those who were sent to them by the visitors. The council in the meantime appealed to the declaration of Ferdinand I., and to the Prince-Electors, and presented a protest to the visitors by the hands of a Brunswick notary from Göttingen. Daniel again stated that he knew nothing of the declaration of Ferdinand, and that if his commissary had made any concession with regard to the Confession of Augsburg this had been done without his authority. He then caused the disobedient preacher to be removed, but desired that in other respects the objectors should be converted by the way of instruction rather than by violence.[3]

The citizens of Duderstadt were only confirmed in their resistance by this leniency. When further injunctions were received from the archbishop they set the fortifications in order and laid in supplies of gunpowder; the pastor was

[1] *Ibid.*, 133.
[2] *Ibid.*, 136 *seqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 144-8.

instructed to resume his duties.[1] A deputation was sent to Daniel by the opposing party,[2] but the Prince-Elector replied by proclaiming his rights and renewing his orders. At length, when nothing else had proved of any use, he had recourse to stern measures. One of the principal sources of revenue of the city was from the sale of the beer of Duderstadt, which was celebrated even as far off as Vienna. Now Daniel threatened,[3] in case of further disobedience, to forbid the export of this celebrated beer. At first neither this threat nor the actual prohibition had any effect, until at length Stralendorff confiscated thirty barrels of beer at the city gates.[4] After this the prohibition of the export of the beer became one of the principal grounds of complaint of the citizens of Duderstadt.

Even before Daniel had taken this severe measure, the citizens had had recourse to the Protestant princes with the request that they would uphold their cause at the Diet of Ratisbon which had already been convoked. The city also sent a representative thither. The knights of Eichsfeld, like those of Fulda, rested their hopes on the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand at the electoral Diet of Ratisbon, to which the nobles of Eichsfeld sent a special representative, and the nobles of Fulda a petition. The princes there assembled thus, after so many requests, had to devote themselves to the consideration of all the questions connected with the declaration of Ferdinand.[5]

[1] KNIEB, 160.

[2] In May, August and September, 1575, *ibid.*, 160-2.

[3] On March 3, 1576, *ibid.* 163.

[4] On April 16, 1576, *ibid.*

[5] MORITZ, 151 *seqq.* The Declaration is given in LEHMANN, 55; [ERSTENBERGER] De Autonomia, 81, Munich, 1593. HEPPE's version (Restauration, 3 *seqq.*) is incredibly careless just at the principal passage.

CHAPTER VI.

The "Declaration" of Ferdinand.—Rudolph II. and the Catholic Revival.

Until, during the disturbances at Fulda, a Saxon councillor had unearthed in the archives of the Prince-Elector the so-called declaration of Ferdinand, and had placed it in the hands of the Protestants,[1] it had remained entirely unknown to the public for almost twenty years, and only in certain forgotten documents were there a couple of unimportant references to it.[2] After the Landgraves of Hesse and the Prince-Elector of Saxony, however, had appealed to this document before the Emperor, and it had been subsequently printed in Saxony and Hesse,[3] and spread among the Protestants by the Landgrave William, the declaration began to assume importance and became the central point of the questions at issue between the parties.

Opinions as to the legal value of this document varied according to men's religious views. The Protestants defended its legal force as a self-evident fact, without giving any reasons; the Catholics challenged it. The Prince-Elector of Mayence stated to the people of Eichsfeld[4] that he knew nothing about the declaration; if such a document really existed he, as an Elector and Chancellor of the Empire, ought to have it in his chancery, which was not the case. A year before,[5] the chapter of Fulda, which at that time had once more rallied to the abbot, contested the legal value of

[1] Moritz, 22.
[2] 1560 and 1570, *ibid.*, 23.
[3] Dated 1555, *ibid.*
[4] On February 13, 1575, Knieb, 146.
[5] On June 18, 1574, in Heppe, *loc. cit.*, 67.

the declaration in a detailed statement.[1] It was impossible to find a trace of it either in the chancery of Mayence or in that of the supreme tribunal. The religious peace of 1555 made no mention of it, but on the contrary laid it down that no contrary declaration was to have any force. None of those who had been present at the Diet of 1555, and none of the oldest assessors of the supreme tribunal could remember it. As far as the tribunal of the Chamber was concerned, moreover, no Imperial constitution could have any force if it had not been sent to it by the Elector of Mayence as chancellor, but no one remembered such a communication of the declaration, which moreover preceded the religious peace by a day, and would therefore have been cancelled by it. The secretary of the Imperial Chancery, Erstenberger, especially brought out this latter fact,[2] showing that the cancelling clause in the religious peace, which had been written, sealed and signed with the consent of all the states, was "so stable and complete" that the declaration could not be adduced against it.

The Protestants too for the most part knew nothing of the declaration until 1574. At the Diet of Augsburg in 1566 they promised to observe the religious peace of 1555 without changes or additions, nor did they at that time make any mention of any accessory enactment of the Emperor Ferdinand.[3] When, on the first appearance of the declaration, the Protestant states sought for copies of it in their archives, none were to be found. The ordinance had been kept entirely secret, and had not even been given to the representatives of the states of the Empire to copy, although it had been discussed with them.[4] The Imperial Chancery only had a draft of it, and the original copy was in the sole possession

[1] Its author was the Spires jurist, Winkelmann, who afterwards became Balthasar's chancellor. *Ibid.*, 66, n.

[2] To Albert V. of Bavaria, Vienna, July 17, 1574, in the Reports of the meetings of the Munich Academy for the year 1891, Munich, 1892, 159 *seq.*

[3] Erstenberger, *ibid.*, 160.

[4] Moritz, 33, n.

of the Elector of Saxony,[1] who was affected by the declaration owing to special circumstances.

The Elector Augustus had interested himself at the Diet at Augsburg in 1555 in bringing about the religious peace, but had also sought to obviate the disastrous consequences which that peace might have for him. After the Schmalkaldic war Catholicism had begun to revive in Merseburg and Naumburg owing to the activity of Bishops Helding and Pflug; if this continued Augustus would not have been able so easily to incorporate those two dioceses into his own territory.[2] He could not, with a clear conscience, so he wrote in this connexion to his representative at Augsburg,[3] see, either now or in the future, the episcopal cities such as Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Halle, Jüterbog, Merseburg, Naumburg and others which lay within his principality or its vicinity, being "disturbed on account of the Christian religion" on the pretext of the religious peace. The councillors of Saxony, who had laboured at Augsburg that religion should be left free, were above all things determined on this.[4] After his attempt to obtain religious liberty for all his subjects had failed, he pointed out to the sovereign together with the other Protestant states, that there would inevitably be war or a revolution if the barons, cities and communes which were subject to certain bishops and ecclesiastics were interfered with by them on account of their Protestant religion which they had long practised.[5] It was remarks such as these which led to the so-called declaration of Ferdinand, by which such barons, cities and communes were assured the desired independence from their ecclesiastical princes.

[1] The original document was completed in duplicate (ERSTENBERGER, *loc. cit.*, 159). The electoral councillor Lindemann vouches for the fact, and therefore it is probable that he had both original copies before him in the electoral chancery.

[2] *Autonomia*, 391 (a).

[3] See RANKE, Deutsche Geschichte: Werke, VI., 322.

[4] *Autonomia*, 391 (b). MORITZ, 28.

[5] According to the introductory words of the declaration. *Cf.* LEHMANN, 47.

It is not clear what it was exactly which led to this Imperial concession. For the sake of simplicity the negotiations were carried on only by the representatives of the two religious parties.[1] At first the Catholics refused to have anything to do with it, until King Ferdinand, who presented himself in person in the room where the discussions were being held, at length declared that he would not let the councillors separate until everything was settled. Then the Catholics took counsel together, and decided to leave the whole matter to the decision of Ferdinand. After a period of reflection which lasted until night, it was finally announced to both the parties that the king wished to meet the wishes of the Protestants, though without disturbing the religious peace; his declaration on this point, was, in spite of the derogatory clause of the religious peace, to be binding, and the king should give the States of the Confession of Augsburg "an accessory, authentic, sealed, and signed ordinance" on the subject.[2]

No true accessory ordinance was ever made. A declaration concerning the general promise was authenticated, sealed and signed by Ferdinand, in virtue of the Imperial authority, without any further summoning of the States, but it was not sent to all the Protestant States, but only sent in secret to the Elector of Saxony. Substantially the negotiations about the declaration had come to nothing, but the Elector Augustus had obtained his end. As far as its text was

[1] Act of His Royal Majesty on September 20th and 21st, 1566, in LEHMANN, 50 *seq.* It would be worth while to examine more closely into the origin and reliability of this report which seems to be unknown except for the version printed in Lehmann. It is remarkable that, not only according to the *Autonomia* (392), but also according to the Saxon envoys to the Diet of 1576, apart from the actual introductory words of the declaration, no documentary evidence existed as to how they came into being. It is difficult to see how this can be reconciled with the report mentioned by LEHMANN (50 *seq.*).

[2] LEHMANN, 51.

concerned the declaration was quite general;[1] that it had been asked for by Saxony, with special reference to his own position, is clear from the express declaration which the Emperor Maximilian II. made to the Catholic states "after diligent research";[2] it is also clear from the researches of Erstenberger,[3] and also from the otherwise inexplicable fact that the declaration was only sent to the Elector of Saxony, while it was kept secret from all the rest.[4] Taking it altogether this document shows the hopeless misery of the state of affairs in Germany. Constrained by necessity Ferdinand had to adopt a policy which admirably succeeded in saying "yea and nay" at the same time, for by his declaration he withdrew what had been granted by the religious peace, placed the Catholics in an inferior position to the Protestants, and among the Catholics themselves placed the ecclesiastical princes under the secular ones; its

[1] It was the Saxon councillors who pressed for the general terms of the declaration, the Elector himself thought only of Naumburg and Merseburg (Morone to Galli on July 16, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 89). Augustus was only concerned with the rounding off of his territory and the filling of his coffers; general considerations had no interest for him. *Cf.* KOLDE in *Herzog's Real-Enzyklopädie*, II.[3], 252; KLUCKHOHN in the *Allg. Deutsche Biogr.*, I., 676, 679.

[2] On August 15, 1576; see the report of the Mayence councillor. of this date in KNIEB, 187; another report in MORITZ, 28, n. 4, 358.

[3] *Autonomia*, 390 *seqq.*

[4] Arguments against this view brought forward by MORITZ (22 *seqq.*) are rightly described as unconvincing by KNIEB (188, n. 1). That the representations which eventually led to the declaration originated from all the Protestant States is evident from the declaration itself; and neither Maximilian II. nor Erstenberger would wish to deny it. The Emperor says (MORITZ, 29, n.) that the declaration was "not 'principaliter' desired by all the States of the A.C., but only by Saxony 'particulariter,'" which means that the declaration, though certainly desired by all the States of the A.C., was, nevertheless, not "principaliter" desired by them all, for the beginning and original impulse came from Saxony.

derogative formulas made both documents mutually destructive, while it honoured with the beautiful name of peace a work which of its very nature was bound to prove an apple of discord and an incendiary torch. Out of a pure love of peace a fire was enkindled which was to burn until the sea of flames of the Thirty Years War had reduced the whole of Germany to ashes.

The hopes of getting the declaration confirmed by the Electoral Diet of Ratisbon were very promising. The invalid Emperor was bound to be inclined to make concessions as he was very anxious that his successor should be elected during his life-time, and the supreme dignity thus be ensured to the House of Austria. It would seem that some of the German princes wished to place the Imperial crown upon the head of a Protestant, but France, in spite of her internal dissensions, aimed at the empty semblance of universal dominion, by aspiring at the same time to the throne of Poland as well as of the Empire.[1] It is true that all these schemes did not in the end turn out to be very dangerous; the aspirations of France did not meet with much approval in Germany,[2] and Augustus of Saxony, who alone of all the Protestant princes had any serious chance of attaining to the Imperial crown, preferred being a wealthy duke to being an impoverished Emperor.[3] He therefore allowed himself to be won over to the election of the Hapsburg prince,[4] and strongly promoted his candidature with the other princes of the Empire.[5]

At the same time there was also a threat of serious danger from that ardent Calvinist, the Elector Frederick III. of the Palatinate, the declared enemy of the Catholics and the opponent of the existing constitution of the Empire.[6] He

[1] Moritz, 43 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 45 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 96, *cf.* 46 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 55, 61.
[5] *Ibid.*, 61.
[6] Otto Truchsess calls him "Author seditionum et receptor rebellium omnium nationum," in Schwarz, Zehn Gutachten, 5.

aimed, not only at preventing the election of a Hapsburg,[1] but also was opposed to any appointment being made during the life-time of Maximilian, because at the death of the Emperior the Imperial vicariate would pass into the hands of the Electors and himself, in which case he would undoubtedly make use of his position to place the dioceses of the north of Germany in the hands of Protestants.[2] At anyrate he intended to make use of the coming electoral Diet to extort from the Catholic states the so-called "exemption" or abolition of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and above all the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand.[3] The Catholics especially had reason to fear lest with the vicariate of Frederick in the Empire, to use the words of the Venetian ambassador, Tron, in Germany and perhaps in the rest of the world, that which was most exalted might be dragged down to the lowest depths.[4] They had, nevertheless, every reason to desire a happy issue to the election, and it was to be expected that they would be ready to purchase the desired result by making concessions.

Fortunately for the Catholics there was a want of union among the Protestants. William of Orange had put away his wife, Anna, the daughter of Augustus, on account of adultery, and even before his divorce had married Charlotte de Bourbon, who was living at the court of the Palatinate;[5] on account of this "dog-nuptials," as Augustus put it,[6] there was the deepest enmity between the Protestant leaders, the Elector of Saxony and the Elector Palatine, and thus the prospect of united action by the whole Protestant party at the electoral Diet was seriously endangered.[7] As far as favouring the confirmation of the declaration was concerned all the Protestant states were indeed agreed, but in other respects,

[1] Moritz, 82 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 83, *cf.* 44, 51.
[3] *Ibid.*, 105 *seq.*
[4] Albèri, I., 6, 192.
[5] Moritz, 106 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 145.
[7] *Ibid.*, 147.

with the exception of the Landgrave William, they were but little inclined to favour the plans of the Count Palatine.

At the beginning of October, 1575, a brilliant gathering of princes assembled at Ratisbon.

The Emperor was accompanied by his son, Rudolph, King of Bohemia, his wife, and the three Archdukes. With the exception of the Calvinist Elector Palatine, who was represented, and not for the better, by his Lutheran son, Louis, all the Prince Electors were present in person; there were also present the Archbishop of Salzburg, the Duke of Bavaria, and several other princes of the Empire. Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo had suggested to the Pope that he should send a legate *a latere* to the Electoral Diet, but the Pope found a difficulty in consenting to this in the fact that it was not customary, and it was not known how the legate would be treated.[1] When subsequently, the Emperor, unquestionably out of consideration for the Protestants, refused to accept a legate, the nuncio at Vienna, Giovanni Delfino, was instructed to represent the Catholic cause at Ratisbon;[2] in other words, he was to point out to the Emperor that the principal obstacle to reform was the fact that the bishops-elect of Germany received investiture from the civil power before they had the Papal approbation.[3] So as to prevent the movement in favour of the "exemptions" he was to devote himself to the defence of the religious peace.[4]

On October 10th the sessions were begun at Ratisbon and

[1] *Report of Giulio Masetti to the Duke of Ferrara, dat. Rome, June 15, 1575 (State Archives, Modena).

[2] Moritz, 139 *seq.* Credentials for Delfino, dat. August 20, 1575, to the Emperor and the Archbishop of Mayence, in Theiner, II., 21 *seq.* Delfino's reports from Ratisbon to Galli between October 7 and November 3, 1575, *ibid.*, 463-70. According to an *Avviso di Roma, dat. August 13, 1575, the German Congregation, on August 6, resolved to send a nuncio. Urb. 1044, p. 512 Vatican Library.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xxxi, n. 1.

[4] Stieve, Ursprung des Dreizigjährigen Krieges, I., Munich, 1875, n. 94.

the twelve Electors informed the Emperor that they had made up their minds about the election. October 24th was chosen for the day of the election.

But matters were not destined to proceed so smoothly, and very soon the question of the declaration of Ferdinand divided men's minds to such an extent that it seemed as though the electoral Diet would have to be dissolved without anything having been accomplished. The Protestant Electors definitely insisted that the declaration must be included in the election capitulation of the future King of the Romans, while the Catholic party equally decidedly would not hear of this. The councillors of the Electors and several times the princes themselves met in conference; again and again the Emperor was asked by both parties to intervene and he summoned the ecclesiastical Electors at one time, and the secular Electors at another to confer with him.[1] But it seemed that nothing was of any avail.

The Catholic states and princes recognized the declaration which was now presented to them in the original as authentic, but nevertheless would not admit the validity of the document. The Archbishop of Trêves declared that he had heard from three or four of the princes how the declaration had come to be made, and no one was able to give him a satisfactory reply.[2] The Elector of Cologne declared that his chancellor and his majordomo had been present at the discussion of the religious peace; they could well remember "the wearisome business, but knew nothing of any discussion of the declaration."[3] The Protestants, including the Elector of Saxony, made no reply to these statements, and even when the Emperor asked them why they had never brought the matter to light before, while his father was alive, or at the time of his own election, "they could not make any other reply than that they had been waiting for the present occasion."[4]

[1] Moritz, 154 *seqq.*

[2] Lehmann, 127. Moritz, 160.

[3] Lehmann, 127. Moritz, 156, n. 3.

[4] "Non hanno saputo dir altro, si non d'haver aspettato questa occasione." Delfino to Galli on October 28, 1575, in Theiner, II., 466.

Maximilian found himself in a very embarrassing position. The Elector Augustus had already declared on October 18th, that the declaration must not be thrown overboard; that if the ecclesiastics did not give way it was probable that in three days time the Emperor would see very few secular Electors at Ratisbon.[1] On the following day the same threat was again made by the three Protestant Electors.[2] The Emperor implored and adjured them; he would rather, he said, be 100 feet underground than have the electoral assembly broken up without completing its work.[3] But everything seemed useless.

In the meantime, one thing seemed clear; if the Catholics held firm their adversaries would give way. In reality the declaration was no longer of any great importance to the Elector of Saxony.[4] Even without it he had been able to get the dioceses of Merseburg and Naumburg into his power,[5] and to put off the election of the king until the Greek Kalends for the sake of a religious scruple seemed to him, in view of its incalculable consequences, to be too serious a thing to do.[6] He decided to adopt a way out of the difficulty which the Emperor proposed to him on October 21st, and to refer the question of the declaration to the next Diet. Augustus won over the Elector of Brandenburg, as well as the Elector Palatine, to this view; the Count Palatine did not inform his councillors, to whom the failure to elect the king seemed likely to be useful to the revolutionary plans of the Palatinate, before the session.[7] In this way, on October 27th the election of Rudolph II. took place, and was followed by his coronation

[1] Moritz, 161.

[2] *Ibid.*, 162.

[3] *Ibid.*, 163.

[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 189.

[5] "They have devoured and already digested their [founders]" said a councillor of the Palatinate in 1570 with regard to Saxony and Hesse. *Ibid.*, 123, n. 4.

[6] Autograph memorandum of Augustus, *ibid.*, 167. *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, IV., 15-16 391, n. 2.

[7] Moritz, 168 *seqq.*

on November 1st.[1] The election capitulation was the same as at the election of Maximilian in 1562.

With a view to obtaining help against the Turks, the Emperor, on his way back from the election, convoked a new Diet for February 15th in the following year at Ratisbon, but this, on account of the nomination of Maximilian as King of Poland, was postponed to April 1st, and afterwards to May 1st.[2] The Landgrave William of Hesse then recommended his fellow princes not to agree to a single farthing of tax for the Emperor's Turkish war, unless he first approved the declaration.[3] This unworthy attempt to profit by the necessities of the Emperor did not, however, meet with much approval.[4]

As far as the Catholics were concerned, Duke Albert V. warned his representatives at the Diet not to be led into any discussion of the declaration or of any religious exemptions, saying that he would rather "suffer and endure" anything than consent to depart from even a syllable of the religious peace. The declaration was certainly invalid, and offensive to Catholics, since it placed the ecclesiastical princes in a worse position than the secular princes. The suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* would make benefices hereditary, and would at last lead to the undoing of the nobles; the attempt to obviate these sad consequences by means of Imperial constitutions would be a vain one, and would break down the religious peace. The dioceses, moreover, had not been established in order to provide for the nobles, but only for the sake of that Catholic worship which the Protestants could not comply with.[5] Albert V. also tried to influence the other princes.[6] He wished to present himself at the Diet

[1] Description of the election and coronation: Delfino to Galli on October 28 and November 3, 1575, in THEINER, II., 465 *seq.*, 468 *seq.*

[2] MORITZ, 176, 188, 194.

[3] MORITZ, 189, 192, 222 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 197.

[5] *Ibid.*, 241 *seq.*

[6] *Ibid.*, 242.

only after the religious question had been dealt with, so that the rancour of the Protestants might not be directed against him as the zealous supporter of the old religion.[1] It was perhaps for this reason that he put off a visit to Augustus of Saxony until the very time of the Diet.[2]

In Rome men were fully convinced that this Diet might turn out to be of decisive importance.

At the consistory of April 23rd, 1576, Gregory XIII. expressed his determination to observe the previous custom of sending a special legate to the Diet of Germany; when Santa Croce objected that perhaps the presence of a Papal envoy would not be pleasing to the Emperor, the Pope replied that even so a legate should be sent; he did not for his part intend to omit anything that he could do. This decision of the Pope's met with the approval of all the Cardinals.[3] Gregory then chose for this difficult task Cardinal Morone, the best of his diplomatists, and when the Cardinal, who was already seventy-seven years of age, wished to be excused, Gregory said to him that either Morone or the Pope himself should go to Ratisbon.[4] Care for religion, so it was stated in the legate's instruction,[5] must naturally be the principal

[1] *Ibid.*, 243.

[2] *Ibid.*, 243, 246 *seq.*

[3] Protocol of the Consistory, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 11 *seq.*

[4] Elector Frederick of the Palatinate to whom "a reliable and well-known person of experience reported it" (KLUCKHOHN, II., 971; *cf.* MORITZ, 249). Pompeo Strozzi *reports on April 21 to the Duke of Mantua that when Morone shrank from the mission the Pope implored him with tears to go. On April 24 Strozzi *reports that Morone received the legatine cross some days before, and on the 29th, that he intended to start that evening. On November 17 *he writes that Morone had arrived on the previous day. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[5] Of April 26, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 21 *seqq.* Of less importance are two memoranda of Cardinal Lodovico Madruzzo about resisting attacks on the Catholic Church and winning back the lost North German bishoprics and the apostate German princes. *Ibid.*, 12 *seqq.*, 17 *seqq.*

preoccupation of Morone during the Diet, but with the Emperor he must present himself principally as his counsellor in the question of Poland and Hungary, as well as in that of the Turkish peril. With the help of the princes and the Catholic bishops he must prevent the discussion of the declaration of Ferdinand and of the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum;* on his way to Ratisbon he could come to an arrangement on this subject with Ferdinand of the Tyrol and with Duke Albert of Bavaria. With the Emperor, from whom secret concessions were to be feared, Morone was to point out clearly that by his constant readiness to give way the Church in Germany was being ruined. Maximilian should also not confer investiture with civil rights upon those who had been intruded into ecclesiastical office.[1]

Morone set out from Rome in April. He made a fairly long stay at Innsbruck with the Archduke Ferdinand,[2] and at Landshut with Duke William, the heir to the throne of Bavaria. The city seemed to him, on account of the great concourse of people at the churches, the Catholic sentiments of the inhabitants, and the piety of the royal couple, like a jewel in the midst of filth.[3] With Duke Albert, who was at the baths of Ueberkingen, Morone could only communicate by letter.[4] When the legate learned that the arrival of the Emperor at the Diet was not to be expected immediately, he delayed his journey; finally he fixed his residence at Eckmühl, three miles from Ratisbon. On June 9th he reached the scene of the Imperial assembly, and it was only with difficulty that he could find lodging in the city, which

[1] Morone's credentials are dated April 25, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 28. *Cf.* THEINER, II., 153 (to the Emperor), 154 (to the Spanish envoys). For Morone's faculties see DÖLLINGER-REUSCH, Geschichte der Moralstreitigkeiten, II., Nördlingen, 1889, 244 *seq.*; MERGENTHEIM, I., 236 *seq.*, *cf.* 234. *Cf.* SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XIII., 273 *seqq.*

[2] To Galli on May 25, 1576, *Nuutiaturberichte*, II., 38 *seq.*

[3] To Galli, Eckmühl, June 6, *ibid.*, 45.

[4] MORITZ, 258 *seq.*

was almost entirely Protestant, and which shunned him and his companions as though they had been stricken with the plague.[1]

While they were still waiting for the coming of the Emperor, the Protestant councillors, and especially the representatives of Hesse and the Palatinate tried to arrive at a common course of action on behalf of the Protestant party. A general meeting of all the representatives of the innovators, however, could not be held because of the attitude of reserve adopted by the envoys of Saxony. The envoys of the Palatinate therefore drew up a memorial which met with the approval of the rest of the Protestants; this especially insisted upon a demand which dated from before the religious peace, and was to the effect that those who adhered to the Confession of Augsburg should not be forced by the Catholic authorities to leave the country.[2]

Morone at once became the spiritual centre of the Catholic party. The legate had come filled with grave anxieties; he thought that by reason of the absence of the princes he would be obliged to treat with the councillors, though the greater number of these were not free from heresy. In his opinion the Protestants were filled with the most joyful expectations by reason of the necessities of the Emperor and the weakness of the prelates, "who have as much unity as an untied besom, and wish to enjoy life, no matter what may become of the world: many of them are not even firm in the faith."[3]

Morone's first duty therefore was to win the confidence of the Catholics and give them new courage. On the occasion of the first visit of courtesy paid to him by the councillors, he was able, as Delfino wrote,[4] to charm them by his courtesy, while he sought thereafter in every way to be well informed as to conditions in Germany. "If my health permits me,"

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 45.

[2] LEHMANN, 129 *seqq.* *Cf.* MORITZ, 198 *seq.*

[3] To Galli on May 25, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 38.

[4] On June 20, 1576, in THEINER, II., 528.

he wrote,[1] "to assist more generally at their banquets, as I have begun to do, it will be easier for me to win them over; I will do all I can." The Cardinal also made a deep impression by his knowledge of conditions in Germany. As the councillors of Bavaria wrote, he knew how to talk about public affairs, and of the beginnings and spread of Lutheranism, as though he had been present "at all the Diets and at all that had occurred."[2] The representatives of the Electors of Trêves and Mayence, and of several other bishops, promised him that they would take no action concerning the religious question without his knowledge.[3] With the Emperor Maximilian II., too, Morone was in much favour. On the occasion of the legate's first visit, the sick Emperor was unable to go to meet him, but had himself carried to the top of the stairs, welcomed him with expressions of great joy, and gave his hand to all the Cardinal's suite. In the Emperor's private room Morone was placed upon a seat almost equal to that of Maximilian, and went on to speak of his desire of serving him, of the Polish question and the Turkish war, and of religion, with so much skill that Maximilian showed the greatest satisfaction.[4] With regard to the religious position the Emperor remarked that it was difficult to describe the ill-will felt by the Protestant princes in Germany towards the Catholics. A great part of the blame for this, he said, naturally fell upon the prelates, who only thought of the temporal dominion which they had acquired by means of their spiritual position, who neglected their principal duty, the care of souls, and gave the worst possible example to the rest of the clergy.[5] When he took his leave, Maximilian again accompanied the legate to the stairs. Delfino, who was present at the audience, wrote to Rome: "if there is a man who is able to do any good in Germany, it is Morone

[1] On June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 56.

[2] Moritz, 249, n. 5.

[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 56.

[4] Theiner, *loc. cit.* For the negotiations with the Emperor *cf.* Morone to Galli on June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 50-6.

[5] *Ibid.*, 55.

and no one else: not only the Emperor, but the whole court, is full of his praises."[1]

The presence of Morone in the German Empire was also to the advantage of the whole work of Catholic reform in Germany. By the wish of the authorities in Rome all the promoters of German Catholic reform went to meet him; Delfino, Portia, Ninguarda, Elgard and Canisius gave him oral and written reports, and took counsel with him.[2] The Protestants naturally were not all pleased to see at Ratisbon this "lank and lean man" with his "white beard" and the unaccustomed "scarlet mantle and zuchetto," who in spite of his "advanced age"[3] could still cross the Alps; but in their acts and methods of expression they fully recognized his great ability.[4]

The speech with which Maximilian II. opened the Diet on June 25th contained not a word about the religious question,[5] but a written memorial from the councillors of the Electors, which had been accepted by all the Protestants, and only to some extent moderated by the councillors of Saxony, at once demanded before anything else the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand,[6] and although it was once again made clear that "several of the princes had never had any previous knowledge" of this much discussed document,[7] and although the councillors of Saxony affirmed in the presence of their Elector that the declaration

[1] Delfino in THEINER, II., 528. For the negotiations with regard to the Polish question, the League against the Turks, Flanders and religion, see Morone to Galli on June 19, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 50-6.

[2] MORITZ, 272. Ninguarda composed at the Diet his *Informatio* concerning conditions in Germany; see SCHELLHASS, Akten, I., 47-108, 204-37.

[3] MORITZ, 271.

[4] "A crafty, experienced head most qualified for that kind of business." Frederick of the Palatinate, in KLUCKHOHN, II., 960.

[5] MORITZ, 280 *seqq.*, *cf.* 279.

[6] *Ibid.*, 281-7.

[7] *Ibid.*, 286.

could not apply to the affairs of Fulda and Eichsfeld,[1] the demand nevertheless stirred up a veritable storm. The Catholics declared that they would go away rather than permit any religious discussion![2] First must come the discussion of the religious question or there will be no tax for the Turkish war! threatened the Protestants.[3] When Saxony had associated itself with this threat, a further petition was submitted, which was also principally in favour of the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand.[4] "God grant that this discussion may be calmed" wrote the envoy of Austria, "for otherwise we shall see a very strange Diet."[5]

The Catholics had all the less thought of giving way in that they possessed at that time an energetic leader in that curious personality Salentin of Isenburg. Although he was Archbishop and Elector of Cologne, Salentin wore a secular dress, with a feather in his hat and a dagger in his belt, and abused priests with all his might. When Morone crossed the Alps, Salentin was on his way to Rome, in order to obtain permission from the Pope to resign his diocese and then get married. The two travellers met at Sterzing, where Morone used his influence to persuade the other to give up his journey to Rome and attend the Diet.[6] But at Ratisbon Salentin entirely avoided any meeting with Morone. In spite of everything he was quite firm in the Catholic faith,[7] and it was under his influence that a decision was arrived at, at a meeting of the Catholics, that "rather than give up a syllable of the ancient, Catholic and true faith, and above all of the religious peace, they would give all that they possessed, body, property and blood."[8] A memorial to this effect was solemnly sent to the Emperor.[9] Morone too presented to him a

[1] *Ibid.*, 282, n. 4, 288 n.
[2] *Ibid.*, 293 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 300-7.
[4] *Ibid.*, 308 *seq.*, 313.
[5] *Ibid.*, 302.
[6] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 15; II., 36.
[7] Moritz, 311.
[8] *Ibid.*, 314.
[9] *Ibid.*

memorial against the declaration, encouraged the Catholic councillors, and set them upon the way which in the end actually brought them out of their difficulties. From what had already happened, it could indeed be gathered that the Elector of Saxony "upon whom all the other princes had fixed their eyes" was not at heart prepared to fight very zealously for the declaration. By means of the Duke of Bavaria, who was just at that time paying a visit to Augustus of Saxony, an attempt was to be made to induce him to give way, and as William, the son of the Duke of Bavaria, was at Ratisbon, a bridge between the Cardinal and Dresden was already prepared.[1]

In the meantime the hopes of Morone continued to fade.[2] After a further declaration on the part of the Protestant princes, he was informed by the Emperor that it would be very difficult to put off the discussion of the declaration to a future Diet. The legate was already reconciling himself to the idea that it would be confirmed at Ratisbon,[3] when news came from Duke Albert that the Elector of Saxony would not insist strongly upon the declaration. It was for this reason, in order not to associate himself with his co-religionists among the supporters of the declaration, and so as not to "be troublesome" to the Emperor, that he had not come to Ratisbon, and in the meantime had instructed his councillors not to neglect the other business on account of the declaration. If he "holds firm and does not give way easily," Albert wrote encouragingly to the Emperor, "even those who protest" would leave things as they are; but if on the other hand he yields a finger to them, they would at once insist upon his whole hand.[4] Augustus wrote to his representatives at Ratisbon that they must not under any pretext allow themselves to be led into uttering threats

[1] *Ibid.*, 315 *seq.*

[2] "Di Sassonia non si può spera bene alcuno, perchè la moglie da lui amatissima è troppo vehemente nel Lutherismo." Morone to Galli on July 26, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 98.

[3] *Ibid.*, 96 *seq.*

[4] Moritz, 323-7.

of refusing help against the Turks. If it were a question of destroying the religious peace, he asked "should the States for that reason fail to come to the assistance of his Imperial Majesty against the Turks, and allow it to come about that they were swallowed up one after the other, until in the end they all perished together?" It would be a strange form of resistance to say: "I do not wish to assist the supreme authority; I wish to let the Empire go to pieces, and myself be devoured by the Turks, in order that this or that may be done."[1] Naturally, however, Augustus avoided leaning too definitely to either side, and his instructions to his councillors at Ratisbon were certainly expressed very vaguely.[2]

In spite of the promise of the Elector of Saxony, Morone remained in a constant state of dread because of the instability of Maximilian,[3] and the Catholics felt it necessary to seek for powerful supporters with the vacillating Emperor. They had indirect recourse to the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol through the Spanish ambassador, who was a zealous Catholic,[4] and King Philip.[5] Albert V.'s news concerning the views of the Elector of Saxony had hardly reached Ratisbon, when at once, on the following day, Ferdinand and the Archbishop of Salzburg repaired to the Emperor, and Ferdinand in particular appealed very strongly to his conscience.[6] On August 13th, Albert V. of Bavaria, who had been begged to come by Morone, presented himself before Maximilian, and received from the Emperor the express assurance that the demands of the Protestants would not be granted at any cost.[7]

[1] Moritz, 353.

[2] *Ibid.*, 348-55.

[3] To Galli on August 9, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 115.

[4] Moritz, 273 *Cf.* the envoy's reports in Bibl in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.*, CVI. (1918), 416 *seqq.*

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 116.

[6] Moritz, 345 *seqq.*, 347.

[7] *Ibid.*, 357. The duke, through his chancellor Elsenheimer, had previously sounded the emperor. Maximilian had already expressed to the chancellor his opinion that the Protestants behaved towards the members of the old faith like the wolf in

He repeated the same assurance more fully when, at a banquet which Johann Jakob of Salzburg gave to the princes on August 15th, the Archbishop of Mayence complained to the Emperor and again declared that the Catholics would return home without having settled anything rather than give their approval to the smallest concession. The Emperor added that the Catholics had more reason to complain of the Protestants than the latter had of them.[1]

In this way at last, on August 25th, Maximilian declared his intention of confirming the religious peace of Augsburg; to change it would be impossible without the consent of both parties; it was not necessary to unite the declaration to the decrees of the Diet nor to refer it to the supreme tribunal.[2]

Neither of the two parties was satisfied by the Imperial reply. The Catholics felt injured because the vice-chancellor Weber sent them the resolution with an exhortation to preserve the peace, and thus seemed to imply that the disturbers of the peace were to be looked for among the Catholics. They therefore drew up a protest enumerating a series of usurpations on the part of the Protestants.[3] The Protestants showed themselves even less satisfied. Some of the Imperial councillors, who were indeed quite indifferent about religion, but feared disturbances in the Empire if the innovators were not taken into consideration, urged them to take further steps.[4] In accordance with the ideas of these "court Christians" and especially their leader, Lazarus Schwendi, who demanded general religious liberty for Catholics and Protestants alike,[5] a new Protestant petition was drawn up on September 9th; in this, the declaration of Ferdinand,

the fable which blamed the sheep for polluting the water; "in the same way the Catholics must always be in the wrong according to these people"; what they did themselves they accused their opponents of doing. *Ibid.*, 356, n. 4.

[1] *Ibid.*, 358.

[2] *Ibid.*, 366. LEHMANN, 140 *seq.*

[3] MORITZ, 383.

[4] *Ibid.*, 368.

[5] *Ibid.*, 360 *seqq.*

which had hitherto been so zealously demanded, became quite a secondary matter.[1] The Elector of Saxony also remarked that he doubted whether the Protestant states would be willing to tolerate papistical subjects in their territories.[2]

This petition could not have much effect because it was signed by only a part of the Protestant states. At the party discussions it became increasingly difficult to conceal their want of unity; the Palatinate and Brandenburg insisted that the religious concessions should be made a condition of the subsidy against the Turks, but on the other hand the Elector of Saxony forbade his representatives to adopt an attitude which seemed to him to savour too much of holding a pistol at men's heads. Hesse tried to compromise by making no mention of any such condition to the Emperor, but the Saxons had already decided not to insist any further as far as he was concerned.[3]

In spite of the split in the party some of the princes did not cease even now to talk bombastically.[4] But the Landgrave William of Hesse, who more than the others loved to talk in this way about religion, had to put up with being told by the Elector Augustus that William himself knew quite well that by the declaration of Ferdinand and the outcry for independence "something very different from religion was understood and sought for."[5]

From July 28th to the beginning of September the discussions of the subsidy against the Turks were suspended. When they were once more renewed, the religious concessions no longer made their appearance, as they had previously done, as a condition of the subsidy. At the meeting of the Electors the Palatinate and Brandenburg united on behalf of the condition, but later on only the Palatinate took this stand;[6] when the assembly of the Electors and that of the

[1] *Autonomia*, 99 (b).
[2] Moritz, 375.
[3] *Ibid.*, 368-73.
[4] *Ibid.*, 379, 381.
[5] *Ibid.*, 377.
[6] *Ibid.*, 395, 396.

princes met, only Hesse and Woltenbüttel clung to it.[1] The representatives of Hesse wrote that everyone was walking warily and that no one wished to be called ungrateful.[2] The offers made for the subsidy against the Turks at first were so small that the Emperor expressed his indignation ;[3] after protracted negotiations they were granted with comparative liberality.[4] In the end, however, after Maximilian II. had died at Ratisbon on October 12th, 1576, the sums agreed upon were only paid very slowly to his successor.[5]

On the very day, September 29th, on which the final decision concerning the subsidy against the Turks had reached the hands of Maximilian, the Protestant States once more assembled to take counsel concerning the reply which the Emperor had sent a few days before to their petition of September 9th.[6] One point in the Imperial reply was especially displeasing to the Protestants ; this stated that the declaration of Ferdinand, in spite of its derogative formula, was in contradiction to the religious peace. A reply to the Imperial decree was prepared, but the Emperor, who was now seriously ill, can hardly have seen it.

When Maximilian received the Protestant demand of September 9th, he asked the Catholics to agree to its being referred to the next Diet. This would have been the best possible way of making the dispute everlasting, and for this reason the Catholics would not agree.[7] By their success at the Diet, the confidence of the Catholics in themselves had much increased, as well as their trust in Rome as the result of the action of Morone.

Minucci attributes the happy issue of the Diet to the efforts of the Archduke of the Tyrol and the Duke of Bavaria with

[1] *Ibid.*, 398.
[2] *Ibid.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 330.
[4] *Ibid.*, 394-8.
[5] Moritz, 452 *seqq.* For Maximilian's death, *ibid.*, 433 *seqq.*; Janssen-Pastor, IV.,[15-16] 495 *seq.* ; Bibl, *loc. cit.*, 352 *seq.*
[6] Moritz, 401 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 399 *seq.*

the Emperor, and no less to the zeal and the "incomparable prudence" of the legate, Cardinal Morone.[1] The latter as well as the Pope expressed their great gratitude to the Duke of Bavaria.[2]

The change of government after the death of Maximilian II. at first seemed to open out to the Catholics the prospect of far-reaching consequences. The accession to the throne of Rudolph II. filled the Protestants with anxiety,[3] since the new Emperor, in contrast to his father Maximilian, was animated by strict Catholic sentiments. A short time after he had assumed the reins of government he removed the Protestant servants from his court, and refused to the Protestant states of Upper Austria the confirmation of the religious concessions made by his predecessor.[4] Rudolph chose his confessors from among the Jesuits, and a Jesuit was his court preacher.[5] At the first audience which the Papal nuncio Delfino had with Rudolph, the Emperor gave him such satisfactory assurances of his attachment to the Holy See and the Church, that the highest hopes were built in Rome from the change in the Imperial throne.[6] Although these were not fulfilled, and though the diplomatic relations of the new sovereign with the court of Rome were not without their difficulties,[7] nevertheless the attitude of Rudolph

[1] Report of October 6, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 185.

[2] ARETIN, Maximilian, I., 216.

[3] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.,[15-16] 497.

[4] See the reports of the nuncio G. Delfino, dat. November 19 and 21, 1576, in THEINER, II., 532.

[5] See SACCHINUS, 1576, n. 86; 1578, n. 80; 1579, n. 122; 1580, n. 166.

[6] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xxxiv-xxxv.

[7] Rudolph II.'s *obedientia* mission, though announced immediately after his election, did not arrive in Rome until 18 months later (April 27, 1577); and even then it arrived without decree of election and oath of the king. In spite of this, however, Gregory XIII., on July 1st, gave his solemn confirmation and supplied all defects. But the Bull of Confirmation was not accepted either by the imperial envoys or by Rudolph II. to whom Gregory had sent it by the nuncio (see SCHMID, in the

towards religious questions was much more satisfactory than that of his predecessor. This was clearly shown in his filling the principal offices at the court and in the Imperial government with men who were manifestly Catholics, as well as by Rudolph's efforts to win back his subjects to the Catholic Church. It was naturally another question whether Rudolph possessed the necessary strength and tenacity to accomplish this difficult task.

The Emperor Rudolph and his brother, the Archduke Ernest, to whom the administration of Austria was entrusted, were to some extent driven to interfere by the excesses of the Protestant pastors, who roused the animosity of their hearers to such an extent that the latter "every time they came away from a sermon were ready to tear to pieces with bloody hands the Papists as idolators and slaves of the devil."[1] Nevertheless the government ventured upon its first steps only with diffidence,[2] and it was only when the Emperor and his brother realized the weakness of the Protestants of Austria, the result of their internal dissensions, that they interfered with greater resoluteness, encouraged and supported by Duke Albert and the Papal nuncio. In June 1578 the carrying on of Protestant worship was forbidden in Vienna.[3] This step taken by the Emperor in defence of his sovereign authority filled the Catholics with the greatest

Hist.-Jahrbuch, VI., 186 *seqq.*). John Tonner *wrote to Rudolph from Rome on June 26, 1577, saying that Galli was the "*auctor* and contriver of all these difficulties; and the Pope a great canonist who desired to have everything *rigidissime iuxta literam*. I said to certain Cardinals quite bluntly: 'distinguamus tempora et concordabimus scripturas, et quod tempora praesentia non ferunt istum rigorem et obstinationem.'" Herberstein Archives (Eggenberg) at Graz. *Cf.* H. von ZWIEDINECK-SÜDENHORST, in the *Archiv für österr. Gesch.* LVIII. (1879), 175 *seqq.*

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, IV.,[15-16] 500.

[2] For what follows *cf.* BIBL's exhaustive work: Die Einführung der kathol. Gegenreformation in Niederösterreich durch Kaiser Rudolph II., 1576-80, Innsbruck, 1900.

[3] See BIBL, *loc. cit.*, 88 *seq.*

joy. "Praise be to God" wrote the Imperial councillor, Doctor Georg Eder, to Duke Albert, "that we have seen such a day."[1] On July 13th, 1578, Gregory XIII. wrote a brief in which he congratulated Rudolph II. on the action he had taken.[2] Two years later the struggle with the Protestant states was settled in the sense that the quarrelsome nobles and barons were obliged to act merely on the defensive.

While the internal weakness and complete want of unity of the Protestant states was becoming more and more evident, there arose a highly-gifted champion[3] of Catholic restoration in the person of the son of a Viennese baker, Melchior Klesl, who had been brought back to the Catholic Church by the Jesuit, Scherer.[4] In 1579 the Emperor appointed him provost of the cathedral of St. Stephen, and chancellor of the University of Vienna. Two years later Klesl became vicar-general of the Bishop of Passau in Lower Austria. At his suggestion the Emperor in 1581 renewed the ordinance of Ferdinand I. by which no one could be admitted as a professor at the University of Vienna, nor have the right to promotion, who had not made the profession of the Catholic faith according to the formula prescribed by Pius IV.[5]

Things were in this favourable condition when Bonhomini, in December, 1581, began his nunciature at the court of the Emperor.[6] This indefatigable man, who had taken Charles

[1] See *ibid.*, 91.

[2] THEINER, II., 347.

[3] See BIBL, *loc. cit.*, v.

[4] In addition to the four-volume work of HAMMER-PURGSTALL, *cf.* (for particulars of Klesl) KERSCHBAUMER'S monograph (Vienna, 1865) which, though exhaustive and based upon the Roman archives, does not solve all problems.

[5] See KINK, Geschichte der Universität Wien, I., Vienna, 1854 319 *seq.*

[6] See EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxx; HANSEN, I., 300 *seqq.* His *instruction of September 30, 1581, in the Cod. Barb., p. 203, Vatican Library. Minutes in Var. polit., 179, Papal Secret Archives.

Borromeo as his model,[1] proved himself once again in his new office the zealous supporter of reform and Catholic restoration, not only in the Empire, but also in Austria and Hungary. From the first Bonhomini's activities were on similar lines to those adopted by him in Catholic Switzerland, in the fortunes of which,[2] no less than in the religious interests of his own diocese of Vercelli,[3] he took a constant and active part, though only from a distance; in his new sphere of action too, which was so much wider, his first endeavour was to raise the moral state of the clergy, and for this purpose, no less than for that of fighting against the religious innovations, to establish new houses for the Jesuits, first of all at Pressburg,[4] and then at Linz and Krems.[5] It seemed to him that one of the principal difficulties was the scarcity of priests.[6]

Bonhomini was very pleased with his reception by the Emperor. Among other things he obtained from Rudolph the handing over of the heretic, Massilara, who went by the name of Paleologus.[7] As far as Austria was concerned, Bonhomini thought that, in consequence of the good will of Rudolph and of some of the Catholic councillors, matters would develope favourably everywhere.[8] Higher interests,

[1] See Bonhomini's *letter to John Anthony Guernerius (Canonic. Bergomati) dat. Posonii, IV., Cal. Ian., 1582, Min. Epist., 1582-4, n. 98, Jesuit Library at Exaeten.

[2] Numerous *documents bearing on this, *ibid.*

[3] *Cf.* the beautiful *letter to the Chapter of Vercelli dat. Viennae, XIX., Cal. Ian., 1581, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

[4] See the *letter to the rector of the Jesuit College at Vienna dat. Posonii, Prid. Id. Febr., 1582, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

[5] See the *letter to the Archduke Maximilian dat. Viennae, VIII., Cal. April, 1582, *ibid.*

[6] See the *letter to Victor August Fugger Kirchbergensis parochiae rector dat. Viennae, XIII., Cal., April, 1582, *ibid.*

[7] See Ehses-Meister, I., xxx. For Paleologus *cf.* Vol. XVI. of this work, p. 319; XIX., 303 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 411, 414, 419, 448.

[8] *Letter to the Bishop of Passau, Urban von Trennbach, dat. Viennae, XI., Cal., April, 1582, Min. Epist., *loc. cit.*

however, suddenly tore the nuncio away from his new sphere for a time, for the Pope sent him orders to assist at the Emperor's first Diet, which Rudolph had convoked at Augsburg for April 22nd, 1582. This assembly not only attracted the attention of the whole of Germany, but it was also fully realized in Rome how important it was, and how advantageous it would be to be properly represented during the discussions.

That the presence of a nuncio, even though the latter possessed all the zeal of a Bonhomini, would not suffice, was very evident, and it was realized that a legate *a latere* would have to defend the rights of the Church, and prevent any further concessions being made to the Protestants. As candidates for this office, the names of Cardinals Delfino and Madruzzo were put forward as the most suitable,[1] and next those of Commendone, Cesi and Maffei.[2] The most prominent candidate from the first was Lodovico Madruzzo,[3] who, as Prince-Bishop of Trent, was also a prince of the Empire, and was, as Cardinal Protector, in close relations with Germany, besides being possessed of a detailed knowledge of the conditions of the Empire. It was upon this distinguished prince of the Church, who in 1578 had introduced the reform in accordance with the decrees of the Council of Trent into his diocese,[4] that the Pope's choice at length fell.

At a consistory of March 3rd, 1582, Gregory XIII. announced to the Cardinals the appointment of Madruzzo, and they cordially approved of his choice.[5] The choice also met with general praise, but, as the ambassador of the Este remarked,[6] not from Madruzzo himself. He was at that time in such

[1] *Report of Giulio Masetti, dat. Rome, February 8, 1582, State Archives, Modena.

[2] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, February 9, 1582, *ibid.*

[3] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, February 19, 1582, *ibid.*

[4] *Cf.* the *Vita of L. Madruzzo in the Cod. Massetti of the Municipal Library, Trent.

[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 381.

[6] *Report of G. Masetti dat. Rome, March 7, 1582, State Archives, Modena.

a bad state of health that the sessions of the German Congregation had to be held at his house.[1] Nevertheless he resolved to obey the call of the supreme head of the Church. Fully realizing the importance of his mission, he made a study of the acta of the preceding Diets, and drew up a memorial concerning the subjects which it could be foreseen would be brought up for discussion at Augsburg. Such were the two great questions around which since 1575 the struggle between the Catholics and Protestants had especially turned; the so-called "exemption" or the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, and the confirmation of the declaration of Ferdinand I. By settling these questions in accordance with their desires the Protestants intended, as Madruzzo pointed out in his memorial, to strike a death-blow at the existence of Catholicism in Germany. He therefore deduced the necessity for a close alliance between the Catholic states, and a revival of resistance to any further propagation of the new doctrines.[2] These two suggestions met with the fullest approval of the Pope and his Secretary of State, Galli. The latter made them the basis of the instructions which he drew up for the legate. It has been very rightly pointed out that this important document marks the great progress which the cause of the Catholic restoration had made in Rome during the last five years. It points to the fact that the time had come to abandon the defensive attitude which they had been obliged to adopt even at the time of the mission of Morone in 1576, and to aim at obtaining positive results against Protestantism by delivering a bold attack.[3] The ecclesiastical and secular princes who had remained loyal to Catholicism must, in close union, no longer wait, as they had hitherto done, for the Protestant demand to be set forth, but they must in writing put before the Diet the many

[1] *Reports of G. Masetti dat. Rome, March, 8, 9 and 10, 1582, *ibid.*

[2] Madruzzo's memorandum dat. March 15, 1582, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 382 *seq.*, *cf.* lxviii *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, lxx *seq.* The actual wording of the Instruction *ibid.*, 390 *seq.*, published for the first time by HANSEN.

violations of right which, in defiance of the religious peace of Augsburg and to the great harm of Catholicism, the Protestants had been guilty of in almost every part of Germany, and especially at Magdeburg, Halberstadt, Bremen and, quite recently, at Aix. "By this application of the old principle that attack is the best form of defence, Cardinal Galli hoped to take his adversaries by surprise, to put them on the defensive, and thus in any case prevent any further loss to the Catholic Church, and also with great probability even gain something."[1] If, in spite of this, he should not be successful in preventing the demands of the Protestants from being put forward and discussed, the legate was to make this dependent upon the restoration of the dioceses of which the Protestants had, contrary to all right, taken possession after the religious peace.

Besides the plan for restoration, another for reform was added to Madruzzo's instructions. The Cardinal legate was to take advantage of the presence of so many bishops in order to urge them to repair the damage done and to remove the many abuses of which the Holy See had definite information from the nuncios Portia and Ninguarda. The Pope's representatives were severely to remind the bishops of Germany of their pastoral duties, and above all to urge them to make a visitation of their dioceses, to establish seminaries, and to effect the moral regeneration of their clergy.

As the death of the Elector of Mayence and Chancellor of the Empire, Daniel Brendel, which took place on March 22nd, 1582, delayed the Emperor's journey, Madruzzo and Bonhomini put off their arrival at Augsburg. The Cardinal remained at Trent, whence, still continuing his study of the acta of the preceding Diets,[2] he urged the Bishops of Salzburg, Trêves and Bamberg to undertake the journey to Augsburg,[3] and drew up a reply to the "book of concord" of the Protestants.[4] Bonhomini at first laboured at Vienna in

[1] *Ibid.*, lxxi.

[2] See *ibid.*, 413 *seq.*, 415, 420, 424.

[3] See *ibid.*, 419, 421, 427.

[4] See *ibid.*, 423, *cf.* 433, 596 *seqq.*

the interests of the Catholics of Hungary.[1] In April he went to Bohemia,[2] where he urged the establishment of a Jesuit college at Pilsen. After he had celebrated the festival of Pentecost at Prague, he went to Munich in order to consult with the Duke of Bavaria about the defence of Catholic interests at the Diet. He had already announced his visit to William V. from Vienna, and had exhorted him to prepare his weapons in time, so as successfully to oppose any demand from the Protestants for the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*.

On June 14th, 1582, there also arrived at Munich Cardinal Madruzzo who had left Trent on June 1st, and had then stayed for a few days at Innsbruck with the Archduke Ferdinand.[3] What the Cardinal learned from the Archduke concerning the inexperience of the young Emperor, and the tepidity of the ecclesiastical princes,[4] was bound to cause him great anxiety. All the more pleasant, therefore, were the impressions which he formed at Munich. Once more the ducal court of Bavaria was shown to be the rallying point of Catholic interests in Germany. Duke William showed himself as full of zeal for the Church as though he had been a representative of the Holy See.[5] The Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, too, who arrived at the same time, showed the most satisfactory dispositions. Madruzzo and Bonhomini went into the position at prolonged conferences, and settled with Duke William their method of procedure at the coming Diet. Although the Duke of Bavaria did not conceal from himself the difficulties of keeping the Catholic party united, he agreed with Madruzzo in all essentials, especially with regard to taking the offensive.[6] At these conferences there also took part Germanico Malaspina, who had held the nunciature at the court of Graz since 1580, and had directed the

[1] Ehses-Meister, I., xxxi.
[2] Schmidl, Historia S.J. Prov. Bohemiae, II., 480.
[3] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 379, *cf.* 427, 432, 435.
[4] See *ibid.*, 428 *seq.*
[5] See *ibid.*, 432, 435.
[6] See *ibid.*, lxxiv.

resistance to the Protestants there.[1] The importance attached in Rome to the Diet of Augsburg is shown by the fact that the Pope sent yet a fourth representative to Augsburg in the person of Feliciano Ninguarda.[2]

On June 17th the Cardinal legate Madruzzo arrived in Augsburg with a great retinue.[3] On the following day there also came Bonhomini and Malaspina, and the new Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, who was not yet confirmed by the Pope, and of whom Madruzzo formed a very favourable impression.[4] The Cardinal, as well as the Archduke Ferdinand, Duke William and Bishop Julius of Würzburg, expressed the hope that the Elector Augustus of Saxony, the recognized leader of the Protestant states, would not insist too strongly on the "exemption." Madruzzo thought so well of the hopes for the Catholic cause, that he felt strengthened in his plan, already approved by the Holy See, of anticipating the possible attacks of the Protestant party by himself taking the offensive.[5] But at the very moment of the opening of the Diet an event occurred which upset this plan entirely.

The Emperor made his entry into Augsburg on June 27th, with a splendid retinue, in which were to be seen the Archdukes Ferdinand and Charles, and Duke William of Bavaria. At his first audience Madruzzo urged the defence of the Church in forcible terms, and Rudolph, who treated the Pope's representative with great honour, replied that he for his part would not be found wanting.[6] In the Imperial

[1] *Cf.* REICHENBERGER, I., 431 *seq.* For the development of religious conditions in Inner Austria see JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.,[15-16] 248 *seq.*, where the more recent literature is made use of. The publication of the Graz *Nuntiaturberichte* is being prepared by Professor Tomek (Vienna).

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 374.

[3] See the list given in FLEISCHMANN, Deskription des Reichstages zu Augsburg, Augsburg, 1582, 107 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 234.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 437, 439.

[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 441 *seq.*

[6] See *ibid.*, 446 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 237.

programme which was read on July 3rd, nothing but political questions were mentioned, especially the Turkish subsidy. The religious question on the other hand was, following the precedent set by Maximilian, passed over in complete silence. But it very soon came to the fore when the Margrave, Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg, the Protestant and married administrator of the archiepiscopal see of Magdeburg, although he had neither been confirmed by the Pope nor had received investiture from the Emperor, demanded for his representative, not only a place and a vote, but also, as supposed Primate of Germany, the presidency of the council of the princes.[1] Madruzzo had protested against so manifest a violation of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* immediately before the opening of the Diet, through the Duke of Bavaria, and by an autograph memorial.[2] He was therefore extremely surprised when the hereditary marshal of the Empire, when he read the Imperial programme, accorded the first place, without rousing any objection, to the representative of the Archbishop of Magdeburg, and above George Agricola, Bishop of Seckau, the representative of Salzburg. To the protests made by Madruzzo the envoy of Salzburg excused himself by saying that there was an arrangement between Magdeburg and Salzburg to take this position at alternate sessions, and that moreover other Protestant princes had a place and a vote among the ecclesiastical princes without having received the Papal approbation. Further negotiations resulted in Madruzzo and Malaspina, who were supported by the Duke of Bavaria and the Elector of Mayence, being successful in winning over the envoy of Salzburg and in inducing him to make a protest, which was not only directed against the presidency which the representative of Magdeburg had usurped, but also called in question his right to sit and vote at the Diet.[3] Moreover, the Cardinal legate on July 6th

[1] *Cf.* Lossen, Der Magdeburger Sessionsstreit auf dem Augsburger Reichstag von 1582, in the proceedings of the historical class of the Munich Academy, XX. (1893), 623 *seq.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 452.

[3] See *ibid.*, 455 *seq.*

personally addressed severe remonstrances to the Emperor, pointing out the evil effects for the Catholic religion and the ecclesiastical princes which would follow if one who had neither the Imperial investiture nor the Papal approval, and who had never so far taken his seat, were to be admitted. Such an act would in fact grant to the dioceses the dangerous privilege of choice of religion.[1]

It was at once evident that the Emperor was afraid of a definite decision, from his fear of prejudicing the subsidy against the Turks which was being asked of the Diet. He was anxious to compromise the point at issue, by allowing the envoy of Magdeburg to be admitted as the representative of the chapter. Such an expedient, however, was rejected not only by Madruzzo and the Catholic princes, but also by the administrator himself.[2] It became clear in the course of the heated discussions which followed after July 12th that the threat of the Catholic princes that they would rather leave the Diet than grant the right to a seat and a vote to the representative of Magdeburg was seriously meant. It was evident, however, later on, that even the Catholics would be glad to arrive at a compromise. Madruzzo worked without ceasing to prevent any such weakness, and to keep the Catholics united in offering a firm resistance. He found a strong supporter in this in the Duke of Bavaria, whose brother Ernest, Bishop of Liège, Freising and Hildesheim, who arrived on July 15th, fully realized the hopes that had been built upon him.

This was all the more valuable as by this time the two ecclesiastical Electors, Wolfgang von Dalberg of Mayence and Johann Schönenberg of Trêves, in order to prevent the violent breaking up of the Diet, were inclined to a compromise, by which the envoy of Magdeburg might be allowed to take his seat at the Diet, at anyrate on this occasion, and without prejudice as to the future. An Imperial decree to this effect had already been drafted when the efforts of Madruzzo were successful in making the Catholic princes change their

[1] See *ibid.*

[2] See LOSSEN, II., 19.

minds.[1] However, such aggravating changes were introduced into the said decree that the envoy of Magdeburg and his adviser, the Elector of Saxony, could not feel satisfied with it. On July 26th an approval of the thus amended decree was given by the majority of the Catholic states. It was at once presented to the Emperor, who, after cancelling certain expressions in it, declared his acceptance of it, and sent the proposal to the Elector of Saxony and the administrator of Magdeburg. Both made a reply.[2] It was now a case of preventing the discussion of any further compromise, and in this too Madruzzo was successful. He pointed out to the new Emperor in a memorial the danger to the constitution of the Empire and the Catholic religion which the attempted innovation on the part of the representative of Magdeburg was bound to involve. Finally he reminded His Majesty in grave words that he must bear in mind his sworn undertaking to protect the Catholic religion and the Apostolic See. As Madruzzo afterwards learned, what he had said made so deep an impression upon Rudolph II. that at the discussion with his councillors he rejected any further talk of compromise, and, placing his hand upon his cap, exclaimed: "If this were my Imperial crown, I would rather resign it than grant anything which would do harm to the Catholic religion."[3] Despairing of any success the administrator of Magdeburg left the Diet on July 28th. "I am satisfied," the Cardinal legate wrote on the same day to Rome, "with the existing state of affairs, nor is what has been accomplished to be despised."[4] These words betray his regret that he had not been able to obtain even more, namely, the exclusion from the Diet of all those other bishops who had not been confirmed by the Pope. Yet Madruzzo had every reason to be satisfied, for it was undoubtedly "an important success for the party of the Catholic restoration that by their determined opposition

[1] See Lossen, Sessionsstreit, 648 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 474.

[2] See Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 652 *seq.*

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 479.

[4] *Ibid.*

the pretended Primate of Germany, and what was more, the son of an Elector, had had to leave the Diet, with nothing more than the reservation of his rights, without the other Protestant princes having seriously accepted his claims, or made his cause their own."[1]

If, after the much appreciated[2] result of the dispute concerning the intrusion of the representative of Magdeburg, they hoped in Rome for further successes, disappointment was in store for them. The Protestants avenged the defeat which they had suffered by the most vigorous resistance to the Imperial request for help against the Turks, by violently taking the part of the council of the city of Aix, which had become Protestant, and in maintaining the assurance of the liberty of conscience which had been guaranteed to the innovators there in defiance of existing rights. The religious position in the ancient capital of the Empire was of extraordinary importance, because its accessibility to the innovators was bound to influence the Low Countries and Cologne, and open an obvious breach in the defences of the territory of the Lower Rhine, which was still Catholic. Madruzzo at once fully realized the importance of this, but he did not meet with that support from most of the Catholic princes which he required if he was to attain complete success.[3] In the meantime the Protestants remained with the advantage over the question of Aix, though they did not succeed in obtaining anything more than an armistice.[4]

Madruzzo was very justly grieved that he had not been able to obtain more help for the Archduke Charles of Styria in his struggle with his Protestant states, yet it was entirely his doing when the Emperor rejected a delegation of the nobles of Styria when they came with their complaints.[5]

The Cardinal legate met with insurmountable difficulties with regard to a number of other tasks. Such were the

[1] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 655.
[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xcii, n. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, lxxxi *seq.*
[4] See Ritter, I., 587.
[5] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., lxxxv *seq.*

reinstatement of the Archbishop of Cambrai, the preparations for the new election at Münster, the settlement of the disputes between Fulda and Würzburg, and his interposition in the efforts being made to Protestantize the territories of Bamberg in Carinthia, by their vice-regent, John Frederick Hoffmann, whose activities were tolerated by Bishop Martin of Bamberg.[1] If, in these as in other matters, the legate had to complain so much of the indifference of most of the ecclesiastical princes, he also had reason to lament the want of that good will on the part of Rudolph II., on which he had so much counted. The Imperial coronation of Rudolph II., which the Pope had suggested, and for which Gregory XIII. intended to go to Bologna, proposing also to share in the expense, was given up on account of the temporary strained relations with Poland, which made any journey abroad impossible ; the publication of the new calendar was also put off until the following year.[2] Naturally nothing could be done to give effect to the anti-Turkish league,[3] which the Pope had so much at heart, in a Diet which, after long discussions, only granted forty "Roman months " in five years, and furthermore rejected the request to unite the new tax to those of 1576.

Undoubtedly what made the most painful impression on Madruzzo was the fact that the bold plan for a systematic attack on the Protestantism of Germany had been shown to be quite impracticable, on account of the weakness, indecision and indifference of the greater number of the Catholic states.

Immediately after the end of the controversy concerning the right to intervene of the representative of Magdeburg, Madruzzo had prepared a memorial in which were enumerated the complaints of the Catholics concerning the violation of the religious peace, and had communicated it to Duke William of Bavaria.[4] Cardinal Galli, to whom Madruzzo

[1] See *ibid.* lxxxiii *seq.* ; *supra,* p. 191, n. 8 ; Bonhomini's *Instruction (*supra,* p. 267, n. 6), p. 206.

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte,* II., lxxxviii *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 370, n. 1.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte,* II., lxxxix, 443, 447, 494.

sent this work, praised its accuracy and opportuneness. He only regretted that the controversy about the representation of Magdeburg had prevented its being presented immediately at the opening of the Diet, according to the original plan, because it would certainly have intimidated the Protestants. Since it was now clear that any form of consideration only rendered their enemies more bold and provocative, he hoped that the Catholic states would now come before the Diet with their protests.[1] Their co-operation was necessary as the Cardinal legate could not present it himself, since the Apostolic See had never recognized the religious peace.[2]

As just at that moment the Catholics were being provoked by offensive demonstrations against the Pope,[3] energetic action on their part was to be looked for. But instead of this the majority put up with these demonstrations patiently, like lambs, and did not dare to present the protest to the Diet. Their feebleness was so great that out of human respect there was not even any discussion. Madruzzo therefore found himself obliged to take the initiative. On August 15th, the Feast of the Assumption, he assembled the ecclesiastical Electors and the other ecclesiastical states at his lodging in order to make a strong appeal to their conscience concerning the measures to be taken to preserve the Catholic Church in Germany.[4]

The Pope, so said the Cardinal legate,[5] had done all that lay in his power to defend the Catholic Church in Germany against the attacks of Protestantism. For this purpose he had sent many nuncios, had founded colleges and seminaries in Rome and Germany, and everywhere exerted his influence, and given his help and advice. Since the expected result had not been obtained, and the danger was steadily increasing, he now had to remind the ecclesiastical princes, who every

[1] Memorandum of August 4, 1582, *ibid.*, 489.
[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIV. of this work, p. 343.
[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xc, 500, 521, 538.
[4] See the report of August 18, 1582, *ibid.*, 508 *seq.*
[5] Text of the discourse *ibid.*, 600.

day had the sufferings of the Church before their eyes, of their duty. The legate was all the more ready to become the spokesman of the Pope, because he had, here in the Diet, more clearly realized the dangers and the abuses.

In the first place Madruzzo bitterly complained that during the five and twenty years that had elapsed since the religious peace of Augsburg, nothing whatever had been done to avert the loss of such illustrious dioceses as Merseburg, Naumburg, Verden, Meissen and Magdeburg. There was now the danger of the further loss of the dioceses of Lübeck, Halberstadt, Minden, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Bremen. As the representatives of these dioceses, though they had not yet been approved by the Pope, had been allowed to take part in the Diet, the Catholic majority in the council of the Empire was endangered. But nothing was being done by the Catholic states to face this danger. An academic struggle against independence was of no use, if the followers of Luther and even of Calvin were given admission to the cathedral chapters without protest. More and more Protestant assessors were finding their way into the supreme tribunal, which was of such great importance in the settlement of religious questions, while the ecclesiastical princes themselves nominated persons under suspicion. The bishops neglected their spiritual supervision of the Catholics in the free cities, which every day fell more and more into the hands of the innovators.

Notwithstanding this alarming state of affairs no one thought of remedying the abuses, or defending the common weal. The indifference and confusion of the Catholics stood out in strong contrast to the activity of their adversaries. In allusion to the matter of the vice-regent Hoffmann, against whom the Bishop of Bamberg refused to take any action, Madruzzo pointed to the grave abuse by which some of the bishops did not give to the Pope the obedience that they were bound to give. He also complained that the episcopal functions and ecclesiastical ceremonies were so neglected that the people had become accustomed to the lack of them. A stern warning to those present to turn their attention to the measures that must be taken, and an assurance that the

Holy See would not fail in its support, brought the discourse to an end.

Although the Duke of Bavaria warmly supported the forcible review given by Madruzzo, the ecclesiastical princes lost precious time in protracted discussions. "I still remain without any reply to my statements," wrote Madruzzo to Rome, "they discuss, and admit the necessity of finding a remedy, but the evil is so deep-rooted that any attempt to heal it sets the whole body in a terrible state of excitement. They all realize the losses that have been suffered, but they do not dare do more than grieve over them with useless sighs."[1]

After the Catholic states had presented their complaints against the Protestants on August 30th,[2] Madruzzo hoped for a similar step on the part of the ecclesiastical princes, but the latter at last, on September 3rd, gave him a reply to his discourse, which, together with a justification of themselves against the reproaches which he had made, although it was full of protests of devotion to the Pope and promises for the future, contained no word of any intention of bringing before the Diet the complaints of the Catholics, or their claim to the restitution of the confiscated Church property.[3] In any case this would have been too late, for the ecclesiastical princes had put off their reply to the moment when everyone was preparing to leave the Diet.

Madruzzo remained there for a few days after the closing of the Diet (September 20th).[4] At his farewell audience

[1] See *ibid.*, 526, *cf.* 524, 530, 532.

[2] See LEHMANN, I., 203; HÄBERLIN, XII., 331 *seq.*

[3] See BEZOLD, I., n. 399.

[4] Bonhomini remained four days longer and then returned to Vienna where he immediately resumed his reforming activities by continuing his visitation of Hungary and Slavonia (see EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxxi). G. Malaspina had already left Augsburg on September 16 in order to be in Graz in good time for the provincial Diet which the Archduke Charles had summoned for the end of the year. While there, he intended, as Madruzzo reported to Rome (*Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 535), to watch over the seed which

with Rudolph II., on September 23rd, he obtained a verbal promise from the Emperor that in future he would grant no investiture before the bishop-elect had been confirmed by the Pope. On the other hand the Cardinal legate had not been able to prevent the bishops who had been present at Augsburg, who were not yet thus confirmed, from being allowed to sign the decrees of the Diet.[1]

If we look to the results of the Diet of Augsburg, we shall find that the foresight of Bonhomini was justified, when on June 28th he told Canisius that they might feel satisfied if the Church came out of it without further losses.[2] This much at any rate had been attained, though to a great extent only owing to the favourable circumstances, since, if the dangerous discussions about independence and the declaration of Ferdinand were avoided, this was entirely due to the Elector Augustus of Saxony, who, in spite of the pressure of the Count Palatine, would not hear of the treatment of such questions.[3] The by no means unimportant success in the dispute about the right to a seat of the representative of Magdeburg was entirely due to Madruzzo.[4] If, notwithstanding his zealous efforts, the Cardinal legate did not obtain more, this was the fault of the Catholic states, whose timid behaviour Cardinal Galli described, on September 15th, 1582, in the severest terms. At the beginning of the Diet they would not anticipate the Protestants by asking for help

he scattered with so much zeal and energy. How important it was that Malaspina should remain permanently in Graz was seen later on during his absence which was caused by affairs in Cologne (see MAFFEI, II., 372). With reference to Ninguarda *cf. supra*, p. 159 *seq.*

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., xcii, 561.

[2] The passage in question taken from the letters contained in the *Min. Epist. of Bonhomini (Library at Exaeten) in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 443, n. 3. *Cf.* also, in the same handwriting at Exaeten, the *letter of Bonhomini to the Archbishop of Prague dat. Viennae, XII., Cal., April, 1582.

[3] See RITTER, I., 576 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 20.

against their encroachments, for fear of irritating them; when they were themselves attacked, they roused themselves for a moment, but in the end, when the attacks of their adversaries became more violent, they did not dare to open their mouths. Since all the zeal of the Pope and his legate had proved in vain, so Cardinal Galli concluded, the only thing to do was to pray to God that He would be pleased to receive His Church in Germany, weakened and sorely humbled though she was, into His good-will and favour.[1]

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 547.

CHAPTER VII.

State of Religion in North Germany.

Of the two nuncios sent beyond the Alps in May, 1573, Gropper found himself faced with a far more difficult task in the north of Germany than did Portia in the south. From the ecclesiastical point of view northern Germany was to a great extent a devastated area, or threatened to become so in the immediate future. All the dioceses to the east of the Elbe might be considered as lost to the Catholics; the civil princes there had been able to place their younger sons in the episcopal sees, and they in their turn, under the cloak of Lutheranism, had converted their bishoprics into civil principalities. Thus Schleswig, Schwerin and Ratzeburg had passed into the hands of the Dukes of Holstein and Mecklenburg, Kammin into those of the Dukes of Pomerania, and Brandenburg, Havelburg and Lebus into those of the Margraves of Brandenburg. Further south, between the Elbe and the Weser, the same fate had befallen the dioceses of Merseburg, Naumburg and Meissen, which had become civil territories of the Elector of Saxony.[1] Further north the struggle for Halberstadt and Hildesheim was still being carried on, and the issue in the case of the latter seemed very doubtful. Things were better for the Catholics in Westphalia, where there was still much that might be saved for Catholicism at Osnabrück, and perhaps everything at Münster and Paderborn, if the Protestant candidates could be kept out of the episcopal sees; the same might be said of Cologne.

As well-informed witnesses testified,[2] the situation could

[1] *Cf.* the precis and literature on the subject in Schmidlin, Kirchliche Zustände, III., 244 *seq.*

[2] See Minucci's memorandum of 1588 on the condition of the Church in Germany, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 751.

only be saved if those princes who were genuinely and truly Catholic would follow the example of their Protestant fellow princes, and like them, endeavour to place their younger sons in the episcopal sees, since, surrounded as they were by Protestant princes, and sometimes hampered by difficulties in their own territories, the bishops in the north could only maintain their position when they were the sons of princes and found support in the respect due to their house. But in the case of the Catholic princely houses, things were much less favourable than in that of the Protestants, since, as Minucci pointed out in 1588,[1] almost all the cathedral chapters of Germany were at least partly composed of Protestants, and were inclined to a dissolute life, a thing which, from their point of view, could be carried on more easily under a Lutheran bishop. It was true that in Upper Germany, which was still more or less Catholic, the Lutheran canons themselves wished for bishops of the old faith, because they had seen how in other places the right to free election by the chapter had disappeared together with the Catholic bishop, and with it all chance of being able to obtain lucrative offices for themselves and their families as the price of their votes.[2] This on the other hand was not the case in the whole of the neighbouring Lutheran territory in the north. Moreover the sons of the Catholic princes stood aloof, since the episcopal office implied their being bound to celibacy and their episcopal duties; besides this they had to reckon, not only with the canons who elected them, like their Protestant colleagues, but also had to try to obtain the Papal confirmation; lastly, the Protestant princes did not shrink in any way from simony, but openly bought votes for ready money. "God grant that those canons who still wish to be Catholics, may be preserved from corruption." The only princes to whom the Catholics could look for protection for the threatened sees were, in Minucci's judgment, the Wittelsbachs of Bavaria, since the Duke of Cleves had only one son, while of the Hapsburgs, Andrew of Austria, the son of a woman of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 750 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 752.

middle classes, Philippine Welser, was not held in much esteem, and Cardinal Albert, the son of Maximilian II., who was more Spaniard than German.[1]

It was true that the adherents of the old faith placed all their hopes of success in the struggle in the north in Bavaria, and whatever was saved in Lower Germany was only preserved for them by the fact that Duke Ernest of Bavaria had been, one after another, placed in simultaneous possession of five bishoprics.[2] As was only natural, Gregory XIII. had only been induced to consent to this with great difficulty, in view of the opposition of the Council of Trent to such an accumulation of benefices in the hands of one man,[2] but the necessity of the case over-rode his wishes. Although Duke Ernest was anything but a model Catholic bishop in his conduct, it was necessary by force of circumstances to support him, as the one hope of finding a way out of the difficulty; in the north he governed with full authority a territory far larger than his native country, and for almost two centuries the episcopal sees of the whole of Germany were to a great extent in the hands of the princes of Bavaria.

The first northern diocese which called for the help of Bavaria was Hildesheim, where the state of affairs was almost desperate.

At the end of the XVth century the bishopric contained about 330 parishes, in addition to the cities of Hildesheim and Goslar. When Gregory XIII. ascended the throne there were still in the city of Hildesheim the actual provostship of the cathedral, as well as certain monasteries and families, together with the magistracy of Marienburg, in all, twenty-one villages with ten or twelve parishes.[4] Some parts of the

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 751.

[2] "It may be said that the preservation of the Catholic Faith in the Lower Rhine and in Westphalia is a result of the close connection which bound together the interests of the House of Bavaria and Catholic ideals." RIEZLER, IV., 645. LOSSEN, II., 67.

[3] RIEZLER, IV., 640, 647.

[4] K. GRUBE in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CI. (1888), 481, 500.

diocese lay within the territory of neighbouring princes; of that district which the bishop held as a secular prince, the so-called *Stift Hildesheim*, the neighbouring princes took about two-thirds in the war of the principality of Hildesheim.[1] Of the "little principality" which still remained to him, he had been obliged to pledge the greater part to the council of Hildesheim, or abandon it to the violent attacks of the Duke of Holstein. All these lost territories passed over to the new faith when their new masters did so.[2] The city itself accepted Lutheranism in 1542.[3] All the citizens were forbidden to go to the cathedral during the Catholic services.[4] "I and my church are entirely destroyed, both in spiritual and temporal things," wrote the bishop, Valentine von Teteleben to Rome in 1545.[5] In 1551 Hildesheim had in Duke Frederick of Holstein a bishop "who never went to the church," to use the forcible words of Oldecop, "and who ate and drank like a yokel," and one moreover who supported Lutheranism with all his power, dying in 1556 as the result of his intemperance.[6] By the recommendation of the Emperor this Lutheran had obtained confirmation from Rome.[7]

After the death of Frederick, Duke Henry of Brunswick did not wish again to see the son of a powerful princely house in the episcopal see. To the great displeasure of the Lutherans the choice of Hildesheim then fell upon a noble of the diocese,

[1] BERTRAM, 35.

[2] GRUBE, *loc. cit.*, 481-500. Change of religion in Grubenhagen, Göttingen, Kalenberg, Lüneburg: BERTRAM, 88-93, in Wolfenbüttel, *ibid.*, 93-9, 264.

[3] GRUBE, *loc. cit.*, 486. BERTRAM, 99 *seqq.*, 121. When, in 1548, the town appealed to the Emperor for mercy, it declared that it had: "come into the business quite innocently; for after the conquest of the principality of Wolfenbüttel we were three times called upon (to apostatize) and at last under compulsion and against our will, and thus we were innocently drawn into the quarrel." BERTRAM, 129.

[4] *Ibid.*, 131.

[5] *Ibid.*, 149.

[6] *Ibid.*, 198, 201.

[7] *Ibid.*, 182, 191.

Burchard von Oberg, who was a strict Catholic of blameless life.[1] Oberg endeavoured cautiously to preserve the remains of the old faith in the principality and the villages, but he was only able to introduce Catholic parish priests in those places where he enjoyed civil authority. In the city of Hildesheim itself, he was powerless against the municipal council.[2]

In the cathedral, however, Catholic worship according to the ancient ritual was still maintained, and when Alexander Trivius, in the course of his journey through the north of Germany assisted at mass at Hildesheim in 1575, he was deeply moved; what he had found nowhere, neither in Germany nor elsewhere, he found at Hildesheim, namely that the office in choir throughout the year was begun at midnight.[3] The state of the cathedral chapter, too, seemed not to be very bad, and Bishop Burchard declared that most of the canons were free from all blame. Naturally the Lutheran council thought otherwise.[4]

So long as Duke Henry the younger of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel lived, the Catholic religion found in him a protector. But Henry was already an old man, and his son Julius was a confirmed Lutheran, so the idea of looking for a protector elsewhere was inevitable. Hermann von Horneburg, the trusted adviser of Bishop Burchard, went for that purpose to Munich in 1566; after his return, in the December of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 248, 249.

[2] *Ibid.*, 255, 257.

[3] To Galli on May 3, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 281. It was not until the year 1608 that the night office was postponed until four o'clock in the morning. BERTRAM, 341.

[4] BERTRAM, 250 *seq.* At Hildesheim graduates in theology, canon or civil law and medicine were admitted as canons (Statute of February 26, 1387, in DÖBNER, Urkundenbuch der Stadt Hildesheim, II., n. 649, *cf.* n. 722). By a statute of December 1, 1575, graduates could only be admitted provided they had studied for four years at a University. This resulted in the exclusion of the burgesses (BERTRAM, 366). For the diocese it was rather an advantage to have a support in the Westphalian nobility.

same year, the bishop formally petitioned for Duke Ernest as his co-adjutor.[1] In 1567, Horneburg, on the occasion of another visit to the capital of Bavaria, received the reply that he must first obtain the approval of the Pope, and was sent to Rome for that purpose.[2] Bishop Burchard, in a letter to his representative in Rome, explained the reasons for his request in urgent terms ; he would give his blood and his life in order to obtain security for the Church of Hildesheim, but the question of salvation or destruction depended upon the choice of a co-adjutor.[3] Pius V. feared to burden his conscience by granting a second diocese to the young administrator of Freising, and in January, 1568, he refused the request of Horneburg. Duke Albert was satisfied with this ; he said that he had yielded to the repeated requests of the bishop, but left everything to the pleasure of the Pope.[4]

When Duke Henry died on January 11th, 1568, it was at once obvious who was destined to be his successor. The Catholic vice-chancellor of Henry, Ludwig Halver, the confessor of the dead prince, had to seek a new sphere of activity in the service of Bavaria, and left the state as its last Catholic secular priest. Faced with the threatened danger, on November 30th, 1568, the bishop and twelve canons, the majority of the chapter, came to an agreement which assured the existence of what remained of the ancient Church in Hildesheim for centuries ; they bound themselves, by their dignity, honour and loyalty, not to accept, after the death of the present bishop, any other successor than the son of Duke Albert of Bavaria.[5] Albert V., when he was informed of this, contented himself with replying that he had no objection to the request for the co-adjutor being again put forward in Rome.[6]

In spite of this agreement, some of the canons of Lutheran

[1] Lossen, I., 128, 130.
[2] *Ibid.*, 131.
[3] Bertram, 273.
[4] Lossen, I., 132 *seq.*
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*, 135.

leanings did not give up hopes of getting the diocese of Hildesheim into the hands of a bishop of their own way of thinking, namely, either the young son of Duke Julius, who had already been asked for for Halberstadt, or the Lutheran Bishop of Lübeck, Eberhard Holle. The opportunity of getting into touch with Brunswick came when Bishop Burchard renewed the lawsuit for the lost property of his principality, and Duke Julius proposed an arrangement by which the Dukes of Brunswick, Henry Julius of Wolfenbüttel, and Eric II. of Kalenberg were to retain everything in return for the cession of certain offices. The chancellor of Hildesheim was in favour of this compromise, and had won over the old and, as Horneburg insisted, childish bishop. In order to ensure this, those who favoured the arrangement would have been glad to have induced Duke Albert to pronounce in its favour. But the embassy which was sent to Munich in 1570 was secretly anticipated by Horneburg. The Duke, he insisted, must at the conference take up his stand unconditionally in favour of the administrator of Freising; once he was in possession of Hildesheim Duke Ernest could obtain other dioceses, beginning with Halberstadt and Minden, and then proceed to restore the Catholic religion once more in the north. As a result of the reply which the envoys of the chapter took back from Munich, the whole arrangement fell to the ground, and with it the aims of Brunswick upon the diocese of Hildesheim.[1]

But very soon a further difficulty presented itself. Duke Ernest showed very little desire for so small a diocese as Hildesheim, while its inhabitants showed very little wish for him. The chancellor Eck said on one occasion that they would just as willingly see the Pasha of Buda as their bishop.[2] Therefore Bishop Burchard became more and more inclined to entertain the aspirations of Duke Adolphus of Holstein on behalf of his younger son. Faced with the Lutheran Holstein the Catholics naturally had to increase their demands, but Adolphus promised everything that was asked, "they

[1] Lossen, I., 134 *seqq.*, 139.

[2] *Ibid.*, 140, 141.

might submit quite extraordinary conditions, and Duke Adolphus would offer to grant and accept them all." The negotiations were already well advanced when, on February 23rd, 1573, Bishop Burchard died.[1]

Numerous claimants for the diocese at once made their appearance; above all, Duke Julius did all that he could to obtain Hildesheim for his nine year old son. Recourse was had to all the neighbouring princes to obtain their influence with the canons, public prayers were ordered in all the churches, while a special embassy to Hildesheim was charged to give expression to the wishes of the duke.[2] Horneburg realized that the danger lay in delay. On the day of the bishop's death he had sent a messenger to Munich, but now he no longer waited for any decision to arrive. The envoys of the Duke of Brunswick were to arrive in the evening of March 7th; at ten o'clock in the morning of March 7th the chapter assembled for the election, and an hour later proclaimed Duke Ernest of Bavaria as the new bishop.[3]

Albert V. had decided to accede to the request of the chapter, and therefore applied to Cardinal Truchsess in Rome to obtain the Pope's approval. He himself and his son, he wrote, looked for nothing from the election but annoyance and trouble, and if they had accepted it this had only been n order that the principality might not fall into Lutheran hands, and in course of time it could be handed over to a good bishop. In place of the Cardinal of Augsburg, who just at that moment suddenly died, the question of Hildesheim was taken up with the greatest zeal before the new Pope, Gregory XIII., by Cardinal Hosius and the Bavarian ambassador, Fabricius. On the very evening of the audience, April 18th, the Pope informed the Cardinal of Ermland that he gave his approval; in October, 1573, Fabricus set out on his journey with the brief of nomination.[4]

[1] *Ibid.*, 140 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* BERIRAM, 281 *seq.*; LOSSEN, I., 141.

[3] *Ibid.*, 141 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 143, 147-9. The briefs dealing with the nomination, to Ernest, the Chapter, &c. given in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 158, n. 4. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 114, 116 *seq.*

That a princely house which was strongly Catholic should thus unexpectedly plant itself firmly in the midst of north Germany, in territory which had hitherto been unmistakably under the dominion of the new doctrines, excited unparalleled surprise everywhere. It was feared that the suit for the property belonging to the chapter of Hildesheim would be taken up again with renewed vigour, and that the Catholic religion would be restored to its former position. But the Protestant princes of Saxony, Brandenburg, Hesse, the Rhenish Palatinate and Wurtemberg, were willing enough to enrich themselves at the expense of the "Gospel," but not to make sacrifices, so they congratulated the Duke of Bavaria upon the election that had taken place, and did not raise a finger to annul it.[1] Duke Julius was extremely annoyed at the shipwreck of his plans, but at last decided not to "go grey-haired before his time" on this account.[2] It was different with Adolphus of Holstein, who sought in every way at least to get his son recognized as co-adjutor and successor of Duke Ernest. But in spite of all the promises made by Holstein, this "co-adjutorship" in the episcopal administration of Hildesheim was looked upon as "the perpetual ruin and destruction" of the diocese.[3]

Duke Ernest, a man of sympathetic character, who knew how to make himself quickly loved everywhere, but who was not free from moral faults during the years of his youthful passions, was not yet twenty years old when he was elected Bishop of Hildesheim, and had often hesitated as to whether he ought to remain in the ecclesiastical state.[4] So that he might persevere therein many would have been glad to see him go for a time to Rome. He himself had importuned the nuncio Portia, during his stay at Freising, to facilitate his going to Rome.[5] At the Curia it was desired that he should take with him his cousin, the son of the Duke of Cleves,

[1] Lossen, I., 144 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 146.

[3] *Ibid.*; Bertram, 297 *seq.*

[4] *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., 88, 141, 179.

[5] Portia to Galli on October 21, 1573, *ibid.*, 189.

who was intended for the bishopric of Münster ;[1] Albert V. had it in mind to give him as an additional companion the young Duke of Holstein.[2] In spite of all the difficulties and opposition the Bavarian councillor and ambassador of Albert V. in Rome succeeded in bringing it about that Ernest actually visited Rome in March, 1574, though without the wished-for companions.[3] There the young prince remained until the end of 1575, strictly watched over by his tutors, which had the effect of making him neglect the struggle against his passionate nature, and all his good intentions until he could become master of his own freedom.[4]

Ernest only remained at Hildesheim from October 30th, 1580, until June 3rd in the following year,[5] and even this short stay was broken by a long journey to Liège,[6] of which diocese he also found himself called upon to take charge. Nevertheless his period of government was fortunate for Hildesheim. When, in 1575, Alexander Trivius made a visitation of the diocese of Hildesheim by command of the Pope, he was able, in spite of the absence of the bishop, to see that the mere election of the powerful Bavarian prince had made a great impression on the Protestants ; the haughtiness with which they had tried to tyrannize over the priests had to a great extent disappeared, and if the bishop had only been present he might without much trouble have introduced the necessary reforms among the clergy, and brought back

[1] Portia to Galli on February 17, 1574, *ibid.*, 340.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 384.

[4] Lossen, I., 334-58. For the flight of the young duke from Rome and his return see K. Schellhass in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, X. (1907), 325-64.

[5] Bertram, 290 *seq.*

[6] From January 6 to February 11, 1581, *ibid.*, 290. For the journey to Liège, *cf.* Rob. Turneri, Sermo panegyricus de triumpho, quo Bavariae dux Ernestus . . . fuit inauguratus episcopus Leodius, in his Panegyrici sermones duo, Ingolstadii, 1583, 91-187.

the laity to better ways.[1] Trivius tried especially to stir up the clergy to a more careful fulfilment of their duties; thus he brought pressure to bear upon the canons of St. John, who did not satisfy their obligations as to the choir, because their church was in ruins, yet still received the revenues, to make them fulfil this duty in some other church.[2] By the wish of the Papal legate, even after his departure the episcopal administration continued to address remonstrances to the clergy of the diocese.[3]

An episcopal visitation followed the Papal one in 1608; by the authority of the Pope this was held jointly by the representatives of Bishop Ernest and the Elector of Mayence, the metropolitan of Hildesheim.[4] The ecclesiastical tribunal, the so-called "officiality," again came into existence during the first years of the government of the new bishop, and was followed in 1586 by the establishment of the consistory or ecclesiastical council.[5] All that was possible was done for the restoration of the ancient religion under Duke Ernest. Catholic parish priests were gradually introduced in the territory of which the bishop was also secular prince.[6] In 1573 a former student of the German College, Henry Winichius (died 1612), whom Trivius found generally praised, began to preach in the cathedral.[7] By slow degrees the Jesuits, too, arrived, and in 1601 their house was converted into a college which held its own in spite of all opposition.[8]

Only two years after Duke Ernest had first been thought of as the future Bishop of Hildesheim, in 1567, he was also,

[1] Trivius to Galli on May 3, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 281.

[2] *Ibid.*, 282. Line 20 should read: "otiose comeduntur (instead of *commendentur*) peccata populi" (according to OSEE, IV., 8).

[3] BERTRAM 335.

[4] *Ibid.*, 339-44.

[5] *Ibid.*, 336.

[6] *Ibid.*, 398-431.

[7] *Ibid.*, 345. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 281.

[8] BERTRAM, 349, 356 *seqq.* For Winich *cf.* SCHREIBER, II., 299 *seqq.*

though only fifteen years old, intended for three other episcopal sees, those of Minden, Halberstadt and Magdeburg.[1] In the case of the latter the Catholics had almost immediately to give up all hopes; the administrator there, Joachim Frederick of Brandenburg in 1570 gave the first example of open contempt for the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* by marrying and still retaining his diocese. The cathedral chapter consented to his marriage,[2] and, at anyrate after 1574, demanded marriage or at least espousals as a condition for the admission of new canons.[3] "If God does not work a miracle," wrote the nuncio at Vienna, Zaccaria Delfino, in 1573, "Magdeburg and Halberstadt, as well as Naumburg, Merseburg and Meissen, are irrevocably lost."[4]

In the case of Halberstadt at anyrate, all hopes had not as yet been given up in Rome. Lutheranism had been introduced into the city, but its adherents had behaved with great moderation.

Elgard,[5] who visited Halberstadt in 1575, found in the parish church no traces of the usual iconoclastic destruction. The chapter to which the city was subject, was looked upon as above reproach; at least half were still Catholics,[6] and the other half only Protestants in the sense that they received communion under both kinds. The offices were celebrated in the old way; in the Church of Our Lady, ladies of the

[1] Lossen, I., 137 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 138.

[3] Trivius to Galli on September 16, 1574, in Schwarz, Gropper, 193.

[4] *Ibid.*, lxxxii.

[5] Report of June 18, 1575, in Theiner, II., 45. "Nobis totique clero et omnibus monachis monialibusque licet secundum leges Sanctitatis vestrae et Sedis Romanae vivere, missas celebrare, divinis cultibus vacare." The chapter to the Pope on October 26, 1574, *ibid.*, I., 230. For the convents of nuns see *Römische Quartalschrift*, XIII., 50 *seqq.*

[6] Portia writes on June 26, 1574, that it had been reported to him that there was only one single Protestant. *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 86.

best families assisted at mass even on week days, and on Sundays many of the faithful heard mass in the cathedral and heard Catholic sermons.

Nor 88 years Halberstadt had been under the same bishop as Magdeburg, when, in 1566, at the election of the new Protestant administrator of Magdeburg the canons of Halberstadt had severed the connexion. It seemed to Julius, at that time Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel, that the time had come to get possession of Halberstadt, and he proposed his little son of two years old to the chapter as the future bishop. Julius was himself a zealous Lutheran, but the government was for the moment in the hands of his grandfather, Henry the younger, who was a sincere Catholic; Julius promised to give his heir a Catholic education, and guaranteed to the chapter that he would not press the matter any further if Rome refused to accept his request on behalf of the two years old child. The chapter was therefore of opinion that they might agree. But Pius V. did not let himself be deceived, and ordered the canons under pain of excommunication and forfeiture of their right of election to have nothing to do with the request.[1]

Nevertheless, the canons did not dare for two years to proceed to a new election. When Pius V. died, the duke tried harder than ever to obtain the Papal approval for his son. Through the dean of St. Martin at Minden, Georg Gogreff, he tried to win over the nuncio Gropper to his side,[2] and obtained from the Emperor Maximilian II. a letter of recommendation to Gregory XIII.,[3] as well as to Cardinals Delfino and Madruzzo;[4] the youthful candidate himself addressed an autograph letter to the Pope,[5] and the chapter of Halberstadt again interested himself on his behalf.[6] On

[1] Portia to Galli on June 26, 1574, *ibid.*, 86. Elgard, *loc. cit.*, 44.

[2] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 216.

[3] Memorandum of April 29, 1574, *ibid.*, 227 *seq.*

[4] Gropper, *loc. cit.*

[5] Portia to Galli on December 24, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 325. *Cf.* THEINER, I., 231.

[6] On June 7, 1574, in THEINER, I., 228.

August 15th Gropper sent to Rome these petitions from the duke and the chapter, together with the letters of recommendation and a report of his own.[1]

But the German Congregation decided on November 19th not to give its consent.[2] A short refusal was sent to the Emperor,[3] and letters to the chapter and the Archbishop of Mayence,[4] ordering an immediate election. The frightened canons declared their readiness to obey,[5] but informed the duke of the brief. Julius entertained the representatives of the chapter very courteously for two days, and then summoned his little son and had him examined in the little catechism. The clever boy, who was that Henry Julius who later on made a name in literature as a dramatic poet, answered everything, and his father deemed that he had thus given proofs of his fitness for the episcopal office; he said that he would write again to Rome, and that in the meantime a new election was not to be held.[6] Then the canons began to fear for their lives if they opposed the headstrong duke,[7] and in their fear addressed a new petition to Rome.[8]

They said that it was very easy for the Pope to send them orders, but very hard for the chapter to carry them out. Moderation was necessary in Halberstadt, and it was by its

[1] *Ibid.*, 212-9.

[2] SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 101. Amongst other things it was said that Henry Julius was an only son, and therefore the Duke of Brunswick would certainly not make a cleric of him. But on July 1, 1568, a second son, Philip Sigmund, was born, and on April 23, 1573, the duke had a third, Joachim Charles. Together with a fourth son and an unmarried daughter they were all provided with church property. COHN, Table, 86.

[3] Of November 26, 1574, THEINER, I., 233.

[4] On July 30, 1574, *ibid.*, 229.

[5] Portia to Galli on September 11, and Galli's reply of October 2, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 204, 230.

[6] Portia on October 16, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 246.

[7] For the duke's cruelty see Elgard on June 18, 1575, in THEINER, II., 44. He was also hated on other grounds. *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 422; V., 14.

[8] On November 26, 1574, in THEINER, I., 230-3.

use that the chapter had been able to carry on Catholic worship since 1517; the intervention of the Emperor on behalf of Henry Julius, and his own great qualities were a sufficient guarantee of his suitability.

The canons, however, secretly informed the Pope through the Duke of Bavaria that the boy's tutor was a Lutheran and the catechism in which he had been examined was the small catechism of Luther. The Pope rejected their third request for approval for the young Brunswick prince and in a further brief ordered the immediate election of a bishop under pain of forfeiture of their right of election. Hermann von Horneburg informed the Duke of Bavaria and the nuncio Portia of all these secret affairs, and gave them to understand that the election of Halberstadt would also fall upon Duke Ernest.[1] The chapter did not dare to speak openly, and when Duke Julius sent his councillor Gogreff to Gropper to complain bitterly of the brief of July 30th, the canons supported his complaints by means of a representative.[2]

This double dealing of the canons had the consequence that Rome could not immediately send the order for the election of the bishop, for they wished there first to know whether the canons would really, at the Pope's orders, proceed at once to the election of Duke Ernest, and whether the latter's father was prepared, even with armed force, to defend the castles and the inhabitants of the territory of Halberstadt against Julius.[3] When Portia had at length been satisfied as to this by the Duke of Bavaria and Horneburg, the desired brief,[4] which ordered the new election in imperious terms, was granted on May 7th, 1575.

Albert V. at once advised Portia not to send the brief for the moment; but when he had received satisfactory assurances from Horneburg concerning the consent of the chapter of

[1] Portia on October 16, 1574, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 246 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 362, n. Gropper to Galli on November 11, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 217.

[3] Portia on February 19, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 421 *seq.*

[4] In THEINER, II., 33; *cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 14.

Halberstadt, it was dispatched in September, 1575.[1] But this soon proved to be a mistake. Horneburg had been quite right in saying that the chapter was well disposed towards a new election, but Julius was all the less ready to accept it. He forced the chapter[2] to make a protest against the brief,[3] and the chapter allowed itself to be forced to do so, thinking that it had sufficiently expressed its true sentiments by supporting Henry Julius' own petition with such weak arguments.[4] Not much stronger were the reasons which were expressed in an appendix to their letter ;[5] the only thing worthy of notice in it was the assurance that the grandfather and the father of the candidate, as well as himself, had demanded a Catholic education.[6] A canon of Halberstadt took the documents in person to Rome.

The Curia now found itself seriously embarrassed. It was impossible to wage war with such persons as the canons of Halberstadt. Duke Albert could only intervene in the matter when the episcopal dignity of his son was at stake. But if the chapter had not the courage to ask openly for Duke Ernest as bishop, the latter could only have any right to the bishopric if the Pope, without paying any attention to the chapter, conferred it upon Ernest out of the plenitude of his own power, and such an appointment had difficulties of its own, because the canons could not be relied on. At first it was intended in

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, IV., 19, 167.

[2] Albert V. on May 23, 1576, *ibid.*, 465.

[3] Memorandum of October 6, 1575, in THEINER, II., 33 *seqq.*

[4] Amongst the arguments brought forward to prove that the tender years of the postulant was no obstacle, they pointed out that Jeremias and John the Baptist had been sanctified before birth and that, at the miraculous multiplication of the bread, the Saviour had received the seven loaves from a boy ! Moreover, with God nothing is impossible ; for Saul and Saint Augustine both started badly but finished well ; while just the opposite took place in the case of Judas the traitor and Julian the Apostate. Henry Julius wanted to become a bishop ; God, who gave the desire will also grant the power to accomplish.

[5] THEINER, II., 34-6.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36.

Rome to reject the appeal of the chapter, and a brief to that effect was already drafted.[1] But they soon began to ask themselves whether it would not be better to accept the son of the Duke of Brunswick as bishop, provided his Catholic education could be ensured. Duke Julius and the chapter itself, so the latter were informed in a Papal brief,[2] had frequently offered that the young Henry Julius should be sent to Rome or to a Catholic university.[3] The Pope decided that he must come to the Eternal City, and the chapter was to inform him whether the young duke would set out immediately. During the time of the absence of the future bishop the Pope wished one of the chapter to act as administrator of the diocese.

At the same time the question whether it would not be possible to place Duke Ernest in Halberstadt by the direct appointment of the Pope continued to be discussed. Horneburg secretly sought to learn the views of the chapter of Halberstadt, and found it, as before, in favour of the son of the Duke of Bavaria.[4] As Duke Albert wrote to Portia,[5] if the larger and better part of the chapter desired the postulation of the Dukes of Brunswick to be rejected, the direct appointment of Duke Ernest by the Pope would not meet with any difficulty.

The Emperor Maximilian II. made an unexpected end of all these plans. Julius of Brunswick was only taking all this trouble to obtain the Pope's approval, because, according to the prevailing laws, that was a necessary condition for the conferring of civil power in the diocese. At the instance of Brunswick, the Emperor, without paying any attention to the Papal approbation, now secretly conferred the so-called "regalia" on the son of the duke for two years.[6] In this way the fate of Halberstadt was decided, and it ceased

[1] Printed *ibid.*, 175.
[2] Of March 10, 1576, *ibid.*, 176.
[3] *Cf.* on this subject *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 363.
[4] Portia on August 17, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 511.
[5] On May 23, 1576, *ibid.*, 465-70.
[6] Portia, *loc. cit.*, 510 *seq.*

to be a Catholic diocese. Duke Albert V. told Portia at the Diet of Ratisbon there was now no longer any need to take counsel upon the subject. Morone endeavoured to persuade the duke that he might give a favourable turn to the matter by bringing his influence to bear upon the Emperor,[1] but Albert knew the Emperor too well to indulge in any further hopes, and refused to make any move in the matter.

In 1578 Rudolph II. renewed this civil investiture to the young Duke of Brunswick for another two years; in all probability he did so with the condition of his seeking for the Papal confirmation. Duke Julius entered upon further negotiations with the chapter, and, to the horror of the Protestants, had the tonsure and minor orders conferred upon the bishop elect. About ten days later his enthronement in the cathedral of Halberstadt took place with purely Catholic ceremonial.[2] To this was joined a further concession on the part of the chapter. When, on May 5th, 1584, the bishop elect was espoused to a daughter of the Elector of Saxony, the chapter gave its consent, Henry Julius being made to promise that nothing should be changed in the existing religious conditions of the diocese, and that his heirs should have no right to the principality.[3]

Although Duke Julius, in spite of the fact that his father was a Catholic, became a zealous supporter of Protestantism, his cousin, Duke Eric II. of Brunswick-Kalenberg, although he had been brought up by a Protestant mother, had in 1546 returned to the faith of his father and his ancestors, and had then endeavoured to restore it in his dominions by means of a general visitation of the churches and the expulsion of the pastors who resisted the Interim. The only thing wanting was a supply of suitable priests; the Diet made use of his constant need of money to wring from him in 1553 and 1555 the free exercise of religion and the recall of the evangelical pastors. Eric II. moreover, was but rarely in his principality,

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Lossen, II., 561.

[3] *Ibid.*, 564 *seq.* Theiner, III., 526 *seqq.*

and in 1553 he appointed his Protestant mother as regent, and she laboured for the destruction of the old religion.[1]

The hopes of the Catholics again rose when, in 1576, Eric II. espoused the Catholic Duchess Dorothea of Lorraine. Even when this marriage was only talked of, the convert, Rudolph Clenck, who came from Bremen, and was afterwards professor of theology at Ingolstadt,[2] called the attention of the nuncio Portia to it, as a favourable circumstance for the Catholic cause. He said that he had learned from letters from his own country that people there were wearied of the constant religious changes; he himself was prepared to give up his own good position in order to devote himself henceforth to the restoration of the Catholic faith in the north.[3] In a conference at Constance Portia tried to bring influence to bear on the duke, as well as on his bride and his mother.[4] Eric seemed well-disposed, spoke of founding a Jesuit college, and accepted the offer made by Clenck, who was set free by Duke Albert V. from his duties in Bavaria.[5] But Clenck died in 1578, and his efforts as well as those of his companions were of no avail to Brunswick, as the duke, who ought to have supported him, remained absent from his

[1] K. Gruber in the *Hist.-polit. Blättern*, CI. (1888), 494-6.

[2] For particulars of him L. Pfleger, *ibid.*, CXXXII. (1903), 45 *seqq.*, 90 *seqq.*; for his activities in the Brunswick affairs K. Schellhass in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XVI. (1914), 91 to 142; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., xcvi-ci; for his proposed mission to Russia, Pierling, Rome et Moscou, Paris, 1883, 101 *seqq.*, 153 *seq.*; Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, XIII. (1910), 296 *seqq.*, 306 *seqq.*, 332 *seqq.*

[3] Portia on March 20, 1576, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 376.

[4] Portia on October 20 and 21, 1575, *ibid.*, 225 *seqq.*, 228 *seqq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 130.

[5] *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 378. Clenck to Portia on February 26, 1576, *ibid.*, 384 *seq.* Another Hamburg convert living in Rome, Joachim Delius, offered his services to the duke for the Counter-Reformation in Brunswick. Galli to Eric II. on July 19, 1577, in Schellhass, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 113, n. 1.

territory until 1581.[1] Later on the news of the apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne did the greatest harm to the attempts to restore Catholicism.[2] At the request of Duke William Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to Eric, advising[3] him to return to Brunswick, but the duke answered the nuncio Campegio, who handed him the Pope's letter at Venice, that it was out of the question to bring back his principality to Catholicism, and that to live there, entirely surrounded by heretics, could only be injurious to his own soul.[4] Eric II. died in 1584 without lawful heirs, and his principality passed to Duke Julius; in 1588 there were no longer any Catholic priests there.[5]

Besides Eric there was another member of the House of Brunswick who was among the first converts of the princely houses of Germany. Otto Henry, the eldest son of the reigning Duke of Brunswick-Harburg, made up his mind to return to the old faith during a stay at the court of the Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol.[6] Otto Henry was quite right in saying in his reply[7] to a letter of congratulation from the Pope,[8] that he had to make great sacrifices for his faith; he had to renounce his inheritance and go about the world as an

[1] "Al negotio, per cui (Clenchio) è passato nel ducato Brunsvicense, non s'è dato principio per l'absenza del duca Erico, che si truova in Loreno con la moglie." Portia on July 30, 1577. Portia and Clenck were in constant correspondence. *Ibid.*, 132, 146, 159, 176, 197.

[2] Gregory XIII. to Eric on July 18, 1583, THEINER, III., 413.

[3] On April 12, 1581, in SCHELLHASS, *loc. cit.*, XVI., 140, *cf.* 114 *seq.*

[4] Campegio to Galli on May 20, 1581, in SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen*, XVI., 141 *seq.*, *cf.* 115. Some letters of recommendation for Eric to the King of Spain, of July 18, 1583, and September 7, 1584, in THEINER, III., 413, 532.

[5] GRUBE in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CI., 496. PFLEGER, *ibid.*, CXXXII., 98 *seq.* Letter of condolence to Eric's widow Dorothea, of December 21, 1584, in THEINER, III., 532.

[6] J. HIRN in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, V. (1884), 217-25.

[7] Of July 27, 1581, in THEINER, III., 262 *seq.*

[8] Of April 28, 1581, *ibid.*, 262.

official ; his memory was erased from the annals of his country.

Besides Hildesheim and Halberstadt, the dioceses of Münster, Paderborn and Osnabrück were for a time in danger of being lost to the Catholic religion. The bishopric of Münster[1] had been on the point of being converted into a secular principality during the reign of the Prince-Bishop Francis of Waldeck (1532-1553), who was at the same time Bishop of Minden and Osnabrück. The break up of the Schmalkaldic League put an end to these attempts, and compelled the bishop to intervene as the supporter of the religious reform,[2] which, however, for the moment made but little progress. Things only began to improve under the third successor of Francis of Waldeck, Johann von Hoya (1566-1574).

Von Hoya was a man of culture, and a learned jurist, who had previously laboured as a councillor, and then as president of the supreme tribunal of Spires.[3] To him was due a change in the administration of civil[4] and ecclesiastical justice,[5] corresponding to the period of his government of Münster, and under him began a reform of moral and religious conditions owing to the initiative of the zealous Gottfried von Raesfeld,[6] who was appointed dean of the cathedral in 1569.

Pius V. had recommended to the bishops of Germany, as a means for the restoration of religion, the visitation of their dioceses, so that the moral irregularities of the clergy

[1] Lossen, Der Kölnische Krieg., I. : Vorgeschichte, 1565-81, Gotha, 1882. L. Keller, Die Gegenreformation in Westfalen und am Niederrhein, I., Leipzig, 1881. Aug. Hüsing, Der Kampf um die katholische Religion im Bistum Münster, 1535-85, Münster, 1883.

[2] Schwarz, Akten, ix-xvi.

[3] For his beginnings W. E. Schwarz in the *Zeitschrift für vaterlandische Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens*, LXIX. (1911), 18-21.

[4] Rich. Lüdicke, *ibid.*, LIX. (1901), 1-168.

[5] W. E. Schwarz, Die Reform des bischöflichen Offizialats in Münster durch Joh. v. Hoya (1573), *ibid.*, LXXIV. (1916), 1-228.

[6] *Ibid.*, 80.

might no longer afford a breeding ground and excuse for error.[1] Johann von Hoya acted upon this advice of the Pope in the years 1571-1573.[2]

The visitation showed that there was no scarcity of priests in the diocese, though there was a want of educated ecclesiastics who were fitted to oppose the spread of Protestant doctrines. Anti-Catholic views about Purgatory, prayers for the dead, the invocation of the saints, and other matters had secretly made their way, leading to a neglect of masses for the dead, the observance of feast days and fasts, and of Extreme Unction. In eleven parishes communion was given under both kinds, and sometimes under one; in nineteen it was always given under both kinds, which led to consecration outside mass, for the purpose of giving communion to the sick, and this was sometimes done from anti-Catholic motives. As far as the moral state of the clergy was concerned concubinage was inevitably very common, though many were not guilty of this.[3] Protestant views and leanings were often to be found among the aristocracy, but only rarely among the middle-classes. The few remaining Anabaptists were not of any importance.[4] Among the religious Orders the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life stood out especially,[5] but in most cases the dry records of the visitation do not afford a clear account of the state of the monasteries.[6]

[1] Brief of June 13, 1566, in LADERCHI, 1566, n. 252. KELLER, 359 *seq.* *Cf.* CANISII Epist., V., 156.

[2] SCHWARZ, Akten (*Münsterer Geschichtsquellen.* VII.), 1-300.

[3] *Ibid.*, cv-cxviii. "In general the protocols created an impression that it would not have been so very difficult to have brought about a changed condition of affairs by means of energetic decrees such as Johann von Hoya had in mind. The early death of the bishop and the events which followed did immeasurable harm to the cause of moral reform." *Ibid.*, cxvii.

[4] *Ibid.*, cxix *seqq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, cxxxiii, cxlviii *seq.*

[6] A comparison of the accounts given in the acts of visitation with the complaints of the visitor Boucherat show this to be especially the case in regard to the Cistercian Houses in Westphalia. *Ibid.*, cxxx.

Peter Canisius, after a visit he paid to Johann von Hoya, who was at that time Bishop of Osnabrück, had said that no one on earth seemed to be exposed to such great dangers and difficulties as the bishops of Westphalia, and of Germany in general. If the Pope were not careful, at their death the sectarians would fall upon the dioceses and appropriate them. It was therefore advisable that the bishops should during their lifetime choose co-adjutors, so that the sectarians might have no chance of interfering in the election of a new bishop.[1] Johann von Hoya followed this advice. At first, while he was Bishop of Osnabrück, he was still rather indifferent about reform,[2] but when, in 1567, persuaded by Commendone and Canisius, he had received priest's orders and episcopal consecration, he began to display much zeal.[3] But his health, partly by his own fault, became steadily worse,[4] and the prospect of his death filled the Catholics with fear, since Hoya held the three dioceses of Osnabrück, Münster and Paderborn, and Duke Henry of Lauenburg, his bitter and powerful rival, who was his relative by marriage and was already Archbishop of Bremen, was planning to build up a large and permanent civil duchy by destroying the other dioceses in the north.

In order to defend itself from the shrewd and powerful Lauenburg, Münster too was driven to seek the support of a distinguished Catholic princely family. It was therefore of the greatest importance for the dioceses of Westphalia when Duke William IV. of Jülich-Cleves-Mark, who ruled over the largest principality in the north-east of Germany, became a Catholic by the advice of the friend of his youth, Werner von Gymnich. Until 1566, William, whether deliberately or no, had favoured the new doctrines in his territory, but in that same year he issued three edicts which were quite in accordance with the spirit of the Catholic

[1] To Francis Borgia on January 27, 1566, Canisii Epist., V., 169,

[2] Lossen, I., 224 *seq.*

[3] Canisii Epist., V., 581. Pius V.'s permission for the bishop to print the Roman Catechism, in Keller, 386, *cf.* 390.

[4] About his illness, Schwarz in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, &c., LXVIII. (1910), 50.

restoration, and after 1570 he showed every sign of his intention of preserving and restoring Catholicism. His sons, Charles Frederick and John William, were educated by Werner von Gymnich in strict accordance with the old faith, but his two elder daughters were too rooted in Lutheranism for much hopes of their conversion to be entertained.[1] A great part in the consolidation of the Catholic religion among the people of Cleves was played by the Jesuits.[2]

Now that Duke William had thus once more become "a prince who was eminently Catholic and peaceful,"[3] Johann von Hoya was very glad when in 1571 it was proposed to him by the court of Cleves that he should accept John William, William IV.'s second son, as his co-adjutor. He at once agreed.[4] By the advice of Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the cathedral of Münster, who was a fervent and influential Catholic,[5] the cathedral chapter expressed its readiness to enter into further negotiations, provided that the Pope agreed to the proposal of Cleves.[6] A carefully drawn up capitulation[7] safeguarded the rights of the diocese and of the Catholics. The duke and Johann von Hoya, who had been furnished with many letters of recommendation, especially by the Emperor,[8] King Philip II.,[9] and the Duke of Alba,[10]

[1] KELLER, 5 *seqq.*, 27, 36. JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 226 *seqq.*

[2] JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.,[15 16], 227 *seq.*

[3] Conference at Ahaus from November 5 to 7, 1571, KELLER, 159 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 156, 158.

[5] The Cleves envoy Henry von der Recke had received, on June 13, 1571, a special instruction concerning negotiations with Raesfield. *Ibid.*, 157.

[6] Conference from November 9 to 12, 1571, *ibid.*, 160 *seq.*

[7] Of November 11, 1571, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 1-3. *Cf.* SCHWARZ in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII. (1910), 19-24.

[8] To Pius V. and, on June 20, 1572, to Gregory XIII., KELLER, 171, 178 *seq.* *Cf.* the Instruction of the imperial envoys in Rome dat. June 28, 1572, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 6.

[9] To Pius V. and to his Roman envoys, both dated February 24, 1572, KELLER, 169 *seq.*

[10] Of January 10, 1572, *ibid.*, 164 *seq.*

presented to the Pope a request for his approval of their plan.[1]

But in the meantime the court of Cleves had once again given grave reason to doubt the sincerity of its Catholic sentiments. The hereditary prince, while on a visit to Vienna, received communion under both kinds, while his sister was chosen as the bride of the Duke of Prussia, Frederick Albert, and William IV. himself decided to preside in person at the betrothal of his son-in-law in the east. The future Duchess of Prussia expressed herself in a purely Protestant manner in a letter to William of Orange which was intercepted by the Duke of Alba. These things had forced the duke to send one embassy after another to Alba, so that he might not, in spite of everything, lose the powerful support of Spain.[2] In Rome at first they could not quite bring themselves to believe in a marriage between the princess of Cleves and a Lutheran,[3] but such occurrences could only confirm the Pope in his resolve to make his own conditions before he gave his consent to the duke. Besides William IV., the hereditary prince, Charles Frederick, must sign the election capitulation of Münster, and guarantee its being carried out, as well as the Catholic education of his brother, and must see to this being done in Rome itself. In the meantime negotiations concerning these conditions were carried on through the nuncio at Vienna and the Emperor;[4] the duke was instructed in a brief to treat verbally[5] with the nuncio Gaspar Gropper.

[1] On October 15, 1572, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 10, 11; *cf.* KELLER, 338. For numerous other letters of recommendation *cf.* SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 3, 6; KELLER, 168 *seq.*, 188, 389 *seq.*, 392.

[2] Instructions for the envoy Masius of December 11, 1571; April 22, 1572; January 28, 1573, in KELLER, 161, 174, 189. Masius' reports of 1571; March 29, 1572; January 2, 1573, *ibid.*, 166, 172, 187.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, xlviii, and in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII., 28.

[4] KELLER, 192, 194. SCHWARZ, Gropper, xix, n. 3.

[5] Of May 3, 1573, in KELLER, 193.

In the autumn of 1573 the nuncio Gropper arrived on the Lower Rhine, after paying a visit to the Bishop of Münster at Ahaus,[1] and at Cologne, at the beginning of December, he arranged a conference with a representative of the council of Cleves,[2] and after that, when the duke had returned from Königsberg, he laid his views before him at Düsseldorf in the middle of July, 1574.[3] As had been the case with the preliminary written negotiations, so now only one of the demands of Rome met with any difficulties; against the journey to Rome of the young prince the councillors urged his delicate state of health, and above all the opposition of the nobles. These objections seemed so well founded to the nuncio that he allowed himself to be led into acting on his own responsibility, and even during the discussions at Cologne he suggested that the tutors and professors of John William should make the Tridentine profession of faith, and should promise on oath that the pupil entrusted to them should receive a Catholic education in the sense of the Council of Trent, deeming that the Pope would be satisfied with this.[4]

The nuncio's task was naturally not limited to the choice of a coadjutor. With regard to the burning question of the duke's religious attitude, Gropper was warned in his instructions[5] to point out to him that only a small part of the officials in his state were Catholics, and that there were many infringements upon the spiritual jurisdiction of the bishops. If Catholics were appointed as officials, it would be easy, in view of the general opinions of the people, to restore the old religion completely, especially with the help of canonical

[1] Gropper to Galli on October 20, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 422 *seq.*

[2] Brief summary of the proceedings from December 2 to 4, 1573, in KELLER, 189-201.

[3] Brief summary of the proceedings from January 13 to 16, 1574, *ibid.*, 204, 205. The duke's reply of January 16, *ibid.*, 206-8.

[4] *Ibid.*, 199.

[5] Of July 19, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 43-56.

visitations.[1] The nunico was to do all he could to induce the prince himself to make the Tridentine profession of faith, and to obtain the Pope's absolution for his past life, because it was undeniable that he had formerly given great scandal to the Church by tolerating communion under both kinds, the Lutheran chant of the psalms, the use of flesh meat on forbidden days, and the suppression of the mass.[2] The duke must also no longer allow his Lutheran sister publicly to favour the innovators, and must bring his influence to bear on the education of the princesses; rather should he entrust his daughters' education to zealous Catholic women, or place them in some good convent, or at the court of a Catholic princess. Lastly the university of Duisburg and the schools of Düsseldorf should be visited from Cologne.[3]

The nuncio did not dare to present all these demands to the duke's councillors at the same time. At the conferences at the beginning of December, he began by giving proofs of the neglect of the duke's government in dealing with the innovators, by quoting recent cases, which he had partly seen for himself. At Büderich he had seen with his own eyes the work of the destroyers of images and altars; yet there were scarcely 100 persons concerned: was it possible that they could not be forced to obey? At Werdohl complaints had been made to him that, entirely at the will of the officials, an apostate monk had been allowed to come and preach, against the orders of the duke. At Wesel the city supported Protestantism in defiance of the orders of the sovereign. Such things were not calculated to make the Pope decide in favour of the requests of the duke. In the diocese of Münster he had been informed that they intended to have recourse to extraordinary steps against Cleves if the spread of false doctrines were not checked.[4]

On the following day the councillors promised to remove these abuses, and it is a fact that the Elector Frederick of

[1] *Ibid.*, 49.
[2] *Ibid.*, 49 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 50.
[4] KELLER, 198 *seq.*

the Palatinate complained to the Landgrave of Hesse in the following year that the papistical mass had been restored at Büderich and Orsoy, where the Protestant religion had been established for fifteen years.[1]

After further discussions, it seemed well to the nuncio in the afternoon to inform the councillors in confidence of the whole of his instructions. They naturally were of opinion that too much was being asked of the duke, when the ecclesiastical princes themselves employed Protestant officials. On the other hand they agreed to a larger number of Catholic professors being employed in the schools of Duisburg and Düsseldorf.[2]

Gropper now found himself in an embarrassing position, He felt that he ought not to present himself before the duke, who was unwell, and had only recently turned to Catholicism. with too harsh demands, and when he found himself in his presence he remained entirely silent about the communion under both kinds which William IV. was even then receiving ; of the demands concerning the duke and his family he only mentioned the wish that his daughters should receive their education at a Catholic court, or with Queen Maria Maddalena, the Emperor's sister.[3] He made his worst mistake when he imprudently said, in the presence of the councillors, that the communion under both kinds need not constitute a matter for disagreement, and that he would rather ask for a dispensation from the Pope.[4] The councillors immediately took the nuncio at his word : " Since His Holiness so kindly offers a dispensation " they also asked for the concession of the chalice for the rest of the duke's subjects.[5] It did not help Gropper when later on he spoke of the dispensation " which he might perhaps be able to obtain " for the family of the duke and a small part of the court.[6] In the duke's final reply

[1] *Ibid.*, 214.
[2] *Ibid.*, 200 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 204 *seq.*
[4] *Ibid.*, 201.
[5] *Ibid.*, 203.
[6] *Ibid.*, 206. SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 98.

the chalice was demanded for all his subjects,[1] and the nuncio had the unpleasant task of exculpating himself as far as he could for this suggestion in his report to Rome.[2] For the rest he pointed out strongly how much had been already obtained in the fact that so autocratic a prince had given his solemn assurance that he would maintain the Catholic religion and stamp out heresy energetically. This was much more than they could have dared to expect at first. As a result the churches of Düsseldorf, which had been deserted, were now once more open, and the duke himself assisted at mass there. What was still wanting might be looked for in the future.[3]

On December 22nd, 1573, Gropper had informed Rome of the grave illness of the Bishop of Münster.[4] Three months later the condition of Johann von Hoya had become so much worse that Conrad von Westerholt and the syndic Schade went from Münster to Gropper and the Duke of Cleves, to take counsel as to what was to be done. A little more than a week later Johann von Hoya was dead, and a new struggle was to begin between the Catholics and the Protestants for the possession of the three bishoprics of Münster, Paderborn and Osnabrück.[5]

In Rome everything possible had been done to prevent further losses. Credential letters were sent to the chapters of the three vacant dioceses,[6] and to the Electors of Mayence and Cologne,[7] as well as warnings to Gropper to exercise the greatest vigilance and care. Osnabrück was in the meantime in the hands of Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, who was already in possession of the archbishopric of Bremen :

[1] KELLER, 208.

[2] To Galli on January 20, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 101.

[3] *Ibid.*, 102.

[4] THEINER, I., 99.

[5] SCHWARZ, Gropper, liv.

[6] Of February 5, 1574, in THEINER, I., 233 *seq.*

[7] Of February 5, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 102 *seq.* Gropper speaks to the duke about briefs to Mayence and Treves, *ibid.*, 130.

an election capitulation must secure the diocese for Catholicism.[1] Paderborn took refuge under the powerful protection of Salentin of Isenburg, the Elector of Cologne, whom it asked for as its administrator.[2] More anxious was the position of the diocese of Münster. As the brothers of Duke Julius of Brunswick had, during the course of military raids into the territory of Münster and Paderborn, promised to undertake their charge as coadjutors, Duke Julius, who was also making efforts to obtain possession of the dioceses of Hildesheim and Halberstadt, now maintained that after the deaths of his brothers their rights had passed to himself. In the meantime, so as to obtain protection from Brunswick, the cathedral chapter had resolved to ask for the son of the Duke of Cleves as coadjutor.[3] By Galli's orders, Gropper was instructed to inform Cleves that Rome was favourably disposed to the wishes of the duke, but that means must be found of ensuring that the diocese did not suffer any loss during the minority of John William. An experienced administrator must therefore be chosen; if possible he should be taken from the cathedral chapter of Münster; otherwise they might ask the Archbishop of Cologne, or some other person pleasing to the duke. Perhaps it might be well to follow the example of Freising and separate the civil and ecclesiastical administrations. Nevertheless Gropper must insist upon John William going to Rome, while everything would be done to care for the health of the prince.[4]

As Gropper had suggested to the duke and the chapter,[5] he went himself to Münster for the election, and there, on April 28th, 1574, the canons assembled in chapter and after an hour announced the acceptance of the postulation of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 163. LOSSEN, I., 257.

[2] On April 21, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[3] Gropper on December 22, 1573, in THEINER, I., 99.

[4] Galli to Gropper on February 6 and April 3, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 119 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

[5] To the duke on April 8, 1574, *ibid.*, 135. *Cf.* KELLER, 212.

son of the Duke of Cleves.[1] Conrad von Westerholt was unanimously chosen as civil "vicar" of the diocese, and at once made the profession of faith in the hands of the nuncio. Greater difficulty was experienced in finding a representative for the spiritual interests of the bishop-elect. With the consent of the chapter Gropper himself asked his colleague Elgard to undertake it, but the latter sought to escape the proposed honour.[2]

The nuncio profited by his presence in Münster to urge strongly upon the chapter on April 23rd, the principal questions of reform; he insisted upon the necessity of a canonical visitation, and the establishment of a seminary, which had best be entrusted to the Jesuits. The chapter declared themselves ready to do so. If the canonical visitation of the whole diocese had not yet produced its full results, this was due to the death of the bishop; they were willing to have Elgard as their spiritual head. The establishment of a seminary was beset for the moment with difficulties, but the dean and chapter were well-disposed towards it and considered it both useful and necessary.[3]

Thus the existence of the diocese of Münster seemed to be once more assured, and a fresh support for the Catholic religion seemed to have been found in the princely house of the Lower Rhine. The duke again confirmed in his own name and that of his eldest son all that had been agreed upon in the negotiations concerning the coadjutorship and the petition, and promised on his honour as a prince, and confirmed it by oath, that he and his successors would observe it in perpetuity; he would also as far as he could see to it

[1] Report of the Cleves councillors to the duke dat. April 24, 1574, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 136. Gropper to Galli on June 10, 1574, *ibid.*, 151.

[2] Gropper, *loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*

[3] Gropper's memorial to the Chapter in KELLER, 390-2; the chapter's reply of May 21, 1574, *ibid.*, 394-7. For the date of both documents *cf.* SCHWARZ, in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXVIII., 65, 68.

that the Emperor approved and confirmed all that had been done.[1]

The education of the future bishop semed to be in good hands; his tutor, master and chaplain freely and willingly made the profession of faith, and promised to watch over the orthodoxy of his household. The young prince himself went frequently and almost daily to church with his suite, assisted at mass, listened attentively to the sermons, and studied diligently.[2] It was true that the approval of the postulation had not yet come from Rome, but in deference to the renewed protests of the duke the demand that John William should receive his education in Rome had been abandoned. The German Congregation wished to define some of the points in the capitulation more exactly.[3] The negotiations as to this dragged on, especially as the duke had once more gone upon a journey, this time for the betrothal of his second daughter, also to a Protestant, the Count Palatine of Neuburg. It did not seem, however, that the wishes of the German Congregation need offer a serious objection, especially as the duke, as well as the chapter of Münster[4] after his return,[5] did not think that any further guarantee was called for. Thus on the whole the hopes of the Catholics might be considered as well founded.

But suddenly all these fair prospects fell to the ground. On February 9th, 1575, the eldest son of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves died in Rome.[6] John William thus became the hereditary prince, and it was taken as a matter of course that he would succeed his father as civil prince and resign the bishopric.

Thus the struggle for Münster broke out afresh, and this time lasted for ten whole years. It was clear how much was at stake. If the most important diocese of Westphalia,

[1] Gropper, *loc. cit.*, 153 *seq.*

[2] Gropper to Galli on June 10, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 154.

[3] Protocol of August 12, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 95.

[4] In KELLER, 402.

[5] Gropper to Galli on December 13, 1574, in THEINER, I., 222.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 202.

which hitherto, like a barrier, had separated the Lutherans of the north of Germany from the Gueux of Holland, fell into Protestant hands, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Hildesheim could hardly be saved from the same fate ; the Catholic duchy of Jülich-Cleves could scarcely be maintained for long, and in any case the duke would find himself with a dangerous neighbour. like the Spaniards in Flanders. Under these circumstances the eyes of the Catholics again turned to Duke Ernest of Bavaria as their saviour. The Spanish governor wrote at once from the Low Countries in this sense to Conrad von Westerholt,[1] as well as to Duke Albert V. himself.[2] Immediately after the death of the hereditary prince of Cleves, the Duke of Bavaria sent his envoy, Jakob Tandorf,[3] to obtain information as to the position of affairs. The Duke of Cleves at once gave his consent to the Bavarian candidature,[4] and an envoy from Cleves, Henry von Recke, laid the matter before the chapter of Münster.[5]

It was natural that covetous eyes should at once be turned upon the bishopric of Münster from all quarters.[6] But only one of these candidates, Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, was any serious danger to Duke Ernest.[7]

Henry's father, the Protestant duke, Francis I., who was related through his wife and sister with the kings of Sweden and Denmark, and with the principal princely houses of northern Germany,[8] was deeply involved in debt, and therefore sought in 1564 to provide for his two sons, Henry and Frederick, by means of canonries at Cologne ; Henry acted in every way there as a Catholic ; he attended the lectures at the Catholic university, kept the vigils,

[1] Lossen, I., 323.

[2] On March 25, 1575, in Keller, 405.

[3] His instructions of March 1st and 4th, 1575, *ibid.*, 403 *seq.*

[4] To Duke Albert V. on April 9, 1575, *ibid.*, 405.

[5] *Ibid.*, 405.

[6] *Ibid.*, 406, 411 *seq.*, 417, 420.

[7] For particulars of him Schwarz, Gropper, lviii *seqq.* ; Lossen, I., 240 ; *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XI., 506 *seq.*

[8] Cohn, Table, 58.

confessed and communicated under one kind, assisted diligently at mass and at the office in choir, even during the years when he did not as yet receive any revenues from his benefice, took part in the processions even during the bad weather, and acted as sub-deacon at high mass.[1] Nevertheless they did not feel full confidence in him in Rome; and when his great uncle, Duke George of Brunswick, the Archbishop of Bremen, died, and the chapter chose the great-nephew in 1567 as his successor, the new ruler of the archdiocese of Bremen was not able, in spite of the warm recommendation of the Emperor, to obtain the Papal confirmation.[2]

Duke Francis I. nevertheless sought to provide for his son by means of another ecclesiastical principality, and when the succession to the sees of Johann von Hoya came under ever increasing discussion, Francis turned his eyes to Osnabrück in 1572. Johann von Hoya was not opposed to the suggestion, but advised him before anything else to obtain the approval of the Pope, without which Henry could not obtain "either this or any other diocese."[3]

During the years that followed the Lauenburger acted upon this advice. He first thought of going himself to Rome, but, as he wrote to Otto Truchsess,[4] the attacks of the Gueux prevented his doing so. So he had recourse to the nuncio Gropper, and by means of his councillor, Schrader, had the formal canonical inquiry into his life and capabilities carried out and sent to Rome. The evidence,[5] as well as Gropper's to Rome,[6] were altogether favourable and the German

[1] The inquiry concerning Henry of November-December, 1573, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 82, 83. Henry was made Subdeacon between the Diets at Spires of 1570 and 1572. Henry to Otto Truchsess on December 9, 1572, *ibid.*, 16.

[2] Maximilian II. to Pius V. on January 10, 1568, and the Pope's reply of February 10, in LADERCHI, 1568, n. 97.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, lx.

[4] December 9, 1572, SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 14.

[5] *Ibid.*, 80-5.

[6] Of January 20, 1574, *ibid.*, 113 *seq.*

Congregation expressed itself in favour of Henry's being approved,[1] provided the informative process were sent in due form.[2]

Henry was kept fully informed of all that was happening, and when the chapter of Osnabrück genuinely asked for him as the successor of the dead Johann von Hoya, on condition of his having the Papal approval, he resolved to remove the last obstacle to his confirmation by making the Tridentine profession of faith in the presence of Christopher Bicker, Abbot of Hersfeld,[3] at the end of which was to be found the promise that he himself, and, as far as it rested with him, his subjects, would maintain the Catholic faith until death. He sent the documents to Rome, and presented a copy to the nuncio Gropper. The latter noticed first that the formula of the profession of faith had not been inserted verbally, and when he was afterwards given a document written in Henry's own hand, signed and sealed by him, which contained the Tridentine formula, he discovered at the end a clause stating that the whole only held good "subject to the other oaths and promises made by the petitioner."[4] The duke's envoy tried to justify this clause, saying that his master had been obliged at Bremen to promise to observe the religious peace. But Gropper declared that with such clauses added the document had hardly any value; the German Congregation in Rome came to the same conclusion,[5] and Cardinal

[1] On March 2, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 85.

[2] On June 22, 1574. For the precautions taken to secure the Catholic character of the foundation see LOSSEN, I., 257 *seq.*

[3] Bicker on June 22, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 164-7. For the personal character of the abbot *cf.* A. Trivius to Galli on March 30, 1575, in THEINER, II., 472: The abbot is "persona assai grave et buon cattolico," the prior is "di buonissima vita."

[4] Gropper to Galli on August 15, 1574, in THEINER, I., 217 *seq.*

[5] On September 7, 1574, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 97. The clause can only refer to the promise at the end of the Tridentine Confession of Faith. The dogmas contained in the confession had therefore been unconditionally accepted by Henry. *Cf.* Henry's letter to Morone of August 20, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Gropper,

Madruzzo wrote to the duke to the same effect.[1] The German Congregation sent Gropper a warning[2] that the profession of faith, even though it were to be made in the full form, was no longer sufficient, if the elect was not beyond reproach both in doctrine and in morals; the nuncio must therefore keep his eyes open as to this.

Gropper understood quite well what was hinted at by this remark. Henry's former zeal for religion had disappeared, and he had commenced a love affair with Anna Broich, a pupil of his former landlord at Cologne, had taken her to his estates at Bremen, and had finally been formally betrothed to her before a Lutheran pastor; in the document[3] which the pastor drew up for this purpose, it is stated that Henry had told him as his pastor and confessor, that not having the gift of continence he had therefore decided on matrimony. By so doing, Henry, who, being a sub-deacon, could not according to Catholic ideas contract matrimony, had disclosed his defection from the faith, though naturally he took care not to say anything in public to that effect, and even occasionally so expressed himself as to display his great reverence for the Apostolic See.[4]

Even before he went as far as this it had become very unlikely that Henry of Bremen would submit to the demands

358: "Finalis itaque clausula iuramenti . . . cum haberet, nos subditis nostris aliam religionem nullam permittere debere et velle, quam quae iuramenti forma comprehenderetur, existimavimus . . . si illam tam absolute . . . poneremus et ederemus nobis inde maxima pericula oboriri et violatae fidei scandala . . . excitari posse. . . . Ad utrumque igitur evitandum . . . apposuimus clausulas, &c."

[1] SCHWARZ, Gropper, 212. Discontent at Bremen caused by the making of the Confession of Faith; *ibid.*, 169.

[2] On November 25, 1574, SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 101.

[3] Of October 25, 1575, LOSSEN, I., 376.

[4] "che sarebbe sempre osservantissimo della Sede Apostolica, supplicando che Nostro Signore non volesse dar orecchia a'maligni." Henry to Trivius; see the latter's report to Galli of April 4, 1575, in THEINER, II., 474.

of the Pope. Alexander Trivius, who had a personal interview with him at the beginning of April, 1575, received from Henry a reply to his remonstrances to the effect that he wondered that the Papal approval had not been sent, when he for his part had done all that was required.[1] Nevertheless the German Congregation[2] did not think it advisable to reply any further to Henry; it would be better to try and bring pressure to bear upon the Emperor not to confer investiture with the civil power any more in the dioceses before the Papal approval had been given, as Maximilian II. had immediately put Henry in possession of the civil power in defiance of existing laws. On May 11th, 1575, Henry took possession of the diocese of Osnabrück as reigning prince.[3]

For a long time past the Duke of Lauenburg had been aiming at obtaining yet a third bishopric, the important one of Münster. Thus Ernest of Bavaria had a dangerous competitor, as Henry was well endowed with good qualities and had been especially successful as regent,[4] and, moreover, had behind him that powerful party which was striving to open a breach in the observance of the so-called *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, so that it was actually very badly observed. Henry seemed to be the very man to make it an accomplished fact.[5]

A powerful ally of the Duke of Lauenburg was also to be found in Salentin of Isenburg, the Archbishop of Cologne. He was thinking of resigning, and wished to have Duke Ernest as his successor, who would in that case have to abandon the diocese of Münster and leave it to Henry.[6]

[1] Trivius to Galli on April 4, 1575, *ibid.*, 472.

[2] On April 26, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 109.

[3] SCHWARZ, Gropper, lxiii. LOSSEN, I., 259.

[4] *Ibid.*, 381. Trivius in THEINER, II., 474. Moreover, Henry was also an energetic persecutor of witches: "In the diocese, in the year 1583 alone, 163 persons, of whom 121 were women, were put to death in the town of Osnabrück." KRAUSE, in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XI., 507.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 303 *seqq.*, 306. KELLER, 404.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 289 *seqq.*

Duke Ernest, however, was not without his supporters. The head of the chapter of Münster was on his side, the dean, Gottfried von Raesfeld, "who combined a great capacity for public affairs, great knowledge, and much firmness of character with strong Catholic opinions."[1] The loyal friendship of the Duke of Cleves was also of the very greatest importance to Ernest. As a new election could not take place until John William had resigned his rights to Münster, it was in the power of William IV. to prevent any election which was not acceptable to him.

Albert V. therefore tried to obtain at last for John William the Papal approval which he had not yet received.[2] But when the two envoys of Cleves and Bavaria, Hammerstein and Fabricius, explained their plans for Münster in the presence of the Pope, Gregory XIII. listened to them with so threatening a look that Fabricius feared they would receive a downright refusal, and was relieved when at last the Pope referred the matter to a commission of Cardinals.[3] The Pope would have preferred to have seen Andrew of Austria, the son of the Archduke Ferdinand, as Bishop of Münster.[4] When

[1] According to SCHWARZ, Akten, xxxix. For Raesfeld see H. DEGERING in the festival publication: Aus dem geistigen Leben und Schaffen in Westfalen, Münster, 1906, 137 to 250; DUHR, I., 144 *seq.*

[2] William to Hammerstein on June 2, 1575, in KELLER, 410. Albert V. to William on June 16, *ibid.*, 411.

[3] Fabricius to Albert V. on July 16, 1575, *ibid.*, 414; *cf.* LOSSEN, I., 281 *seq.*

[4] Ferdinand's request for Andrew dat. July 9, 1575, in THEINER, II., 66. On July 11 Sporeno suggested that Ernest, if he obtained Münster, might renounce Freising in favour of Andrew (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 147, n. 3). The Pope wished Ferdinand to come to an understanding with Albert (*ibid.*, 157, n. 4). The Archduke opened negotiations with William V. on the subject (KELLER, 411 *seq.*). On September 19, Gregory XIII. desired the Duke of Bavaria to use his influence in support of Andrew, should Ernest have no prospects of success (LOSSEN, I., 328; KELLER, 418). *Cf.* Gregory to Ferdinand on September 19, 1575, in THEINER, II., 5.

Duke Ernest returned to Munich after a stay in Rome of a year and a half, he took with him a brief[1] to the chapter of Münster, in which nothing more was asked of the future bishop than that he should be a zealous Catholic, of irreproachable morals, and the son of a Catholic father. A brief to Gropper declared that this description was intended to apply equally to Ernest and Andrew.[2]

When these briefs were dispatched from Rome, they were in ignorance of the events which had in the meantime taken place at Münster. At first it seemed as though the canons were in favour of Bavaria, so that the election of Duke Ernest was expected at the coming chapter on St. Martin's day, in 1575.[3] But when this chapter was held at Dülmen it was seen that the secret efforts of Henry of Bremen to win them over[4] had had their effect. Only ten or eleven votes of the canons were given for the Wittelsbach prince, while the seventeen junior canons gave theirs for the Duke of Lauenburg. So as not to be forced to a decision the older canons left the chapter-room[5] and wrote to Rome[6] to ask which of the two rivals the Pope preferred.

Rome replied on January 28th, 1576, and when a report from the Duke of Cleves on the events at Dülmen arrived on February 3rd,[7] another brief followed on the same day. But both the Papal letters were delayed for a long time on the way, and in the meantime the deadlock in the chapter of Münster became so embittered as to seem beyond repair. The older canons pledged themselves to remain firm for

[1] Of December 17, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 334 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 334.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 284 *seq.* *Cf.* Gropper on May 7, 1575, in THEINER, II., 38. For the Chapter meetings at Horstmar and Lüdinghausen see LOSSEN, I., 280, 283; KELLER, 415 *seq.*

[4] LOSSEN, I., 308. KELLER, 413.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 330.

[6] On November 22, 1575, in THEINER, II., 30.

[7] Of January 12, 1576, in THEINER, II., 160 *seq.* Requesens had also written to Rome on the subject on January 1. KELLER, 424.

Ernest, and as soon as the other party heard of this they too united in drawing up a signed and sealed document in favour of Henry of Bremen.[1] It was partly Gropper's fault that things had been allowed to go so far. As early as May 14th, 1575, Cardinal Galli had made it clear to him that the Duke of Lauenburg had no chance of receiving the Papal approval,[2] but the nuncio had failed to make this sufficiently clear, with the result that the party of Henry had strengthened its position.

It was only after the disunion in the chapter had taken place that the first of the Pope's replies reached the hands of Gropper on March 10th, 1576, the second coming on February 4th.[3] The younger canons were warned in this to unite with the older ones; only the son of a Catholic father could hope to receive the Papal approval. John William, however, would not renounce his postulation until he had received the Pope's consent to his doing so, whereupon the postulation was indirectly recognized as valid.[4] A covering letter to Gropper[5] mentions both the candidates for Münster, Ernest and Andrew, by name, and that of Ernest in the first place.

But when Gropper presented this brief on March 18th it was obvious that he was too late. It was true that all the canons protested their obedience to the Pope, and declared that they only wished for a Catholic bishop, but it was maintained in the discussions at the chapter that the Duke of Lauenburg was also a Catholic, and that they could not understand why the son of a Protestant could not be a good Catholic. Even though the brief expressly excluded the son of a non-Catholic from election, the party of the younger canons nevertheless were successful in obtaining an appeal to the Pope in the name of the chapter, asking him to declare

[1] Gropper to Galli on March 28, 1576, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 443.

[2] *Ibid.*, 286.

[3] Gropper *loc. cit.* in accordance with which LOSSEN (I., 375) must be corrected.

[4] The simultaneous answer to the Duke of Jülich was in the same sense. See THEINER, II., 161; KELLER, 427.

[5] In SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 337.

whether he approved the Duke of Bremen or the Duke of Bavaria.[1] The reply from Rome naturally once again excluded Lauenburg [2]

A short time after his return to Cologne Gropper received through Tandorf, the envoy of Bavaria, a belated brief, that of January 28th, 1576. Unlike that of February 4th, which had already been presented, in this one Henry of Bremen was expressly excluded by name. Therefore the nuncio set out a second time for Münster. After a conference on April 5th, the party of the younger canons declared that they could not for the moment arrive at a definite decision because all the canons were not present.[3] At the chapter held in Easter week, with the promise of which the canons had comforted the nuncio, Gropper, in spite of three days' efforts, was still unable on this his third visit, to obtain any decision.[4]

Gropper left Münster with the impression that the party of the younger canons adhered thus tenaciously to Henry because of their reliance on Salentin of Isenburg. Salentin, they thought, when he went to Munich and Rome, would be able to arrange everything in favour of his friend, Henry.[5] Henry, too, developed great activity in favour of his candidature. An embassy declared in his name to the chapter that he would maintain the diocese in the "ancient Catholic and Roman religion."[6] He sent a second embassy to Duke Albert V., and wrote[7] to William IV.,[8] as well as to the Pope,

[1] Protocol of the negotiations in KELLER, 430 *seq.* Gropper's report of March 28, 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 443 *seqq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, I., 375 *seqq.*

[2] Of June 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 405.

[3] KELLER, 431.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 386. KELLER, 440. A Brief of March 17, 1576 (THEINER, II., 163; KELLER, 429) was not delivered.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 387.

[6] *Ibid.*, 380 *seq.* The envoys' Instruction of March 22, 1576, in KELLER, 432.

[7] Instruction of April 17, 1576, *ibid.*, 437.

[8] *Ibid.*, 432-5.

when he assured him of his deep respect.[1] Rome answered that he must prove his words by his deeds.[2]

It was clear to both parties that the hope of salvation for the friends of Bavaria, as well as the impregnable barrier for the opposing party lay in the decree of postulation in the hands of the Duke of Cleves. It was round this decree that all the efforts of both parties turned in the time that followed. The nuncio Gropper wished the Pope to confirm it in full form.[3] But this suggestion met with difficulties in Rome. Might not the young John William yet wish to transform Münster into a civil principality? And could they, above all, put their reliance unconditionally in the court of Cleves? John William was about to make his first communion, and his father wished him to receive it under both kinds. Albert V. was begged by Rome to be on his guard against such double-dealing.[4] Elgard was sent to the Lower Rhine expressly to bring pressure to bear upon the duke; he was not, however, able to obtain anything more than further delay.[5] That the duke should gradually lose interest in the approval of the postulation was quite to the liking of the Pope.

All the more urgently, therefore, did the adversaries of Bavaria try to get the decree of postulation from the hands of their enemies, and all they did in the time that followed seems to have been influenced by this idea. All of a sudden the party of the younger canons manifested an extraordinary friendship for Bavaria in chapter. Their leader, the civil vicar, Conrad von Westerholt, expressed himself in private conversations as envoy to Cleves in favour of the candidature of Duke Ernest; if we trust him, he said, everything will be

[1] On April 1, 1576, in THEINER, II., 163 *seq.*

[2] On June 2, 1576, *ibid.*, 169.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 387.

[4] Brief of March 10, 1576, in THEINER, II., 170.

[5] Elgard to Galli on May 29, 1576, *ibid.*, 170 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, Zur Geschichte des Laienkelches am Hofe des Herzogs Wilhelm von Jülich-Cleve, 1570-9, in the *Zeitschrift des Bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XIX.

done in accordance with the wishes of Duke William.[6] At a meeting of the chapter on July 25th he declared that he would no longer be opposed to Ernest, so long as he did not wish to introduce the Inquisition into Münster, and if they were satisfied concerning the lawsuit of the chapter against Schenking, the majordomo of Ernest. Albert V. gave satisfactory assurances on both these points.[2]

At the meeting of the chapter on November 13th it seemed that they would at last come to a decision. The dean of the chapter proposed a capitulation with Bavaria, and no opposition was raised; they were in agreement that the earlier arrangement of 1575 should form the basis of the capitulation, and all the twenty-three canons present declared amid solemn applause that now all difficulties were removed.[3] On February 5th, 1577, the capitulation was definitely decided upon by representatives of the chapter, together with von der Recke and three envoys of Bavaria, and accepted by the whole chapter on the following day. Westerholt then declared that in spite of the agreement their choice must remain free, and von der Recke promised that the document of the postulation of John William, which had hitherto been the palladium of the party of Bavaria,[4] should be given back. The Bavarians now looked upon the election as safe, and the only thing that might cast a cloud over their hopes was the fact that that old intriguer, Lorenz Schrader, the trusted confidant of Lauenburg, had put in an appearance at Münster.

A short time before the day appointed for the election, February 23rd, the envoys of Cleves asked for an express promise that after the surrender of the decree of postulation, the election of the administrator of Freising would really take place. This request excited the indignation of the party

[1] LOSSEN, I., 441 *seq.*

[2] Letter to William IV. of October 5, 1576, in KELLER, 449-52. In the copy that William sent to the following meeting of the Chapter of November 13, he omitted a sentence on his own responsibility. *Ibid.*, 453.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 447 *seq.*

[4] *Ibid.*, 453 *seq.*

of the younger canons, and it was only on the morning of the election that a decision was come to. It was decided that a capitulation must precede any new postulation; now that the capitulation with Duke Ernest had been made, there must be a new postulation when the other decree of nomination had hardly been surrendered. The envoys of Cleves handed over such a document, and in the name of John William two priests of Münster, who had been charged to do so, resigned the bishopric and the principality.

After the mass of the Holy Ghost and a solemn admonition from the dean of the chapter, Gottfried von Raesfeld, three canons who had been appointed to collect the votes went with certain witnesses to the upper hall of the chapter in order first to give their own votes. This duty fell first of all to the provost, Goswin von Raesfeld, and he nominated Ernest of Bavaria as the future bishop. The next to vote was the vicar, Westerholt, and he, contrary to all expectation and to all his promises, named Henry of Bremen. Irritated at his duplicity, the other two fell upon the vicar, since, if the leader of the younger canons supported Henry, there was no doubt as to what was to be expected from his followers. How could he dare, they expostulated, contrary to the written decision of the chapter, to demand one with whom the capitulation had not been made? Westerholt replied that he and others had also sent a capitulation to Henry, and the latter had accepted it. As proof he produced from his pocket a letter from Henry, but was not able to read it, for the others in their indignation ran and informed the other canons of what had taken place.[1] Moreover, it was not true that the Duke of Lauenburg had accepted the capitulation.[2]

It was now clear what the presence of Schrader in Münster meant, for he had brought with him at the critical moment the letter from his master,[3] and in less than eight days had twice made a journey of at least twenty-five miles. He and

[1] Lossen, I., 457.

[2] *Ibid.*, 604. He signed it later, but only after he had completely changed it by unsightly alterations (*ibid.*, 607 *seq.*).

[3] Lossen, I., 457-9.

Conrad von Westerholt had contrived a deadly blow at the party of Bavaria by extracting from them the decree of postulation.

Westerholt[1] found himself after this in the very centre of the struggle which now began all over again. It was he who delivered the more severe blows at Bavaria, while the friends of the latter directed all their efforts to his defeat.

First of all the party of Cleves asked for the decree of postulation back, but this was not a serviceable weapon, as its validity was in question. In this state of uncertainty only Rome could accomplish anything. The party of the older canons therefore had recourse to Rome,[2] for a Papal confirmation of the prohibition by which the dean had placed the withdrawal of the postulation under the penalty of excommunication. The Dukes of Cleves[3] and Bavaria[4] also sent reports and demanded that proceedings should be taken against Westerholt and his followers. A special envoy, Johann von Raesfeld, a former student of the German College, was successful in Rome in getting it declared that the resignation of John William was null, and in having the leaders of the anti-Bavarian party summoned to Rome.[5]

There, however, it was thought that there were no grounds for juridical proceedings.[6] It was decided to leave the matter in the hands of the nuncio ; if possible he was to bring about the nomination of Duke Ernest, or at anyrate maintain the postulation of John William.[7]

The nuncio who was given this task was no longer what

[1] SCHWARZ gives particulars of him in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, LXIX. (1911), 60 *seq.*

[2] On April 23, 1577, in THEINER, II., 292 *seq.*

[3] On March 13 and May 10, 1577, *ibid.*, 287 *seqq.*, 289 *seqq.*

[4] On March 24 and May 31, 1577, *ibid.*, 290, 293.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 492 *seq.*

[6] Fabricius to Albert V. on April 20, 1577, in KELLER, 470.

[7] Briefs of April 16 to Duke William, in THEINER, II., 292, KELLER, 468 *seq.* ; to the Chapter, in THEINER, II., 291 ; to John William, in KELLER, 469 ; credentials to the heads of the Chapter, dat. April 13, in THEINER, II., 292.

he had been. Gaspar Gropper had created a bad impression in Rome by the irregularity and prolixity of his reports; once when the Secretary of State had casually reproved him at a moment when the interruption of his reports was not due to him but to the posts, the angry man had not written any more for eight months.[1] Morone therefore proposed on June 6th, 1576, to send Bartolomeo Portia to Lower Germany in the place of Gropper; a man of weight was needed there, and Portia was so shrewd and experienced in public affairs, so capable and in such high esteem among the princes that much might be expected of him.[2] At the beginning of January, 1577, Portia received at Ingolstadt orders to go to Cologne, which he reached on March 4th.[3] Gropper never returned to Rome, and he seems to have become unbalanced in mind; he sat in his room, which he rarely left, with his hair and beard untrimmed, a misanthrope and an enigma to those about him.[4]

In the meantime the state of affairs had again become disturbed, so that even Portia could not do much for Münster. The courts of Düsseldorf and Munich were at that time pressing for the promotion of Duke Ernest to the archbishopric of Cologne, and did not wish to make their position more difficult by interfering in the disputes at Münster; thus until the winter of 1577 the time passed in an exchange of polemic writings between the two parties,[5] but otherwise the question of Münster made no progress. Portia too kept in the background, as the Duke of Lauenburg had a vote at the election to Cologne. At last, however, he decided to take one important step. At an interview with Duke William at Dinslaken he had not allowed himself to be led into confirming the postulation of John William, but a short time

[1] SCHWARZ, Gropper, cii.

[2] *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 77.

[3] *Ibid.*, I., 8.

[4] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, civ. LOSSEN, I., 472, n. 1. *Instruction for Annibale di Capua of December 7, 1576, Var. polit., 129, p. 178 (Papal Secret Archives).

[5] LOSSEN, I., 494, 592.

afterwards, in a conversation at Hamm, Gottfried von Raesfeld, the dean of the chapter, explained to him that he and his party were losing ground every day, because of the uncertainty whether the postulation of the hereditary prince was still valid ; relying on the words of the Elector of Cologne, the true headquarters of the party opposed to Bavaria, their adversaries were spreading the report that no decision was to be looked for from Rome, and that Duke Ernest would have to give up Münster in order to obtain Cologne. There was also reason to fear some act of violence to secure the appointment of the Duke of Bremen, while Münster in the meantime stood in need of John William, as its only possible protector.[1] Many of Westerholt's followers only adhered to Henry for this reason, because they wished to smooth the way for the canons of Bremen, who had actually made the promise to contract matrimony.[2]

As the result of what Raesfeld said Portia caused two briefs concerning the reinstatement of his son to be sent to the father of John William, and these were made known in Münster. The city, as well as the party of the younger canons, reserved their reply.[3]

Towards the end of the year the Bavarian party met with a decisive defeat at Cologne ; Gebhard Truchsess was appointed archbishop. With this the prospects of Ernest of Bavaria took a bad turn, and not only on the Rhine. The party of Westerholt celebrated Gebhard's victory as their own. Henry of Lauenburg, after the resignation of Salentin, his successor at Paderborn, had to fix all his hopes on the fourth bishopric of north Germany. Westerholt's arrogance passed beyond all bounds, and he vented his wrath upon his adversaries in a violent accusation,[4] which he presented to the local Diet in the name of his party.

This violent attack naturally evoked an equally bitter

[1] *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 110 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 114 *seq.*
[3] Lossen, I., 511.
[4] In Keller, 476 *seq.* ; Lossen, I., 594.

defence. In conferences[1] held by von der Recke with the dean and the provost of the chapter, it was decided to suggest that the vicar should be summoned to Rome, some of the expressions he had used in his accusation affording sufficient grounds for this. Von der Recke moreover came back to his previous suggestion[2] of nominating John William as administrator of the principality, which would naturally put an end to Westerholt's vicariate, and incidentally to his power. The Pope could dispense the rule that the administrator must be a priest, and this dispensation could be asked for by the Duke of Bavaria, because enough confidence was not felt in the Duke of Cleves in Rome on account of his continually repeated requests for communion under both kinds, at least for the hereditary prince.[3]

But before everything else Duke William tried to get rid of Westerholt by means of a formal dismissal. But the inquiry of January 28th, 1578, which was intended to put an end to the divisions in the chapter, referred him to the regional Diet,[4] and there the matter of Westerholt was not raised at all. The supporters of Bavaria, however, had accomplished something; they brought pressure to bear in Rome before the Diet, to have a summons against Westerholt given to them, to use as a weapon, and the efforts of the Bavarian ambassador actually succeeded in obtaining such a document

[1] At Schermbeck on January 21, 1578, in KELLER, 478.

[2] To Paul Langer, Cleves, 1577, December 18, *ibid.*, 477.

[3] Portia to Galli on June 1, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 112 *seq.* Duke William to Gregory XIII. on January 28, 1578, in THEINER, II., 368. Gregory was thinking of sending Canisius to the duke to negotiate about Westerholt and the question of the chalice (Gregory to William on April 5, 1578, *ibid.*, 368 *seq.*; *cf.* SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 128 *seq.*). On March 21, 1579, Gregory congratulated the young duke on his having communicated under one kind (THEINER, III., (20). On January 6, 1578, Portia reported that in many places within the territory of Cleves the chalice was still administered to the people. *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 222.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 595 *seq.*

in two forms, one more severe,[1] and one less so.[2] On May 9th the summons against Westerholt was made known, and because of his daily increasing arrogance, in its severest form; he for his part had summoned Duke William before the supreme tribunal of Spires for insulting him![3]

Westerholt was not in any hurry to obey the command of the Pope. A troop of cavalry and infantry, which had been enrolled in Lower Germany for service in Flanders, harassed the principality at that time for fifteen days; Westerholt wrote to Rome that under these circumstances it was impossible for him to leave his post. When, however, he failed to pay any attention even later on, the Dukes of Jülich and Bavaria[4] renewed their complaints, and thus, in December, 1578, the German Congregation arrived at the decision of depriving him, on account of his disobedience, of his benefice and office, by the hands of the auditor-general of the Roman Camera, and excluding him from the chapter. On March 30th the decree to this effect reached the hands of the Duke of Jülich,[5] who published it in Münster during Easter week.

Westerholt had no intention of submitting. At Paderborn he had an interview with Henry of Bremen, and on April 29th, appealed "to the Pope better informed." On May 4th he presented himself at the cathedral accompanied by armed men, and took his place in the choir.[6] Shielding himself behind the rights of the chapter, which had documentary confirmation, he tried to prove to the governor that he was bound to protect him. Thereupon forty or fifty of the nobles of the city presented themselves

[1] Of April 5, 1578, in THEINER, II., 369.

[2] KELLER, 478, n. 2.

[3] LOSSEN, I., 597 *seq.*

[4] On October 8, 1578, *ibid.*, 601. Albert V. to William on December 26, 1578, in KELLER, 480. Fabricius to Albert on January 24, 1579, *ibid.*, 482.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 609. KELLER, 481. *Cf.* German Congregation, March 8, 1578, in SCHWARZ, Zehn Gutachten, 129.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 651.

to demand of the governor and the chapter a general Diet.[1]

The latter was held entirely in accordance with the wishes of Westerholt. It made a great impression when weighty embassies from Henry of Bremen, the Union of Utrecht and Gebhard Truchsess made their appearance,[2] and a letter in favour of Westerholt was read[3] in which the King of Denmark, Frederick II., recommended him warmly to the citizens of Münster on the ground that the cities of the diocese "have no little commerce and livelihood in our realm and territories," and that they should therefore pay heed to the wishes of their neighbour in the north. Feeling ran all the more high "in that many gave it to be understood that sooner than have the Duke of Bavaria for their lord, they would see their houses burned over them. and their heads cut off."[4] As the result of the final meeting of the Diet a request was sent to the Pope,[5] that he would inquire into the case of Westerholt again, and either absolve or pardon him. On receipt of the Pope's reply there was to be another Diet, and no further postulation was to be made before he was reinstated.

On hearing of this decision Duke Albert broke out into a rage: if Westerholt and Schrader, so he wrote, could be quietly suppressed and hanged to a tree, it would be a good thing.[6] The dean became "very much frightened"; if there were no improvement within three months, he intended to resign his office.[7] Albert V. dissuaded him from this,[8] as the Catholic religion was at stake.

[1] *Ibid.*, 651-4. The dean of the cathedral did not dare to publish four papal briefs of March 7, 1579, which deposed Westerholt and appointed Raesfeld in his place as governor (KELLER, 483, 484, n. 1). One of the briefs, dated March 14, in THEINER, III., 17.

[2] LOSSEN, I., 656-9.

[3] Of June 27, 1579, in KELLER, 486.

[4] LOSSEN, I., 659.

[5] Of August 5, 1579, in THEINER, III., 17. Westerholt's written defence addressed to the knights and nobles on July 31, *ibid.*, 18.

[6] LOSSEN, I., 622.

[7] Document written by Langer on Aug. 3, 1579, in KELLER, 488.

[8] On August 16, 1579, *ibid.*

The occurrences at the Diet decided the Pope to intervene seriously. Westerholt was excommunicated and deposed.[1] A brief of September 20th[2] appointed John William administrator of the civil affairs of the diocese of Münster for three years; Henry of Bremen must not be asked for, and Ernest was accepted in Rome.[3] Westerholt's appeal "to the Pope better informed" had already been rejected.

Like the Pope, the Emperor also intervened. At the request of Albert V.[4] he appointed the archbishops of Mayence and Trêves, and the marshal of the court, Henry Otto von Schwarzenberg, as commissaries, who were to reconcile the two parties and bring about the nomination of a suitable bishop.

To all appearances a decision now seemed to be imminent, but in reality fresh complications were beginning. The Emperor, who had been called to their assistance by the adversaries of Westerholt, himself became his protector, and hampered the Pope's intervention; the party of Westerholt had become an Imperial party.

A short time before the young Archduke Matthias had been led into a great act of imprudence. At the invitation of the southern provinces of the Low Countries, he had gone there as viceroy against the wishes of Spain. He thought to escape from the unhappy position in which he found himself if he could get himself installed in the principality of Münster in the place of Duke Ernest.

The plan had already been put forward that both Ernest and Henry should renounce their candidature to Münster, and a third party chosen.[5] The idea of making this third party the Archduke Matthias had formed itself in the cunning mind of Henry of Bremen, who wished to profit by the difficulties of the Austrian states in order to

[1] On August 26, Lossen, I., 670.

[2] In Keller, 489 *seq.*

[3] Briefs of August 15, 1579, to the Chapter, to the Emperor and to Duke William, in Theiner, III., 19 *seq.*, 20.

[4] Lossen, I., 663. *Cf.* Albert in Keller, 488 *seq.*

[5] Lossen, I., 600 *seqq.*

obtain an honourable way out of the intricate labyrinth of the affairs of Münster.[1] In virtue of the agreements between Germany and Rome, the Duke of Lauenburg could not receive the Imperial investiture of the principality, without first obtaining the Papal approbation. In spite of this Maximilian II. and Rudolph II. had granted him the investiture of Osnabrück and Paderborn, but only for two years and with the condition, which was certainly not taken seriously, of his asking for the Papal approbation.[2] The thought of setting himself free from this state, by renouncing his candidature at Münster, and presenting an Austrian archduke in his stead, had taken shape in his mind; in return he wanted the Emperor to grant him the permanent investiture of his three dioceses. He first thought of the Archduke Maximilian, the brother of the Emperor Rudolph. In view of the embarrassments in which the Archduke Matthias found himself, Maximilian accepted, not for himself, but for Matthias.[3] Henry of Bremen agreed, but thought of profiting from the position on behalf of his friend Westerholt, so he made it a condition that the latter, who was already suspended, but who had not been removed, should again return to the undisturbed possession of his benefice.[4] At the beginning of October his envoy, von der Recke, once more presented the request that Westerholt's removal should be annulled.[5]

But Rudolph had not the courage to make an enemy of the powerful Duke of Bavaria by openly accepting this suggestion. Instead, on September 18th, he authorized the formation of an Imperial commission which was to settle

[1] Lossen in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, Phil. Kl., 1890, II., 85-108.

[2] *Ibid.*, 90. A letter of May 28, 1579, from Henry to the Flanders nuncio Castagna to whom he sends his councillor Schrader, in Theiner, III., 20 *seq.* Shortly before the death of Maximilian II., Henry had asked for an extension of time with regard to Osnabrück. Schwarz, Gropper, 355 *seq.*

[3] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 88-92

[4] Henry to Maximilian II., on May 25, 1579, *ibid.*, 92 *seq.*

[5] *Ibid.*, 95.

the dispute about Münster according to the wishes of Albert. His zeal for this commission was naturally not very great. He very soon adopted the suggestion of Lauenburg of using the commission as a means of attempting the choice of a third candidate, to the exclusion of both the existing ones, and of recommending the archduke in this capacity.[1] Steps to attain this end were set on foot.[2] Henry of Bremen received as a reward for his advice investiture for life of Osnabrück and Paderborn, naturally once again with the condition, this time quite illusory, of his seeking once more for the Papal approbation.[3] Unfortunately for the Bavarian party at Münster, its most powerful supporter, Duke Albert V., died about this time, on October 24th, 1579; Rudolph and Matthias were thus freed from an adversary whom they could not afford to disregard.

Under these circumstances it was impossible to guess how the Emperor would act with regard to the treatment of Westerholt and in the granting of investiture to the administrator The party of the vicar became more bold. When Duke William gave notice to the nobles of the removal and banishment of Westerholt,[4] the Imperial officials only informed him of it privately,[5] but did not allow it to be made public. At the Diet at the beginning of January, 1580, the notice of his condemnation made very little impression; it was resolved to await the Imperial commission. Immediately after the Diet, the relatives of Westerholt bitterly complained of his suspension to the Emperor and to the Elector of Saxony, who had gone to Rudolph to obtain his support. The councillor of Lauenburg, von der Recke, conveyed these complaints to Dresden and Prague, together with a letter from his master, asking the Emperor to act quickly, as the dean of the chapter, Raesfeld, had expressed his disapproval of the election of

[1] *Ibid.*, 97.
[2] *Ibid.*, 98. Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, I., 679.
[3] Lossen in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte*, *loc. cit.*, 98.
[4] On November 21, 1579, in Keller, 491.
[5] On December 20, *ibid.*

an archduke as Bishop of Münster.[1] The first effect of these attempts was shown in the fact that the Imperial commission was altered in a sense quite hostile to Bavaria, and instead of the Elector of Trêves, the enemy of Bavaria on the Rhine, Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg, was appointed.[2] At the recommendation of the Elector of Saxony,[3] Rudolph II. asked Rome for the annulment of the suspension of Westerholt, saying that otherwise he would do so himself.[4] The envoys of the Dukes of Jülich and Bavaria were coldly received by Rudolph, when they asked him not to take up the defence of Westerholt against the Pope.[5] The Emperor had already quite definitely refused his consent to the administration of John William, on the pretext that the Papal appointment to such offices was quite contrary to the German concordats.[6]

Henry of Bremen had recommended the Emperor to act swiftly, but his adversaries too resolved by swift action to find a way out of the tangle which was ever becoming more complicated. Encouraged by hearing from the governor of Flanders, Alessandro Farnese, that the Archduke Matthias would not be pleasing as a bishop, either to himself or to the king, Duke William took a decisive step; on February 8th he presented to the chapter by a notary, the decision of Rome against Westerholt. The dean and his supporters declared their acceptance of this, and the office of the expelled man was at once conferred on another [7]

The expulsion of Westerholt had another important result;

[1] Lossen, *Sitzungsberichte*, 99 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.*, 101.

[3] Of January 20, 1580, *ibid.*, 102.

[4] At least von der Becke says so in a letter of March 20, 1580 *ibid.*, 103.

[5] von der Becke, *loc. cit.*, 103 *seq.*

[6] To Duke William on December 26, 1579, in Keller, 491. That Westerholt's citation to Rome was also contrary to the Concordat was maintained by the Archbishop of Mayence, Von der Becke, *loc. cit.*, 103.

[7] Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, I., 680. *Cf.* Farnese on January 7, 1580, in Keller, 493.

of the canons who had declared themselves for Henry of Bremen or Ernest of Bavaria in 1575, there were now, in the two parties, only eleven with the right to vote, so that the parties were equal. Gottfried von Raesfeld resolved to make use of this fact for a sudden stroke. Of the canons who had recently been admitted, only six had a right to vote, and it was possible that some of these might be won over to the party of Bavaria, and thus obtain a majority.[1] The candidature of Duke Ernest was then secretly put forward, and everything seemed ready for taking their adversaries by surprise. On April 9th, quite unexpectedly, a chapter was summoned at which the election was to take place.

But the plan did not succeed. According to the statutes of the chapter, a new postulation could not be proclaimed before April 26th, and this gave the anti-Bavarian party time to take steps to prevent it.[2] Henry of Bremen had already several times urged the Imperial commission to take action, and he now came in haste from Bremen to his house at Iburg, in the territory of Osnabrück, five miles from Münster. He summoned his advisers thither, and there Westerholt and his followers pledged themselves to vote for an Austrian archduke. An envoy from Henry went to John of Nassau at Arnheim, to ask for his intervention.[3] After Lauenburg had announced his presence to the city council, he entered Münster on April 24th with their permission, and was received by them at the head of an imposing cavalcade of 142 horsemen. On the following day Egeling, the chancellor of Bremen, read before the authorities and the city council a letter from the Emperor which demanded that they should resist the postulation which had been decided upon.[4]

In the meantime there had arrived plenipotentiaries from the Archbishop of Cologne, and the Imperial commissary, Winneburg. Even more disturbing was the fact that, on

[1] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 681. Schmale to von der Becke on March 11, 1580, in Keller, 493.

[2] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 688.

[3] *Ibid.*; *Münchener Sitzungsberichte, loc. cit.*, 106.

[4] Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, I., 689 *seq.* Keller, 494 *seq.*

the eve of the election, John of Nassau had come secretly into the city under a false name.

On the following day, April 26th, the Imperial commissaries appeared before the chapter and read a letter from the supreme ruler of the Empire in which the Papal decree concerning the administration of John William was brusquely rejected. Under threats of the Imperial displeasure they were told not to proceed to a new election until unity had been restored in the chapter.[1]

The day before, in spite of the coming of Duke Henry, the party of the senior canons had stood firm; now the chapter asked for time for reflection, in order that they might take into consideration the exceptional circumstances which John of Nassau had made known to the council and the authorities.[2] Early that morning John had informed the council of the citizens and the authorities, that the soldiers of the Low Countries near Deventer would not hear of the election of the Bavarian prince, and that it was known from letters that had been intercepted that he intended to make Münster a war base. By command of the federated provinces John offered the authorities of Münster and Duke Henry military assistance; for the moment he had restrained the ardour of the army, but nevertheless a body of troops had already advanced to the Rhine.[3]

When this news was spread among the people the defeat of Duke Ernest was already assured. The brazen falsehood that the soldiery of the Low Countries were actually within the territory of the diocese caused everyone to take up arms; the gates were shut, the sentries were increased, and cannon were set up in the market-place. There must be no new election, it was said; neither Bremen nor Bavaria! As was declared on the same day to the chapter and the government, it would be preferable either to elect a third party, or else to adhere to the one already postulated!

[1] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 690. *Cf.* Keller, 496.

[2] *Ibid.*, 498 *seq.*

[3] Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, I., 691. Report of John of Nassau to William of Orange on May 9, 1580, in Keller, 504 *seq.*

This last demand had set free the followers of Raesfeld. They came to an agreement with the envoys of the Duke of Cleves to hand over the administration as far as possible to the young Duke John William, but a postulation would be clearly impossible.[1] An invitation to Duke William to come himself to the city, together with the hereditary prince, or at anyrate to the frontier of Schermbeck, was dispatched on the same evening.[2] Henry of Bremen and John of Nassau left the city in haste, but the disturbances continued

After Duke William IV. and the hereditary prince made their solemn entry into Münster with 300 cavalry on the evening of May 7th, and had been ceremoniously received by the citizens, an agreement was arrived at on May 10th. The canons of the Bavarian party, although they were in a majority, gave up the idea of a new election, while the other party, in return, agreed that the young Duke John William should undertake the government, under the already existing council.[3] On September 20th the hereditary prince again came to Münster to take up his new office,[4] and on the 30th asked for the confirmation of the Pope.[5]

Thus the struggle for the possession of Münster was settled for the time being, and the Archduke Matthias had lost the day. The Emperor soon bowed to what he could no longer avoid; at first he had thoughts of appointing another commission,[6] but at the end of October gave his assent to the way matters had turned out.[7]

After the coming of the two Dukes of Jülich, Westerholt

[1] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 692.

[2] *Ibid.*; Keller, 497.

[3] Lossen, *loc. cit.*, 695-7.

[4] *Ibid.*, 702.

[5] Theiner, III., 125.

[6] Letter of May 30, 1580, to the Elector of Cologne, to the cathedral chapter, to the Government and to the knights and nobles of Münster; see Diekamp in the *Zeitschrift für vaterländische Geschichte*, XLII. (1884), 169 *seq.*; Lossen, *Sitzungsberichte*, 108.

[7] Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, I., 702.

remained quietly in his own house. When John William was proclaimed as head of the government, his task was finished; he saw that he was no longer needed in Münster, and took the most prudent course by going to Rome, whither he had been summoned. They were not accustomed there to such obedience from the obstinate Germans, and Westerholt met with so kind a reception that they even began to fear in Münster that he would be restored to his former position, and begin his old intrigues over again.[1] At last the process against him was begun, but no sentence was pronounced, and he remained for several years in Rome.[2] In 1584 he appeared once more at Paderborn; the Pope, who had first tried to provide him with the provostship of the cathedral of Liège, now sought to give him that of Halberstadt.[3] When at last, in the following year, Münster had a bishop, the latter had to undertake, in deference to the insistence of the chapter, that Westerholt should henceforward be kept at least three days' journey away from the diocese.[4]

Duke Ernest could find consolation for this fresh defeat

[1] *Ibid.*, 698-702. *Cf.* John William and Duke William to the Pope on September 30 and November 30, 1580, in THEINER, III., 125, 126 *seq.* The Chapter had disposed of Westerholt's benefice on its own authority, in spite of the fact that the conferring of it belonged to the Pope. Rome maintained its rights (LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, I., 680 *seq.*; II., 544 *seq.*, 549 *seq.*). The briefs of November 18, 1581, to the Chapter and Administrator in THEINER, III., 246; KELLER, 509 *seq.*

[2] THEINER, II., 547, 550 *seq.*

[3] For the Provostship of Liège see document, dat. November 9, 1580, in DIEKAMP, *loc. cit.*, 170; for Halberstadt see Westerholt to Galli, Paderborn, November 15, 1584, in THEINER, III., 524 *seq.* In Rome they now believed in Westerholt's change of mind and recommended him to the dukes of Cleves and Bavaria (*ibid.*, 523 *seq.*); on November 15, 1584, William V. expressed his doubts on the subject (*ibid.*, 524), so also Bonhomini on October 30, 1584 (EHSES-MEISTER, I., 6); Recommendation of Westerholt to Bonhomini on August 25 and October 6, 1584, *ibid.*, 1 *seq.* *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 567.

[4] LOSSEN, II., 597.

at Münster in the fact that in 1581 he received the bishopric of Liège.[1] His obtaining of this new diocese naturally seemed to close to him the way to Westphalia. In Rome they were not inclined to give him another diocese, and, as was learned in the summer of 1581, they would have preferred an Austrian archduke, while at Münster they could not wish for a bishop who was bound by his election capitulation to live permanently at Liège.[2]

Cardinal Madruzzo, at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582, undertook to settle the affair of Münster finally; he was authorized to inform Duke Ernest that Rome would never give him confirmation at Münster, as the presence of the bishop was as necessary there as it was at Liège.[3]

But after a conversation with the Emperor, with Duke Ernest, and the envoys of Münster and Cleves, Madruzzo had to write to Rome at the beginning of August, that Duke Ernest was the only possible bishop for Münster, and that the old duke would never allow the hereditary prince to resign the diocese except in favour of Ernest.[4] Moreover it would be very difficult to find anyone else suitable for the Westphalian diocese. The Emperor did not again raise the candidature of one of his brothers at the Diet of Augsburg.[5] Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, the brother of Henry of Bremen, was, it is true, behaving at that time as a good Catholic,[6] but the sad experience they had had of Henry of Lauenburg, and again, more recently, of Gebhard Truchsess, suggested caution. The church of Münster, Madruzzo wrote from the Diet, is in so dangerous a position, that it seems fitting to vote for Duke Ernest, about whose Catholic sentiments they could at anyrate feel safe.[7] Moreover, they did not feel quite satisfied, either in Rome or Munich,

[1] *Ibid.*, 711-54.
[2] *Ibid.*, 545 *seq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, 546.
[4] Lossen, II., 548.
[5] *Ibid.*
[6] *Ibid.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 549.

as to the religious steadfastness of the court of Cleves, nor was the danger quite obviated of John William retaining the civil principality in the end. But if the princes of Bavaria were successful in their two plans, of betrothing the future Duke of Jülich to a fervent Catholic princess, Jacobea of Baden, who had been brought up at the court of Munich, and of installing their relative Ernest at Münster, in that case John William would find a strong personal support in his wife, for his political power in the powerful diocese of Münster, and for his Catholicism in the union of the vast territories of Liège, Jülich-Cleves, and Münster.[1] Thus the very state of affairs obliged Rome to show favour to the ambitions of Bavaria in north-west Germany.[2]

If the marriage of John William with Jacobea[3] took place, he would naturally have to resign the administration of the diocese of Münster. But the old Duke of Cleves would not hear of such a marriage; he feared that if his son turned his attention so far to the east, he would neglect his invalid father. The Duchess Anna of Bavaria, in order to overcome his morbid antipathy to the betrothal of John William, planned an embassy to the old duke from the three heads of Christendom, the Pope, the Emperor and the King of Spain.[4] But Gregory XIII., in spite of the request of the Duke of Bavaria,[5] could not throw his influence into the balance unless he had the assurance that John William would first resign the administration of the diocese of Münster; it was only in the middle of March, 1584, that he promised to interest himself in getting him to nominate Duke Ernest as his representative.[6] In a letter of March 18th, 1584, he communicated his decision

[1] *Cf.* the Instruction to the envoys of Ernest of Bavaria dated April 16, 1584, in KELLER, 519.

[2] LOSSEN, II., 548.

[3] LOSSEN on the subject in the *Münchener Sitzungsberichte* Hist. Kl. 1895, Munich, 1896, 33-64.

[4] *Ibid.*, 48.

[5] Of October 28, 1583, in THEINER, III., 410.

[6] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 55.

to Ernest of Bavaria and the two Dukes of Jülich ;[7] at the same time, however, he wrote to Munich, to William V.,[2] that if Ernest were chosen for Münster, he could only obtain the Papal approbation on condition of his resigning Hildesheim and Freising. The latter was then to pass to one of the younger sons of the Duke of Bavaria. After these preliminaries the embassy at length discharged its task on May 5th, and on the following day the father gave permission for the betrothal of his son.[3]

In the meantime things were turning out more favourably for Duke Ernest, and he was successful in winning over three of the canons to his side.[4] In spite of this he did not dare to attempt his election at the next chapter of St. Martin, as he was already Elector of Cologne and involved in the war of Cologne against Gebhard Truchsess, and the canons were afraid of drawing their own country into the war by electing him.[5] His representatives therefore proposed that the administrator should, until the end of the war, and thus even after his marriage, continue to keep his hold upon the diocese, with the title of protector or defender, the chapter retaining the government.[6] But the distrust of the court of Cleves which was felt in Rome and Munich was too strong for their agreement to this. Duke William of Bavaria thought that there was a cunning scheme on the part of the Protestant councillors, who wished to convert the bishopric into a civil principality. His brother Ernest ought rather to resign Münster, and he wrote to the Pope to the effect that he should invite the chapter to make the desired election of another bishop.[7] A brief of December 8th, 1584, actually put this suggestion into effect, but at the end made it clear that Duke Ernest was designated by Rome as the suitable person. At

[1] The three briefs printed in THEINER, III., 522 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, 521 *seq.*
[3] LOSSEN, *loc. cit.*, 57 *seqq.*
[4] In the summer of 1584, LOSSEN, Kölnische Krieg, II., 570.
[5] *Ibid.*, 572.
[6] *Ibid.*, 573 *seq.*
[7] *Ibid.*, 574 *seq.*

the beginning of January, 1585, the nuncio Bonhomini received orders to go in person to Münster to prevent John William from continuing to hold the diocese after his marriage.[1] The administrator himself was quite opposed to the new plan.[2]

For various reasons the marriage of John William was postponed until Pentecost, 1585. Friends and enemies alike were thus able to continue the struggle concerning the much discussed election. The Elector Ernest again did his utmost to secure partisans among the canons.[3] On the other hand, Gebhard Truchsess from his place of refuge in Holland, and the States General of the Low Countries, addressed threatening letters to the chapter to deter them from the election of Ernest, the Elector of Cologne, and the friend of Spain.[4] It was very disastrous to the prospects of the election when Ernest, under financial pressure, left the Lower Rhine to take refuge at Freising.[5] Moreover a fresh candidate for the episcopal see of Münster presented himself, who was by no means negligible, in the person of the brother of Henry of Bremen, Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, bishop-auxiliary of Cologne. Frederick had won the hearts of many priests by his moderation and his modest behaviour;[6] it was probable that the party of his brother would be likely to give their votes to him, and besides this, Salentin of Isenburg had adopted his cause, and sent a request to Duke Ernest that he would give up all thoughts of Münster in favour of his protégé, and had moreover won over the nuncio Bonhomini to his side. The latter, however, was very quickly dissuaded from this course by Frederick's bitter adversary, Duke William of Bavaria, so that he went to Münster to work on behalf of Ernest.[7]

[1] *Ibid.*, 575.
[2] *Ibid.*, 586.
[3] *Ibid.*, 576, 585.
[4] *Ibid.*, 577.
[5] *Ibid.*, 577 *seq.*
[6] Cardinal Madruzzo to Galli on August 4, 1582, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 495.
[7] Lossen, Kölnische Krieg, II., 587-91.

Frederick had already been to Münster as well as to his brother at Bremen.[1] But the old and formidable enemy of the Prince of Bavaria was no longer able to help him. On April 14th, 1585, Henry of Lauenburg had fallen with his horse upon the pavement,[2] and about three weeks later, at the moment when the envoys of Cologne and Jülich were arranging at Münster for the resignation of John William, and for a fresh electoral meeting of the chapter, he died. The question which had caused so much discussion hitherto could no longer offer any great difficulties. John William gave back his decree of postulation without remark, and on May 18th a unanimous request was made for Duke Ernest as bishop, and the fourth diocese of the north of Germany was placed under his care.[3] When, in the following year, Gottfried von Raesfeld died, he could close his eyes with the knowledge that he had saved Westphalia for the Church.

In addition to Münster, Westphalia included the dioceses of Paderborn, Osnabrück and Minden. The Protestants had gained much ground in all of them. Paderborn and Osnabrück had been united with Münster in the hands of Johann von Hoya, but if, in his somewhat optimistic judgment, the Catholic restoration had made great progress in Münster, in the case of the other two dioceses the nuncio Gropper had to comfort himself with hopes for the future, when he paid his visit to them.[4] The immediate future proved itself very far from encouraging for the Catholics, for after the resignation of Salentin of Isenburg, Osnabrück fell into the hands of the Archbishop of Bremen in 1574 and Paderborn in 1577.

The new bishop was only admitted at Osnabrück after he had promised that no change should be made in religion; the city adhered firmly to the Confession of Augsburg, but the Catholics and Protestants lived together in undisturbed peace, and contracted marriage with each other. Of the

[1] *Ibid.*, 590.

[2] *Ibid.*, 591 *seqq.*

[3] *Ibid.*, 595 *seqq.*

[4] Gropper to Galli on October 20, 1573, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 422 *seq.*

convents in the city, only that of the Dominicans continued Catholic worship, that of the Augustinians had fallen into ruin thirty years before, as had that of the Franciscans; the seven convents of nuns in the diocese remained true to the old faith. The Osnabrück cities of Wiedenbrück and Quakenbrück still had a Catholic chapter and Catholic worship,[1] while the canons of Osnabrück itself were for the most part Catholics, and at the election of Henry of Lauenburg had tried to safeguard the Catholic character of the diocese by means of an election capitulation.[2]

At Paderborn the Catholics still retained the cathedral, and Johann von Hoya took steps to drive out a Protestant preacher.[3] In 1580 the chapter invited a Jesuit to act as preacher in the cathedral, and soon afterwards several of his colleagues joined him. After 1583 they taught in the school in secular dress, and a few weeks after the death of Gregory XIII. undertook the whole of the teaching. But the citizens were so much opposed to the old faith that several times the Jesuits thought of leaving Paderborn.[4] Soon after the death of Gregory, Theodore von Fürstenberg was appointed bishop, and it was to him that the church of Paderborn owed its revival. Six months before, the Pope had exhorted the canons to persevere,[5] and at the same time expressed his sorrow that, wtih the consent of Henry of Bremen, Protestant pastors had taken the places of Catholic parish priests in the diocese.

The other dioceses, which were already either entirely, or to a great extent, lost, were not neglected in Rome. When

[1] *Cf.* the inquiry on Henry of Bremen of March 15, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 266 *seq.*

[2] LOSSEN, I., 257.

[3] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 422.

[4] DUHR, I., 136 *seqq.* W. RICHTER, Geschichte der Paderb. Jesuiten, I., Paderborn, 1892, 181.

[5] On December 21, 1584, in THEINER, III., 531. Gregory XIII. had already written, on June 4, 1583, to Rudolf II. and to the canons of Paderborn protesting against the attempts of Henry completely to protestantise the foundation (*ibid.* 411 *seqq.*).

Elgard was ordered by the Pope to visit Central Germany in 1575, he was told in his instructions,[1] that, according to the reports of Gropper, there was very little hope for the dioceses of Naumburg, Merseburg, Meissen, Magdeburg and Halberstadt, but as the Pope did not wish to be rightly blamed in the future for neglect or indifference, he wished to attempt the impossible so that he might fulfil his pastoral duty. Elgard must therefore go in disguise and try and obtain information on the spot. He went to Halberstadt, and at Magdeburg got a sacristan to open the cathedral for him, and questioned him, as an inquiring traveller, about the state of affairs in that city. The dean, and many of the clergy, he learned, were married, and the Protestant administrator distributed the benefices after the manner of a civil fief. At the same time a kind of mass was celebrated, and the office in choir was continued in a restricted form. In the cathedral great choir-stalls had been erected for the canons and their wives, which would have been over magnificent for a king or an emperor.[2] Elgard reported an important fact from Halberstadt, namely that two priests, in company with a Roman agent, were carrying on a disgraceful trade in German benefices, and were doing more harm to the Church than the Pope could ever repair whatever he did.[3]

In consequence of the information which he had received, Elgard deemed it superfluous to visit Naumburg, Merseburg, and Meissen. In those three dioceses, he reported, there were still seven canonries in the hands of four Catholics, and there were still some good Catholics there. The Bishop of Meissen, who was still alive, had apostatized. Elgard was of opinion that even in that diocese it was not necessary to

[1] Of January 22, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 241.

[2] Elgard on April 21, 1575, in THEINER, II., 45.

[3] *Ibid.* Even the Provost of the Magdeburg Chapter, who was living in Freiburg, said to Portia : " che in Roma vi sono persone infette d'heresia, le quali per altro non dimorano che impertrar canonicati a nobili heretici di quelle parti, che per ciò li stipendiano grossamente." Portia on November 13, 1575, *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 268, *cf.* 271, 323.

give up all hope, but his plan could only be carried out with the help of a Catholic Emperor, who was both resolute and energetic.[1]

Elgard did not mention the fact that in one part of the diocese of Meissen, in spite of everything, the adherents of the old religion had held their own, which was due to the efforts of the provost of the cathedral of Bautzen, Johann Leisentrit von Juliusberg. The latter was the son of a craftsman of Olmütz, who had been dean of Bautzen since 1559; he himself described the condition of the Catholics in Lausitz in a petition to Gregory XIII.[2] The Bishop of Meissen, he relates, had been forced by the Elector of Saxony to give up his residential city of Stolpen in exchange for compensation; the Elector had at once assumed the episcopal power, and in that capacity had sent his visitors, and everywhere destroyed the Catholic religion.[3] In order to punish this usurpation Ferdinand I. arranged that the spiritual power in Lausitz should be entrusted to a Catholic priest, namely to the dean, Leisentrit.[4] Maximilian II. and Rudolph II.[5] had given the

[1] To Galli on May 27, 1575, THEINER, II., 39-41. The Provost of the Chapter at Magdeburg also thought that Magdeburg might be saved by the employment of means similar to those suggested by Elgard (*Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 266 *seq.*). *Cf.* the memorandum of Cardinal L. Madruzzo for the Diet of 1576, *ibid.*, II., 17 *seq.* In a letter to Paul V., of December 27, 1607, Bishop Julius of Würzburg is still recommending similar methods to be employed in the case of Magdeburg. *Archiv für Unterfranken*, VII., 3 (1843), 140.

[2] Of July 1, 1579, and September 19, 1581, in THEINER, III., 45 *seqq.*, 265 *seqq.* For what follows see ED. MACHATSCHEK, Geschichte der Bischöfe des Hochstiftes Meissen, Dresden, 1884, 762 *seqq.* Concerning Leisentrit as an author *cf.* KERKER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VII.,[2] 1703; K. S. MEISTER, Das katholische deutsche Kirchenlied, I., Freiburg, 1862, 53.

[3] MACHATSCHEK, *loc. cit.*, 764, 773 *seqq.*, 806.

[4] With the approval of the nuncio Melchior Biglia (*ibid.*, 790). As early as June 28 and July 24, 1560, Leisentrit had been nominated commissary-general by the bishop who afterwards apostatized (*ibid.*, 787 *seq.*).

[5] *Ibid.*, 808, 820.

Imperial approval to this arrangement. Maximilian further ordered that at the death of Leisentrit a successor should be appointed. The nuncio, Melchior Biglia, gave the Papal approval to this.[1] In spite of this Leisentrit had to write to the Pope in 1579 that for the last twenty-one years hardly a week had gone by in which he had not had to defend himself against the interference of Saxony. He therefore asked Gregory XIII. to decree by brief its entire separation from the former diocese of Meissen, and to subject Lausitz directly to the Holy See, recommending its care to the Archbishop of Prague. Even to-day, in the XXth century, there are still about 41,000 Catholics in Lausitz, which stands like a solitary island in the midst of a submerged world.

The state of affairs in the northern districts of Germany which had already passed over to Protestantism did not seem so hopeless at the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. as they were in the ancient dioceses of the east; to these Alexander Trivius was sent to obtain information at the same time as Elgard. He went first to Minden, where the chapter, though in sore financial straits, was still Catholic, though the citizens were strongly opposed to the old faith. It is now three years, wrote Trivius,[2] since the citizens, with arms in their hands, and with threats of death, demanded religious freedom from the chapter. For three days the canons were kept shut up, and after their liberation by the bishop's father they went voluntarily into exile, invoking the assistance of the Emperor and of Lower Saxony. In 1573 an arrangement was come to at Lübeck; worship was restored at the cathedral and in the monastery of St. Simeon, but was not to be attended by any citizen of Minden, while ecclesiastical burial was refused to children who attended the cathedral school. In the monastery of St. Simeon divine worship was still carried on carefully, and the abbot promised to obey the advice of the Papal envoy, and observe the enclosure better.

[1] On May 24, 1576, *ibid.*, 797. A decree of Gregory XIII., dated December 20, 1577, confirmed the passing of the episcopal authority to Leisentrit (*ibid.*, 812).

[2] On March 21, 1575, in THEINER, II., 470-2.

In 1567 Count Hermann von Schauenburg, to whom Gregory XIII. gave the Papal approbation at the advice of Salentin of Isenburg, was appointed Bishop of Minden.[1] Before his election Hermann had a good reputation, but later on fell into every kind of vice, and was especially addicted to drunkenness. Trivius could only obtain one public audience with him, but could not accomplish anything.[2] In 1582 Herman sold his diocese to Duke Julius of Brunswick,[3] to whom a year earlier the chapter had pledged itself to ask for the duke's son, Henry Julius, as bishop. As he had promised, the bishop-elect asked for the Papal confirmation, but this was refused. Nor could he obtain the Imperial investiture, and at the Diet of Augsburg in 1582 the duke was given to understand finally that the Emperor had promised the Papal legate no longer to confer investiture before the Papal approbation had been obtained. In 1583 Henry Julius introduced the Confession of Augsburg into Minden, contrary to the promise he had made, and when in 1585 he resigned in consequence of his marriage, Catholicism there had disappeared.[4]

Trivius remained at Minden for more than a week and had an interview with Duke Henry of Lauenburg at the monastery of Lilienthal. The conversation, which could only take place in the presence of the dean, was without result.[5] If he had been able to talk to him privately, Trivius thought, he might have been able to accomplish something, for, in the general opinion, he was not ill-disposed.[6] The nuns of Lilienthal who feared lest he should introduce the Confession of Augsburg into their convent, had received satisfactory assurances from him at his first visit.[7] He was not a drunkard and had a taste for learning, and that meant a good deal in

[1] Lossen, I., 137, 363.
[2] Trivius to Galli on March 27, 1575, in Schwarz, Gropper, 270.
[3] Lossen, II., 263. *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 375.
[4] Lossen, II., 562. Wurm in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VIII.[2], 1536.
[5] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in Theiner, II., 473 *seq.*
[6] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.*, 275.
[7] Theiner, II., 474.

those northern districts.[1] In the city of Bremen Trivius learned that there was only one Catholic, the dean of the metropolitan chapter. Lutherans and Calvinists fought bitterly with each other in the city, and the Lutheran council was driven out and replaced by Calvinists; the Lutherans now no longer possessed more than one church.[2] On his journey Trivius stayed at several convents. To his surprise he found Catholic worship in its integrity among the nuns of Zeven;[3] the same was the case with the Cistercian nuns at Lilienthal, though the enclosure was not observed so exactly as at Zeven.[4] The abbot of the Benedictine abbey of Hartzfeldt, upon which Zeven was dependent, seemed to be a good Catholic, for which reason the monastery had been burned down three times, and he himself several times threatened with death; the prior of the abbey lived a life of great austerity, and every night he rang the bell at eleven for the office in choir, and remained in the church until four; on Fridays he took no food at all, and on other days only ate a little once in the day.[5]

As the presence of a Papal envoy had become known Trivius only dared to go to Lübeck in secret. There the Abbot of Lüneburg, Eberhard Holle, had been appointed bishop in 1561, and had been recognized by Pius IV. In 1566 Holle was also elected Bishop of Verden, but this time his envoy came back from Rome without the Papal approbation,[6] for which reason Holle at once introduced Lutheranism. At Verden the mass was solemnly abolished and Holle had all the bishops of the city represented in the cathedral in episcopal vestments, with himself at the end in the dress of a prince.[7] He gave the dean of the chapter

[1] THEINER, II., 474.

[2] Trivius, Lilienthal, March 30, 1575, *ibid.*, 473.

[3] Trivius on March 27, 1575, in SCHWARZ, Gropper, 270.

[4] THEINER, II., 473.

[5] *Ibid.*, 472.

[6] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* For Lübeck *cf.* E. ILLIGENS, Geschichte der Lübecker Kirche (1896), 150 *seqq.*, 157 *seq.*

[7] Trivius on April 4, 1575, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 276.

of Lübeck, whom he had summoned before him, a slap in the face, because he had dared to speak to him on one occasion about the duties of a bishop.[1] Trivius thought it best not to present himself before Holle at all.[2] The chapter of Lübeck was still Catholic, and agreed to his request that the profession of faith of the Council of Trent should be a necessary condition to admission among the canons. Naturally, however, the vicars and chaplains only dared to say mass in secret and in their own houses. When it was learned that a foreigner had received the sacraments at Lübeck according to the Catholic rite, the pastors made such an outcry that there was almost a riot. Besides the chapter, there was still in Lübeck only one Catholic woman, the wife of a Protestant tailor, who remained steadfast despite all pressure. Trivius had already made her acquaintance in 1561, when he had visited the city with Commendone.[3]

As far as Verden was concerned the Papal envoy was advised that the Pope had better urge the chapter by a brief to hold a new election, and that even if the Imperial approbation were not granted at the same time, Holle would be to some extent restrained.[4] The brief was sent, but had no effect.[5] Holle only received the Imperial approbation for six months.[6]

Things were even worse at Hamburg, and the Portuguese agent there had to come to Lübeck to receive the sacraments.[7]

[1] Trivius on April 18, 1575 (in cypher), *ibid.*, 279.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Trivius on April 18, 1575, in THEINER, II., 474 *seq.* The nomination of Adrian Merode, formerly of the German College, to be Provost of the Lübeck Chapter met with many difficulties which caused Gregory XIII. to address himself both to Rudolf II. and to the Lübeck Chapter on June 25, 1583 (THEINER, III., 412, and THEINER, Schweden, Urkunden, 312). A Brief of April 21, 1582, requests Rudolf II. to remind the Chapter of Lübeck of their duty of electing a Catholic successor to the late heretical bishop (THEINER, III., 318).

[4] SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.*, 279.

[5] LOSSEN, I., 364 *seq.*

[6] THEINER, III., 318, 411.

[7] *Ibid.*, II., 475.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Situation in the Rhineland. Trêves. Aix-la-Chapelle. Cologne.

In the case of Jakob von Eltz, the Archbishop of Trêves (1567–1581), Gaspar Gropper had received different instructions from those which in most cases had been given him with regard to the other bishops of his nunciature. These only instructed him to praise the archbishop and exhort him to persevere in the way he was going; to tolerate no heretics in his diocese, and still less entrust any office to their hands.[1]

On visiting Coblenz, Gropper found that Jakob von Eltz was, in his life, his habits, his dress and in every act, a true bishop.[2] A few years later[3] the nuncio Castagna spoke in high terms of praise of his virtue and his attachment to the Holy See. The nuncios Gropper and Portia also spoke loudly in praise of Wimpfeling, the chancellor of Trêves.[4]

The first attempt to establish a Protestant community in the territory of the ecclesiastical Electors had taken place at Trêves in 1559,[5] but there the triumphal advance of the new doctrines had for the first time met with a resolute resistance, which decided its fate in that city.[6] When Portia visited the

[1] Schwarz, *loc. cit.* 59.

[2] Gropper on October 8, 1573, *ibid.* 418 *seq.*, *cf.* 126, 159.

[3] On October 23, 1579, *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 350, *cf.* 341. For J. von Eltz see Marx, Geschichte des Erzstiftes Trier, I., 388 *seqq.*

[4] Gropper on June 10, 1574, in Schwarz, *loc. cit.* 158; Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 53, 117

[5] Ritter, I., 220 *seq.*

[6] Marx, *loc. cit.* 379. Janssen-Pastor, IV. [15-16], 121 *seqq.* Herzog's Real Enzyklopädie, XIV.[3], 361. Ney, Die Reformation in Trier, 1559, und ihre Unterdrückung, Halle, 1906-07.

city of Trêves he found the people very pious, and saw no traces of any adherence to the sects, while the Jesuits had a fine college with about 1000 pupils. In the suburbs the Benedictines had three monasteries, and the Carthusians one ; all were filled with religious, for the most part pupils of the Jesuits, who observed their rule carefully.[1] The little Protestantism that there was outside Trêves, in the civil territory of the Elector, could not stand against the strong measures of Jakob and his successors.[2] In spite of all this there was an abundance of matter for reform.

Immediately after his appointment, Jakob von Eltz had made the profession of faith ;[3] he had the decrees of Trent printed and distributed them to the prelates on the occasion of his consecration.[4] He then began to make regular visitations of his diocese, which he promised the nuncio Gropper in 1573 to continue in the future.[5] Many ordinances followed on the instruction of the common people and the improvement of the clergy, and in 1573 he provided for uniformity of divine worship by means of a ritual.[6] Portia urged the archbishop to found a seminary, to endow with revenues the Jesuit college established at Trêves in 1560, and only to confer benefices after previous examination ; and in spite of the many difficulties in the way he insisted upon the visitations and the diocesan synod.[7] The archbishop often sought the advice of the Jesuits about these matters, who

[1] Portia on March 2, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 58. For particulars of the Jesuit College at Trêves *cf.* (in addition to Duhr) F. Hüllen in the *Festschrift des Friedrich-Wilhelm-Gymnasiums zu Trier* (1913), 70 *seq.*

[2] Schmidlin, III., 133, note. For the re-catholicising of Neumagen see Hansen, Rheinische Akten, 550.

[3] The inquiry concerning him published by St. Ehses in *Pastor bonus*, XII. (1899 *seq.*), 226 *seqq.* Hansen, *loc. cit.* 550.

[4] *Ibid.* 570.

[5] Schwarz, Gropper, 418.

[6] F. Hüllen in *Pastor bonus*, XIV. (1901 *seq.*), 105 *seqq.*, 159 *seqq.*

[7] To Galli on March 2, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 59.

found the prelate "all on fire rather than warm" with zeal for the nuncio's suggestions.[1]

But a grave difficulty stood in the way of the archbishop's good intentions; from the commencement of his reign he had been engaged in disputes with the city of Trêves, and until a settlement was arrived at in 1580, he had been absent from the capital of his diocese.[2] The cathedral chapter, too, was scattered all over the diocese, so that the canons had become accustomed to wear secular dress and live in secular surroundings; moreover, none of them were priests.[3] The absence of the bishop and the canons from the centre of the diocese resulted in the cathedral remaining unreformed, and other churches finding an excuse in their local conditions. A provincial synod was out of the question, because it would have been useless to try and get the suffragan bishops of Metz, Toul and Verdun to undertake a journey to Coblenz; a diocesan synod was almost equally difficult.[4] Elgard and Portia proposed that in the meantime the canons should meet together in a collegiate church of the diocese, either at Coblenz or at Pfalzel.[5] Some small measure of success was attained in this respect, but on the other hand, as far as the sacerdotal ordination of the canons was concerned, the bishop had to be content with promises.[6] He provided the Jesuit college at Trêves with revenues, and established another at Coblenz.[7]

The state of affairs in Luxemburg, where the Spanish

[1] Portia on June 6, 1577, *ibid.* 117.

[2] Portia's account of the dispute see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 55.

[3] Elgard's memorandum of 1576, in SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 354. Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 50.

[4] Portia *loc. cit.* 52.

[5] Elgard *loc. cit.* 354. Portia on February 18, 1577, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 50.

[6] Portia on February 23, 1578, *ibid.* 245. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN, III., 132.

[7] DUHR, I., 95 *seqq.*, 100 *seqq.* Documents concerning the foundation of the college at Coblenz in *Pastor bonus*, V. (1893), 253, 587 *seq.* *Cf.* DOMINICUS in the *Koblenzer Gymnasialprogramm*, 1862; WORBS, Geschichte des Gymnasiums zu Koblenz (1882). For the preparatory work which prepared the way for the Jesuits

government would not allow an episcopal visitation without the state *placet*, caused Archbishop Jakob grave vexation. Elgard advised the archbishop not to stand too closely to his strict rights, because the simple folk of Luxemburg would feel the consequences.

The Abbey of Prüm was also saved to the Catholic faith by means of Archbishop Jakob. Prüm, Stavelot and Malmedy had as their common abbot Count Christopher von Manderscheid-Keil, who was inclined to the new doctrines, allowed monastic discipline to relax, and tried to hand over his abbacies to his relatives. Jakob von Eltz obtained a Papal bull, by which, after the death of the abbot, Prüm was to be incorporated in the archdiocese of Trêves. On August 28th, 1576, Christopher von Manderscheid died, whereupon the archbishop appeared at Prüm and effected the union of the abbey with the archbishopric. Stavelot and Malmedy passed to Liège.[1]

The successor of Jakob in 1581 was Johann von Schönenburg,[2] who carried on the work of his predecessor. He interested himself especially in the religious education of the young, and for this purpose published in 1589 a special "catechism of the Electorate of Trêves." In a number of edicts the archbishop insisted again and again on the reform decrees of Trent.[3] The seminary of Trêves was founded by him,[4] and almost at the same time a second one was established at Coblenz.[5]

in their restoration of the Catholic faith on the Rhine *cf.* J. HASHAGEN, in the *Monatsheften für rheinische Kirchengeschichte*, XV. (1921), 3 *seqq.*, 23 *seqq.*

[1] *Cf.* MARX, II., 1271 *seqq.*; LOSSEN, I., 719 *seqq.*; SCHWARZ, *loc. cit.* 77, 109, 126, 159, 314; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 82.

[2] *Letter of Rudolf II. to the cardinals dated November 16, 1581, with a request that they should use their influence to obtain papal confirmation and a remission of taxation (Papal Secret Archives).

[3] OTTERBEIN in *Pastor bonus*, VI. (1894), 369 *seqq.*, 423 *seqq.*; J. SCHNEIDER, *ibid.* 516 *seqq.*

[4] B. J. ENDRES, Das Bantusseminar zu Trier, I., Trêves, 1890, 52; for the year of foundation, *ibid.* II., 10, note.

[5] *Ibid.* I., 52.

In the very year, 1559, when the first attacks of the Protestants at Trêves were defeated, they also met with a reverse at Aix.[1] The first Protestants there were Calvinist fugitives from the Low Countries; gradually, however, the innovators developed into a strong party, and even one of the burgomasters, Adam von Zevel, professed the Confession of Augsburg. The spread of the new doctrines was made easier by the fact that there were only four parishes at Aix.[2] The Protestants soon sought to obtain a church and the right to preach in public, and they obtained the support of the Diet of Augsburg of 1559 in favour of their demands. But the intervention of the Duke of Jülich, Philip II., and the Emperor brought about a declaration on the part of the civic council that they would not agree to any change in the matter of religion. A decision of the council on March 7th, 1560, restricted the office of councillor and all public offices to Catholics; Adam von Zevel left the city[3] as did some of the foreign immigrants.

But a lasting peace was not yet restored by this triumph of the Catholics. Especially after 1567 thousands of Calvinist fugitives from the Low Countries flooded western Germany, and besides Wesel and Cologne, Aix became one of the head-quarters of the widely extended system which included many Calvinist communities from Emden to Heidelberg, as well as numerous centres of implacable hatred of the Catholics.[4] In the ecclesiastical enactments of these communities there were not wanting expressions which seemed to breathe the spirit of purity of conscience, and complete detachment from all earthly things;[5] but in the struggle for equality of rights

[1] For the Aix-la-Chapelle disputes *cf.* RITTER, I., 221, 555 *seq.*, 563 *seq.*, 577, 583, 585; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. (15-16), 18 *seqq.*; PENNINGS in the *Zeitschrift des Aachener Geschichtsvereins*, V. (1905), 36 *seqq.*; CLASSEN, *ibid.* VI. (1906), 297; J. HANSEN, *ibid.* X. (1910), 222 *seqq.*; JOH. MÜLLER in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift*, XIV. (1895), 257 *seqq.*

[2] PETRUS A BEECK, Aquisgranum (1670), 228.

[3] RITTER, I., 221 *seqq.*

[4] *Ibid.* 555.

[5] *Ibid.* 557.

with the Catholics which, especially after 1574, was set on foot by the Protestant parties at Aix, the erstwhile iconoclasts did not disdain to import from the Low Countries on to German soil the methods of popular violence. The preaching of the Jesuits seemed to bring about a change in favour of the Catholics after 1578,[1] but in spite of this the Protestants were able in 1581 to take up arms to prevent the intention of the Imperial commissaries to intervene in favour of the Catholics. The Emperor's representatives had to retire in disgrace, and many Catholics left the city.

The struggle lasted beyond the time of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.; after 1582[2] the question of Aix became one of the principal grievances and subjects of dispute at the Diets. The Protestants of Aix had recourse to arms on many occasions, twice the city was placed under ban, until in 1614 General Spinola captured Aix, drove out the Protestant preachers, and restored peace in the ancient Imperial city.

An even worse fate than anything that had occurred at Aix threatened the ancient faith when the Elector of Cologne leaned towards Protestantism. If the most important of the Rhenish dioceses were to pass into the hands of the Protestants, the Catholics would be threatened with the loss, not only of Cologne, but of the whole of the Rhenish provinces, the *reservatum ecclesiasticum* would be destroyed, and the way thrown open to further defections. Even politically such a change would have had immense consequences. Calvinism would have been in possession of a united territory in the Low Countries and on the Rhine, and Spanish dominion in Flanders would have been threatened on both sides. By the defection of the Archbishop of Cologne the innovators would obtain a majority of the votes in the college of the Prince-Electors, and the plans of the Calvinist party of the Palatinate for setting aside the Hapsburgs and upsetting the whole constitution of the Empire would no longer be a mere dream, Germany would have been broken up into a number of small

[1] Duhr, I., 413 *seqq.* *Cf. Annalen für den Niederrhein*, XVII., 30 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf. supra* p. 277.

states, the Catholic restoration would have come to an end in the Empire, and the Thirty Years War would have broken out ten years before it did.

In common with the greater number of the other dioceses of Germany after the period of the Middle Ages Cologne suffered from the evil that the greater number of the canonries were only accessible to the aristocracy. These canons of noble or princely birth caused their duty of choir to be carried out by beneficiaries, and themselves lived, like their secular colleagues, in the enjoyment of their great revenues. It is easy to understand how such men sought, in the appointment of the bishop, anything but his ecclesiastical spirit and his attachment to the old faith. The consequence was that the episcopal see was filled by men of worldly ideas, who had gone astray, not only in morals, but even in faith.

Even at the end of the pontificate of Paul III. Hermann von Wied, the Archbishop of Cologne, forgetful of his oath, had tried to lead his subjects into Protestantism. But he had paid for his attempt with the loss of his office.[1] Eighteen years later, the archbishop of that time, the Prince-Elector Frederick von Wied, was stirred up to make a similar attempt by the Protestant Counts of the Wetterau, and to begin by allowing the admission of Protestant canons, and the suppression of the obligations that stood in the way. If, in spite of his half Protestant sentiments, Frederick did not follow out the plan of his colleagues, this was probably because he was, among other things, afraid of incurring the fate of his relative. In the meantime the influence of the Catholic restoration was making itself felt even at Cologne. Pius V., like the majority of the chapter of Cologne, wished Frederick to make the Tridentine profession of faith. As he would not hear of this, in 1567 he had to resign.[2] Therefore, when the see of Cologne was then filled by Count Salentin of Isenburg, the chapter of Cologne demanded of him in his election capitulation the sworn assurance that if the Pope asked him

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. pp. 105, 205, 325 of this work.

[2] RITTER, I., 290, 473. *Cf.* Vol. XVIII. p. 250 of this work.

to swear to the Tridentine profession of faith, he would not refuse.

Salentin of Isenburg was a man of Catholic sentiments, but as the last of his dynasty he looked upon the archbishopric of Cologne merely as a temporary office, and therefore evaded the receiving of sacred orders, and refused to pay the tax for confirmation or to make the Tridentine profession of faith. Pius V. refused him confirmation, and even thought of depriving him.[1] Thus, like many of his colleagues, Salentin remained archbishop-elect. After Gregory XIII. had become Pope, Salentin applied once more to Rome. He met with a kindly reception, and after he had made the Tridentine profession of faith, Gregory XIII., on December 9th, 1573, granted him the Papal approbation and at the same time condoned all the fees.[2] In view of these favourable circumstance it was taken for granted in Rome that Salentin would keep the promise he had made, of helping Prince Ernest of Bavaria to succeed him ;[3] for here as elsewhere the Curia saw in the elevation of Duke Ernest the best means of ensuring the safety of the diocese. Salentin, who in 1574 was successful in also obtaining his appointment as Bishop of Paderborn, looked before everything else to his own advantage, and took up a middle position between the strictly Catholic Duke of Bavaria and the Protestant Counts of the Wetterau, who, in spite of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, had attempted to introduce their sons into the chapter of Cologne. The Prince-Elector, who was highly gifted intellectually, and was a splendid administrator, devoted his attention almost entirely to civil affairs, while he always had in view his resignation and marriage. Consequently Protestants were able to obtain admission even to the chapter of Cologne. They were obliged, it is true, to conform exteriorly, if they did not wish to forfeit their benefices in virtue of the prescriptions of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*. The Protestant

[1] See SCHWARZ, Briefe, I., 143 *seq.*, 164 *seq.*

[2] See SCHWARZ, Gropper, xliii. *seq.*, 75 *seq.*

[3] See LOSSEN in the *Allgemeine Deutsche Biographie*, XXX., 217.

nobles, especially those of the Wetterau, aimed at the abolition of these prescriptions, and were urging "freedom of religion." The very natural anxiety with which all the representatives of the Catholic restoration, and above all the Pope, were watching Cologne, increased when, at the end of 1576, the immediate resignation of Salentin became certain. The nuncio, Bartolomeo Portia, who had been devoting his energies to southern Germany during the past three years, was given orders to go to the Rhenish metropolis to work in the interests of the Catholic restoration and for the election of Duke Ernest.[1]

Portia, who, according to Torquato Tasso, was the most prudent of all the nuncios, was not wanting in zeal for the candidate who was also favoured by Philip II., and who already possessed the dioceses of Hildesheim and Freising. But he found himself opposed by the united resistance of the chapter of Cologne, into whose hands Salentin had unreservedly placed his resignation in September, 1577.

The most bitter adversaries of the candidature of Bavaria were at first the three canons who were at heart Protestants, Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, Baron Johann von Winnenberg, the powerful Count Adolphus von Solms, and also the gifted Count Adolphus von Neuenahr and John of Nassau, the brother of William of Orange. These found strong allies in their colleagues of the chapter, who did not wish for the scion of a powerful princely house as archbishop, in whom, on account of their worldly conduct, there would be reason to fear they would find a pastor who was inclined to the Catholic restoration, who would put into force the laws of ecclesiastical reform.

Adolphus von Solms saw clearly that it was out of the question for the moment to put forward a Protestant candidate, and he therefore worked for the election of the thirty-year-old Gebhard Truchsess von Waldburg. On December 5th, 1577, the election took place, and in spite of all the efforts of the Pope's representative, Ernest of Bavaria was defeated; he received ten votes and his rival Gebhard twelve.[2]

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xliii., 8.

[2] *Cf. ibid.* xlv. *seq.*; RITTER, I., 566 *seq.*

Like Portia, the Secretary of State, Cardinal Galli, consoled himself for the failure of the candidature of Bavaria, because no one felt any doubts of the Catholic sentiments of Gebhard.[1] It was well known that, even if the bishop-elect was not free from all error, he had, as the nephew of the distinguished Otto of Augsburg, received a Catholic education, and it was hoped that he would prove amenable to good influences. Even though the former relations of Gebhard with the Protestant canons and the Counts of the Wetterau continued, his exterior behaviour was such as to satisfy ecclesiastical opinion. The bishop-elect was ordained priest in March, 1578, in April he made the Tridentine profession of faith, he showed favour to the Jesuits, and warned the council of Cologne in October to restrain the Calvinists, who were behaving more and more boldly in the city.[2]

As Bavaria attacked the validity of the election of Gebhard, his approbation by Rome was delayed.[3] In March, 1578, Gregory XIII. had referred the matter to a special commission of Cardinals, and later on the German Congregation and the Rota were consulted on the subject. All agreed that the objections raised by Bavaria were without foundation. Nevertheless, in July, 1579, the nuncio Castagna, who was in Cologne on account of the Diet for the pacification of the Low Countries, was ordered to hold an inquiry into the life and morals of Gebhard.

The testimony of the witnesses, as well as Castagna's own observation with regard to the integrity of his faith, were entirely favourable to Gebhard, while the reports as to his spiritual training and his capabilities were full of his praises.[4]

[1] *Cf.* Lossen, I., 611 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 204 *seq.*, 215.

[2] See Lossen, I., 618, II., 32 ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., xlviii. *seq.* Gebhard's attitude was bound to give the impression in Rome that he was a good Catholic ; see the *report of the Mantuan envoy of December 28, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[3] *Cf* Lossen, I., 613 *seq.*, 629 *seq.*

[4] *Cf Nuntiaturberichte*, I , xlvii , 249 *seq* , 258 *seq.*, 269 *seq.*, 274, 281 *seq.* and evidence drawn from the Cologne Municipal Archives, XX., 39 *seq.*

With regard to his moral conduct, Castagna was not content with the merely general testimony of the witnesses, but insisted upon exact details. Gebhard, he wrote from Cologne to Cardinal Galli on July 31st, 1579, is, it is true, much given to feasting, and sometimes to drink, but this, looked at in the light of the evil habits of the place, is rather a virtue than a vice, and serves to win him many good friends. Since, however, Bacchus is generally accompanied by Venus, the nuncio had made inquiries in this matter as well, which, however, had not so far resulted in anything but to show that Gebhard was either innocent in this respect, or at any rate had been able to avoid giving any scandal. The suspicion that the bishop-elect was not a sincere Catholic was definitely rejected by Castagna on the strength of the reports which many ecclesiastics, both secular and religious, had given him; Gebhard was proud of the reputation for being a good Catholic which had been won by his family, and especially by his uncle, Cardinal Otto of Augsburg. If the Elector made friends irrespective of their faith, this was due both to the custom of the country and especially in his own case to his opposition to the houses of Bavaria and Cleves.[1]

Gebhards' entirely Catholic attitude during the pacification conference at Cologne also served to enhance his good repute.[2]

Since all those who were questioned in Rome were also in agreement in this matter, there was no reason for postponing the confirmation of Gebhard's election, and Gregory XIII. granted this on March 29th, 1580.[3]

It is best to leave the question open whether the entirely Catholic exterior behaviour of the new Archbishop of Cologne, was accompanied by any interior change. If there were any such change, it was certainly of very short duration. Gebhard had scarcely found himself in safe possession of his office

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte* I., 278 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 245; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 288 *seq.*

[3] See LOSSEN, I., 621 *seq.*, 673; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 290. RITTER says (I., 568): "In Rome there was no inclination to call forth a far-reaching conflict by refusing the confirmation on the grounds of mere apprehensions."

owing to the Papal approbation when he gave himself up openly to a life of luxury and immorality. Pregnant with consequences were his amorous relations with the beautiful Countess Agnes von Mansfeld, a worldly Protestant lady with a benefice at Gerresheim near Düsseldorf.[1] His illicit relations with her had gone on for some time when, in the autumn of 1581, the countess' brothers wrung from the Elector with threats the promise to save the honour of their sister by marriage.[2] As Gebhard had received priest's orders he could not contract marriage except with a Papal dispensation, which he could only have obtained with the greatest difficulty; in any case he would have had to resign his bishopric. This was by no means in accordance with the wishes of his Protestant friends, prominent among whom were Count Adolphus von Neuenahr, Adolphus von Solms and John of Nassau. They wished to profit by the impure passion of Gebhard in order to extort "liberty" from him, namely the suppression of the *reservatum ecclesiasticum*, which prevented the intrusion of Protestants into dioceses that were still Catholic. So they suggested to Gebhard that the resignation of his diocese was by no means necessary, if he embraced the new religion, and that even before the religious peace of 1555 other bishops had become Protestants and had married, and yet had retained the government of their dioceses.

It was not without a long interior struggle that Gebhard resolved to break with the religion of his fathers, but at last in May 1582 his passion won the victory over the voice of conscience.[3] At first it was only a few friends, among them the Count von Solms, who were let into the secret of the intention of the Archbishop of Cologne to apostatize from the Church and secularize himself, but gradually the number who

[1] Agnes von Mansfeld was not a nun, as is often asserted even to-day, but merely the possessor of a benefice.

[2] See LOSSEN, II., 36.

[3] See *ibid.* 41 *seq.* The first thoughts of apostasy from the Church began to appear at the beginning of 1580; see BEZOLD, Briefe, II., n. 1, note 5. *Cf.* KLEINSORGEN, Tagebuch von G. Truchsess, Münster, 1780, 128.

knew of it increased. On August 6th, 1582, Gebhard, who had left the Rhineland, which was but ill-disposed to his plans, and gone to Westphalia, sent from Arensberg a long memorial and a letter to the Protestant Duke Henry of Saxony-Lauenburg, the married Archbishop of Bremen and Bishop of Osnabrück and Paderborn.

In these autograph documents he states how reading and reflection had led him to realize the errors of the Papacy, in which he had been born and educated, and how his "conscience" urged him to unite himself in marriage to a lady of noble family. His intention of renouncing in that case the archbishopric of Cologne had met with resistance from his friends and relations, who had pointed out that God permitted marriage even to ecclesiastics, and that his resignation would inflict great injury upon the adherents of the true religion in the Empire. But he could only carry out this plan "which was so pleasing to God" if he knew what help he could count upon.[1]

Gebhard then tried to win over to his cause the young Protestant nobles of Westphalia, with whom he gave himself up to dissolute feasting. Exteriorly he still behaved as a sincere Catholic; he assisted regularly at mass, began the negotiations for the foundation of a Jesuit school at Werl, and solemnly asserted in the presence of Catholics that it was a calumny of his enemies to say that he intended to change his religion and marry; he would rather give his life than separate himself from the Catholic Church.[2]

There were, however, too many people in the secret of Gebhard's plans for them to remain hidden. The Pope received the first news of the suspicious behaviour of the Archbishop of Cologne from Innsbruck, in a letter from Cardinal Madruzzo, who had gone to the Diet of Augsburg. But everyone was once more deceived by the fact that the

[1] See v. Bezold, Briefe des Pfalzgrafen Johann Casimir I., 511 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* M. ab Isselt, De bello Coloniensi, Coloniae, 1584; Kleinsorgen, *loc. cit.* 292.

councillors sent by Gebhard to the Diet behaved absolutely as good Catholics.

Nevertheless the rumours that Gebhard intended to marry, and that in spite of this he intended to retain his archdiocese, could not be kept quiet. They seemed to find confirmation in the news which the agent of Bavaria, Johann Barvitius, sent from Cologne, that, obviously with the concurrence of Gebhard, Count Neuenahr had had Protestant worship publicly celebrated outside the city of Mechtern on July 8th.[1]

To the noble and upright character of Gregory XIII. it was very difficult to place any belief in the first reports of the infidelity of Gebhard, all the more so as there were not wanting reports on the other side, which stated that the envious adversaries of the archbishop had already on previous occasions thrown suspicion upon his good faith without any grounds. In order to clear up the matter, Madruzzo was ordered to find out how much truth there was in the rumours by sending trusted envoys to Cologne.[2] The necessary steps could be taken after the return of the legate. The disputes of Madruzzo with the government at Innsbruck delayed his return to Rome until November 29th, 1582, but by that time such definite news had been received that it was no longer possible to doubt Gebhard's intention of apostatizing from the Church.[3]

It was clearly understood in Rome, as well as by Catholics in general, what great interests were at stake in Cologne. The common opinion was that the preservation or destruction of the Catholic religion depended upon the issue, as well as the existence of the Roman-German Empire, which was so closely bound up with it.[4] In proportion to the gravity of the danger did Rome act resolutely, surely and promptly.

[1] Memorandum of June 6, 1582; see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., li.; LOSSEN, II., 44 *seq.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lii.

[3] See LOSSEN, II., 75.

[4] *Cf.* the characteristic remarks of M. Minucci and Cesare dell' Arena in their letters to Cardinal Galli, *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 375, 489, 495.

This was of all the greater importance in that the invalid Emperor Rudolph, out of fear of serious complications, as the Archduke Ferdinand wrote, at first "was inclined to turn a blind eye, and not bell the cat."[1] After the arrival of Madruzzo at the beginning of December a number of steps were immediately taken by the Roman Curia to meet the danger.

The comprehensive nature of these steps may be seen from the fact that no less than five Papal envoys were engaged upon them, and not only the Emperor and the Catholic princes of Germany, but also the King of Spain, were asked to help. In order to leave no means untried, Gregory XIII. addressed to Gebhard on December 17th, a last warning, gentle and paternal in tone, reminding him of his previous solemn oaths, the Catholic sentiments of his predecessors and ancestors, especially of Cardinal Otto of Augsburg, and recalling to his mind the kindness with which the Pope had removed the obstacles to his confirmation. At the same time, the Archbishop of Trêves and Mayence, the chapter and council of Cologne, the Archduke Ferdinand and the Bishop of Strasbourg, were asked to use their influence with Gebhard.[2]

The duty of conveying these letters and explaining them was, by the advice of the German Congregation, entrusted to the secretary of Cardinal Madruzzo, Minutio Minucci, a young Venetian, who was accounted one of those best acquainted with the state of affairs in Germany. Among the duties laid upon Minucci was that of obtaining reliable information on the spot as to the state of affairs, and in the event of Gebhard's refusing to abandon his project, of informing Francesco Bonhomini, the nuncio at the Imperial court, of the fact, so that, under the protection of an Imperial commissary, he might go to Cologne to conduct the process against the rebel archbishop. Minucci was moreover to urge the cathedral chapter of Cologne to take energetic action and

[1] *Cf.* UNKEL in the *Historisches Jahrbuch*, XII., 513 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, III., 320 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 333, note 1.

to promise it the strong support of the Pope.[1] Briefs had been sent to Bonhomini on December 14th giving him the necessary faculties to take action against Gebhard. A week later the nuncio received a whole number of Papal letters concerning the question of Cologne which were to be sent to the Emperor, the Electors of Trêves and Mayence, and the Dukes of Bavaria and Cleves.[2] At the same time pressing exhortations were sent to the nuncio Taverna at Madrid to bring his influence to bear on Philip to spur on the Emperor on the one hand to resist the action of Gebhard, and on the other to authorize his governor on the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese, to intervene, even, if necessary, by force of arms.[3]

While, even before the mission of Minucci, the possibility of the removal of the Archbishop of Cologne, who was so forgetful of his duty, had been taken into consideration in Rome, at the same time, attention was directed to the choice of the person who could succeed him. It was only possible to think of a man who would be able, by reason of his connexions, to offer a strong resistance and bring powerful forces to bear, if he was to have any chance of fighting successfully against Gebhard. It seemed that such conditions were fulfilled in the fullest measure in the person of Ernest of Bavaria, whose brother William had in the meantime succeded to the duchy. Ernest was, moreover, the friend

[1] See *ibid.* liii., 332 *seq.* As late as December 17, 1582, Gregory XIII. had written to the Bishop of Strasburg: *"Disseminata iam diu sunt sermones pessimi de archiepiscopo Coloniensi, non possumus diutius tacere aut dissimulare . . . ; rogamus quantum possumus, ut de archiepiscopo ipsius vita et consiliis, quantum quidem extrinsecus apparere potest nos certiores facere velis." (Departmental Archives, Strasburg G. 172). At the beginning of the brief the bishop is praised for his attitude at the Diet of Augsburg which had been reported by Madruzzo. On January 12, 1583,* the Pope commended the two Papal Legates to the Bishop of Strasbourg and urged him to energetic action against Gebhard. *Ibid.*

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 337 *seq.*, 341. *Cf.* THEINER, III., 323. ARETIN, Maximilian I., 257.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 334 *seq.*, 341 *seq.*

of the King of Spain and the Duke of Jülich, and as the possessor of the dioceses of Hildesheim and Liège, and of the Imperial abbeys of Stavelot and Malmedy, held a secure position in Lower Germany. It was, however, an embarrassing fact that the concession of another diocese was contrary to the reform decrees of Trent, even more so as Ernest was one of those ecclesiastics who were sons of princes, and who in a certain sense enjoyed the good things of this world in a way that was not suitable for ecclesiastics. But the emergency made it necessary to pass over such considerations. It also weighed a good deal in the balance that Ernest, as a member of the cathedral chapter of Cologne, was eligible, and had in 1577 received almost half the votes.[1]

But in the meantime a fresh candidature was put forward, as the Archduke Ferdinand had suggested that his son, Cardinal Andrew of Austria, should be sent as legate to Cologne, with the further purpose of getting him appointed to that see. It was at once realized in Rome that by consenting to Ferdinand's plans they would gravely offend Bavaria, and, moreover, serve no purpose, as the chapter of Cologne would certainly not accept the son of a mother who was a commoner, as had been Philippine Welser. Andrew, moreover, was too insignificant a personality. But on the other hand they did not wish to forfeit the help of the archduke, nor that of the Emperor. Gregory XIII. therefore fell in with the wishes of Ferdinand to the extent of appointing, at the consistory of December 31st, 1582, Cardinal Andrew together with Cardinal Madruzzo as legates to Cologne, with the duty of opening the process against Gebhard Truchsess, of pronouncing his supension, and preparing the way for a new election.[2] The designs of Bavaria were cleverly countered

[1] See *ibid.* liii.-liv.; RITTER, I., 596 *seq.*

[2] See HIRN, II., 179 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lvi. *seq.*, 348; LOSSEN, II., 154 *seq.* According to LOSSEN (*loc. cit.*) the co-operation of Madruzzo was intended merely as a means of obviating suspicion of a too great desire to fall in with the wishes of Ferdinand. It was never seriously intended to send Madruzzo; and, in fact, he remained in Rome.

by this mission, while the Cardinal was given as colleagues and advisers the two experienced nuncios from the Imperial court and that of Graz, Francesco Bonhomini and Germanico Malaspina, as well as the auditor of the Rota, Francesco Orano, for the actual management of the process. The latter left Rome for Innsbruck on January 5th, 1583, with the bull of appointment and the instructions for Cardinal Andrew, and thence, in accordance with the wishes of the Curia, he went to Freising to overcome the fears of Duke Ernest of a fresh defeat, and to urge him to hasten his journey to the Rhine, which he was hesitating to make, by telling him of the Pope's wishes.[1]

In the meantime at Cologne, which Minucci had reached on January 20th, 1583, as the first of the Pope's envoys, the catastrophe had already occurred. At Christmas, Gebhard Truchsess had made a singular present to his Catholic subjects by announcing that the almighty and merciful God had set him free from the shadows of the Papacy, and brought him to the knowledge of His holy word, that he thought he could remain in his vocation and his office with a clear conscience, and that he intended to give freedom to the exercise of the new religion. On January 16th, however, a public declaration in reply came from the city of Bonn, which belonged to the diocese of which Gebhard had obtained possession with the help of John Nassau. It would appear that Gebhard did not altogether realize the dangers of his undertaking, for his energies were principally directed to holding festive banquets which generally ended in grave drunkenness. The climax of this mad behaviour, and at the same time the final proof of Gebhard's transition to Protestantism was afforded by his marriage to Agnes von Mansfeld, which took place on February 2nd. The wiser among the Protestant friends of the infatuated archbishop were frightened at his inconsiderate behaviour.

The Catholics took up the challenge with all the greater confidence.[2] The central point of the resistance to the

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 352 *seq.*, 358; LOSSEN, II., 161 *seq.* *Cf.* also UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 517.

[2] See RITTER, I., 590, 596; LOSSEN, II., 165 *seq.*; JANSSEN-PASTOR, V. 15-16, 33 *seq.*

changes made by Gebhard was the city of Cologne, where Minucci was safeguarding Catholic interests with great prudence. Besides the city, the chapter of Cologne, with the exception of a few canons, united with courage and resolution in favour of the old faith, above all the auxiliary bishop, Duke Frederick of Saxony-Lauenburg, the brother of Henry of Bremen, whom Gebhard had converted from being a half-Protestant and his devoted friend, into a determined Catholic and his bitter enemy, by first leading him to expect his resignation of the archdiocese, and then completely disillusioning him. At the Diet which was assembled at Cologne by the chapter, the States, the counts, the barons and the Rhenish city declared themselves against Gebhard,[1] while the latter proved himself more and more an incapable and weak person. The Spanish troops had hardly made their appearance near Aix, when he felt that he would be no safer at Bonn, and immediately after his marriage he retired to the territory of the archdiocese in Westphalia, where, as an illustration of what he meant by religious liberty, he began a violent persecution of the Catholics, and a savage outburst of iconoclasm.[2]

It is characteristic of Gregory XIII. that, as a strict jurist and a cautious politician, in spite of the provocative behaviour of Gebhard, he did not wish to take any precipitate action. The zealous nuncio Bonhomini, at the news of the public apostasy of the Archbishop of Cologne, had as early as January 15th, 1583, suggested to Cardinal Galli from Vienna that the introduction of a formal process was no longer necessary, as the Pope could, without further ado, pronounce the deposition of a notorious heretic. This view was also shared by the members of the German Congregation and by the six

[1] See Lossen, II., 91 *seq.*, 104 *seq.*

[2] Fuller particulars in Janssen-Pastor, V. [15-16], 35 *seq.* In a *letter to the Cardinals dated February 22, 1583, the Prince of Waldburg deplored the apostasy of his brother and gave assurances of his own fidelity to the faith. Vatic. 6416, p. 93, Vatican Library.

Cardinals charged to deal with the question.[3] In spite of this Gregory XIII., as a prudent jurist, felt scruples, nor did he wish to offend Cardinal Andrew by thus depriving him of his office. As, however, owing to the plots of the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the journey of the Cardinal legate to Cologne was hindered, delay seemed dangerous. On receiving news of this Gregory acted promptly and resolutely. Late in the evening of March 21st, 1583, he summoned a secret consistory for the following day, at which he pronounced the deposition of Gebhard.[2]

The bull of deposition, signed by the Pope and all the Cardinals, dated April 1st, 1583 (new calendar), began with the fact that Gebhard Truchsess, ignoring all the warnings of the Pope, had associated himself with heretics, so as to be able to retain the archdiocese of Cologne, in spite of his marriage. It then goes on to mention the fact that the marriage had been publicly celebrated before an heretical minister, the occupation by violence of the city of Bonn and of other places in the diocese in opposition to the chapter, and the outrages that had resulted. Since these facts were notorious, the Pope had once more had laid before him the information which he had charged the Cardinal legate Andrew to obtain, and accordingly the aforementioned Gebhard Truchsess, although he had by his own action forfeited all his rights, is now declared to be deprived of all his dignities, benefices and offices, with the advice and consent of the Cardinals, and with the certain knowledge and full authority which supplies for any defect of law, as a public heretic and perjurer, a rebel and excommunicate, and a corrupt member cut off from the body of the Catholic Church. The cathedral

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 387, 435 *seq.*, 441 *seq.*

[2] See the Acta consist. *ibid.* 473. *Cf.* UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 520 *seq.* Special prayers for Germany had already been ordered. Alaleone *reports on February 11, 1583: "Pontifex descendit pedester ad s. Petrum orationis causa propter iubilaeum plenarium ad extirpandam haeresim, augendam fidem catholicam in Germania et unionem principum." Diarium, p. 10 (b), Cod. Barb., Vatican Library.

chapter is then requested to nominate a new bishop as soon as possible.[1]

Together with this bull were sent the first money subsidies from the Pope to Cologne,[2] where Malaspina had been since March 28th, and Bonhomini since April 20th. Among the faculties sent to Bonhomini on April 4th was an authority in the case of extreme necessity, and after a period of three months, to nominate a new archbishop himself even without the chapter.[3] The use of this measure, provided for by the canon law, was not, however, necessary. Under the direction of Bonhomini, who from the first was the man really trusted by the Curia, the Pope's representatives made preparations for the new election; they specially made it their object to exclude the Protestant canons from that act, and their efforts at length met with the desired result. They were also successful in removing the other difficulties. After Ernest had got rid of his competitors by money payments, on June 2nd (May 23rd), his nomination as Archbishop of Cologne took place by a unanimous vote.[4] So as to cut at the root of the evil, Bonhomini, who in this matter as well acted as the courageous pioneer of the Catholic restoration, stood firm in his intention of excluding the Protestant canons from the cathedral chapter, and issued a decree that none could be admitted to the chapter who had not made the Tridentine profession of faith. At the same time the nuncio occupied himself with the moral reform of the clergy of Cologne.[5]

[1] The Bull is printed inaccurately in Isselt, 227 *seq.*; a more reliable version in Leonharti Waramundi Turingi admonitio in anathematismum, quo Gregorius XIII. Gebh. Truchsessium damnavit, Lugd. Bat., 1583. *Cf.* Lossen, II., 235, 251 *seq.*; Bezold, II., n. 171.

[2] See *ibid.* n. 126.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 482.

[4] See Unkel in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 525 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xxxc.; Lossen, II., 258-298.

[5] *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 578, 584, 596, 599, 617; Theiner, III., 398; Unkel in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 531 *seq.*; Ehses-Meister, Nuntiaturberichte, I., xxxvi.; Lossen, II., 315 *seq.*, 320 *seq.*

The great triumph won at Cologne, which also served as an example and warning to the other bishops[1] whose faith was in the balance, could not, however, be said to be complete, in that Ernest for his part was not above reproach. Having become a priest against his will, as was the case with most of the secular princes of his time, his conduct was by no means moral. The Jesuits rightly lamented the tragic fate of the Church of Germany, in that under such dangerous circumstances it had not been possible to find a worthy head for holy Cologne.[2] But in any case Ernest gave the certainty that when Gebhard appealed to arms, the war of Cologne could only end in one way, and that Duke William V. of Bavaria would throw the whole weight of his influence into his brother's cause.

In acting as he had done Gebhard had placed his chief hopes in foreign help, but he was soon disillusioned; the insurgents of Holland could give him no help, as the Spaniards had the upper hand there at the moment, France was held back from intervention by her internal dissensions, while even among his new co-religionists in Germany the decided and harmonious unity which he had looked for was wanting. Decisive in this respect was the attitude of the Elector Augustus of Saxony, to whom the thought of the Empire, and the maintenance of the religious peace of Augsburg, which only allowed the apostasy of an ecclesiastical prince at the cost of the loss of his dignities and rights, seemed of greater importance than the further advance of Protestantism. Moreover, Augustus feared lest Gebhard should join the Calvinists.[3] Thus it was only the house of the Palatinate, and especially the Count Palatine, John Casimir, the Counts

[1] At that time, in Rome itself, suspicions were entertained of the Archbishop of Mayence, Wolfgang von Dalberg, see *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 516, 520, 626 *seq.* For Wolfgang *cf.* A. L. Beit, Kirche und Kirchenwesen in Mainz, 25 *seq.*

[2] See Janssen-Pastor, V. [15-16], 38.

[3] See Riezler, IV., 643. *Cf.* Janssen-Pastor, *loc. cit.*, 41 *seq.*

of the Wetterau, and a few cities that joined Gebhard, and this support was all the more insufficient, as the Pope energetically brought the whole weight of his authority, and all his shrewd political ability to bear in winning over the Emperor, and cleverly uniting the policy of the house of Bavaria with Catholic interests.[1]

The bloody struggle for the archdiocese of Cologne which Gebhard had begun dragged on at first for several months without definite result, as both the friends of the apostate archbishop and his Catholic adversaries lacked what was all important, sufficient money. But even in this respect the superiority of the Catholics soon showed itself. Of the ecclesiastical princes of Germany only the excellent Bishop Julius of Würzburg gave a large subsidy,[2] but all the more

[1] *Cf.* HANSEN (Nuntiaturberichte, I., lxiv.) who, as the best authority on the subject, says: "Available documents have proved, without any possibility of doubt, that the success of the Catholic restoration in Cologne must be ascribed, in the first place, to the initiative of the Papal government and not, as was previously supposed, to Duke William of Bavaria, brother of the new archbishop. From the very beginning, the Curia tackled the disorders at Cologne with great decision and firmness, and allowed no obstacles to deflect it from its chosen course of action. To this skilful leadership must be attributed the success against an undertaking which, though formidable in itself, was nevertheless, set on foot by an incompetent personality and was badly prepared and worse supported. From the moment when Gebhard's apostacy became an accomplished fact, the Papal government refused to have any further dealings with him; and the same determination was shown in the extreme measures adopted towards the Cathedral Chapter when Bonhomini was given full power to appoint an archbishop should the election fail to produce a suitable person. It was the Curia that induced Duke Ernest, against his will, to go to Cologne and press his candidature; and the Curia it was that persuaded him to remain there despite the fact that, despairing of success, he frequently desired to leave. Again it was the Curia that knew so well how to bend to its will the weak and vacillating Imperial policy."

[2] *Cf.* LOSSEN, II., 511 *seq.*

generous were the Pope and the Duke of Bavaria, who took upon their own shoulders the principal burden of the war.

Gregory XIII. did not content himself with supporting the cause of Ernest everywhere with briefs of recommendation, but in spite of his own financial straits gave as much money as he could. As early as March 1583 he sent to Vienna to the Emperor, who wished at first to take the part of Gebhard, a gift of 100,000 florins, which at once had its effect.[1] To Duke William of Bavaria the Papal Camera had sent by the autumn, through the bank of the Welser, 90,000 florins. Other sums followed.[2] No less important was the fact that Gregory XIII., ignoring the fact that Rudolph II. was not pleased with the introduction of foreign troops into the territory of the Empire, showed great activity in Madrid to induce the King of Spain to send prompt and effective assistance to the army of Bavaria by means of his governor in the Low Countries, Alessandro Farnese. The Pope pointed out that not only the Catholic religion, but also the House of Austria was gravely threatened.[3] As Spain only corresponded insufficiently to this request, in September Filippo Sega, Bishop of Piacenza, was sent to Madrid on a special mission. Sega, however, was not able to obtain any financial assistance from Philip, although he was able to cause definite orders to be sent to Alessandro Farnese to support the Archbishop of Cologne in every way.[4] William V. of Bavaria displayed great zeal, and in spite of his own debts expended large sums. By the end of November, these sums amounted to 200,000 florins.[5] It was due above all to the troops raised by him,

[1] See *ibid.* 311, 384.

[2] See THEINER, III., 402, 489 *seq.*, 496, 499; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., lxv., 697; RITTER, I., 608; LOSSEN, II., 456. *Cf.* the *report of the Mantuan envoy of September 24, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 657 *seq.*, 674, 681, 685 *seq.*; TÖRNE, 201.

[4] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 697, 702 *seq.*, 711, 713.

[5] See RIEZLER, IV., 642.

and commanded by Duke Ferdinand of Bavaria, that Ernest remained Archbishop of Cologne, and that Gebhard had to take refuge in the Low Countries.[1]

[1] For the details the reader is referred to the magnificent and exhaustive description in the second volume of Lossen's work, Der Kölnische Krieg, where copious use is made of published and unpublished material. In his preface, the author boasts of his impartiality, and although this self-praise may be more or less well-deserved on the whole, there are certain passages which show quite clearly that he belonged to the party of the so-called Old Catholics. Lossen cannot mention the Jesuits without a taunt, and (on page 315) Bonhomini is taken to task for being a zealot because he declared certain notoriously heretical canons to have forfeited their benefices. It is a complete travesty of the truth to suggest, as Lossen does (p. 686), that the Catholics, the Pope and the Duke of Bavaria were responsible for the outbreak of the religious war which caused so much suffering to the population of the Rhine land and Westphalia. These were not the guilty parties, for they merely resisted strenuously when unjust attacks were made on their rights and their religion. The real culprit was Gebhard who, in defiance to all the laws of the land, desired to keep a wife and an archbishopric at the same time. Impartial Protestants such as, for example, B. K. Hagen (Deutsche Geschichte, IV., 410), do not hesitate to speak of the "rather unsavoury" motives which induced Gebhard to embrace Protestantism, to break his vows and to attempt the overthrow of the civil constitution. This national side to the question is completely ignored by Lossen. When Gebhard spoke, not only of resisting the "tyranny" of the Pope, but also of "preserving German liberty" (*Letter to Frankfurt a/M of July 2, 1583, Municipal Archives, Frankfurt a/M.), he understood, by that, the introduction of complete independence for each separate State. In his review of Lossen's book, Stieve rightly emphasises the fact that it was thanks to the victory of the Catholic party that "the territorial politics of the German States, which for centuries had tended towards the destruction of the Empire, did not, at that time, split the Empire into a series of independent states; but that the valuable bond of national unity was maintained." (*Allgemeine Zeitung*, 1898, Supplement No. 43).

With the victory won by Gregory XIII. in union with the Duke of Bavaria, the greatest danger which had threatened Catholicism since 1555 was overcome. A victory on the part of Gebhard, on the other hand, with all its incalculable consequences, would have resulted not only in the triumph and absolute mastery of Protestantism in Germany, but would also have brought about a very difficult state of affairs for the Church in the neighbouring Low Countries and France. Like the north of Europe the whole of the west of Europe would also have gradually passed over to Protestantism. With profound shrewdness Henry of Navarre realized this when, fortunately for the Catholic cause, he vainly pointed out to the Lutheran princes of Germany that they must put an end to their divisions and their isolation from their co-religionists in other countries, and unite in a general Protestant alliance against the Papacy and the House of Hapsburg, in which case the triumph of Protestantism would have been assured. The case of Gebhard was "more important than anything else that had happened in Christendom for centuries"; "nothing else" he told John Casimir, "is of greater importance for the destruction of the Papacy."[1] To Queen Elizabeth of England, too, Navarre recommended in March, 1585,[2] "the holy cause of Gebhard, which was of so great importance to the whole of Christendom," but without result, as the Queen of England, as a believer in practical politics, was only guided by the interests of her own kingdom. When he implored her to help him, Gebhard, "abandoned by all," had to put up with hearing from the lips of the "virgin queen" that by his marriage "he had made it clear that he was not guided by the spirit of faith, but rather by his carnal desires of earthly enjoyments."[3]

It is easy to understand that the joy of the Catholic party was great at the victorious result of the historically important

[1] See JANSSEN-PASTOR, V.[15-16], 45 *seq.* for the particular documents.

[2] See BERGER DE XIVREY, II., 18.

[3] See BERTHOLD in *Raumers Historisches Taschenbuch*, N. F. I., Leipzig, 1840, 70 *seq.*

struggle for the archbishopric of Cologne,[1] which was to a certain extent the decisive struggle between Catholicism and Protestantism in Germany.[2] But they did not fail to realize how much still remained to be done to give internal effect to the victory they had won. If the Catholic restoration was to endure in the archdiocese of Cologne, Catholic reform must be enforced there. Not only was an improvement in the religious conditions of the vast diocese absolutely necessary, but no less necessary was the supervision and guidance of the new archbishop, whose election had not been brought about by merit, but by his power to defend by force the maintenance of religion in the archdiocese.[3] It was realized too that it would only be by obtaining better information than had been the case hitherto, that a similar danger could promptly be avoided in the future. Events in the Low Countries too had made it clear that it was very desirable to have a permanent representative of the Holy See in Lower Germany. The logical result of these considerations was the necessity of establishing a special and permanent nunciature at Cologne.

The great Archbishop of Trêves, Johann von Schönenberg, had given the first impulse to this at the beginning of 1583 in a conversation with Minucci, and he had pointed

[1] According to LOSSEN (II., 646 *seq.*). The importance of the conflict is reflected in the popular literature of the time; *cf.* SOLTAN, Hist. Volkslieder, Leipzig, 1836, 437 *seq.*; SUGENHEIM, Jesuiten, I., 68; *Zeitschrift des bergischen Geschichtsvereins*, XII., 75 *seq.*; *Picks Monatsschrift*, I., 365 *seq.* See also the German *satirical poem with the superscription: "Honores mutant mores, sed raro in meliores," in fasc. 9953 of the Municipal Archives, Frankfurt a/M. A Latin lampoon beginning: "O Truchsess trux es, dux es, mala lux, mala nux es," in the Lucerne Archives.

[2] "Possession of the Rhine countries turned the scale in the war between Protestants and Catholics in Germany," says PLATZHOFF, Die Stellung der Rheinlande in der deutschen Geschichte, Bonn, 1921, 9.

[3] See UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 721 *seq.*

to Bonhomini[1] as the man best suited to the purpose ; Minucci welcomed the suggestion and supported it with great zeal. Malaspina wrote a special memorial in favour of a new diplomatic representation of the Holy See on the Lower Rhine, and proposed Minucci for the purpose, Bonhomini also pronouncing in his favour. The latter advised that Minucci should be left for the present at Cologne, even though at first he was not given the title of nuncio. Later on he withdrew the objections he felt to giving him that title. On June 23rd, 1583, he asked Charles Borromeo for his support of a new nunciature on the Lower Rhine, saying that he was convinced that all the other nuncios together who were at that time working on behalf of the Holy See could not effect so much good as one at Cologne alone. Bonhomini, however, was no longer thinking of Minucci for the purpose at that time, but of Francesco Bossi, the friend of Borromeo, and Bishop of Novara.[2]

With its customary unwillingness to act hastily, the Holy See adopted at first a waiting attitude towards these suggestions, and it was only after repeated requests from Bonhomini that a decision was arrived at ; on December 21st, 1583, Cardinal Galli, the Secretary of State, wrote to him that the decision to send a nuncio to Cologne had been come to, and that the appointment would be made before Easter, 1584.[3]

Nevertheless there was still a delay in carrying the decision into effect, because of the difficulty found in the choice of the man to be appointed. Objections and difficulties were raised against all the candidates hitherto suggested, among whom was Feliciano Ninguarda.[4] In the end, in October, 1584, contrary to all expectations and to his own wishes,

[1] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 362 ; UNKEL in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, XII., 723.

[2] See *ibid.* 725. Malaspina's memorandum in THEINER, III., 404 *seq.*

[3] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 732.

[4] *Cf.* UNKEL, *loc. cit.* 729 *seq.* ; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 733 *seq.* ; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xxxix.

Bonhomini was appointed nuncio at Cologne. Malaspina, the nuncio at Graz, who was to succeed him in Prague, received orders to convey to him his instructions, which were dated October 27th. His credentials had already been sent on October 20th. A brief of January 19th, 1585, determined the faculties of Bonhomini as well as the limits of his nunciature, which was to include the ecclesiastical provinces of Cologne, Mayence and Trêves, the dioceses of Basle, Strasbourg, Osnabrück, Paderborn and Liège, the territory of the Duke of Jülich-Cleves, and Spanish Flanders.[1]

When Bonhomini realized that the Pope had made up his mind, he withdrew his objections. He paid another visit to his beloved diocese of Vercelli, and set out for Germany from thence. On March 26th, 1585, he reached Trêves, where he at once began upon the labours of his new office, which Cardinal Galli declared to be the most honourable and important that had been conferred for many years.[2] The choice of the Pope can only be described as excellent, for Bonhomini was in every way the very man to cope with the many and great exigencies which the new office laid upon the man who held it, both as a truly pastoral and episcopal work, and with regard to the reorganization of affairs in the Netherlands.

The establishment of the nunciature at Cologne was one

[1] See HARTZHEIM, Concilia, VIII., 498 *seq.*; UNKEL, *loc. cit.* 731, 733, 736; THEINER, III., 500; *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 735; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xliv. *seq.*, 4.

[2] See *Nuntiaturberichte*, I., 734; EHSES-MEISTER, I., xl. Bonhomini arrived in Cologne on April 9, the day before Gregory XIII.'s death. The motives for the establishment of the Cologne nunciature were later rewritten in the instruction for the nuncio Montorio of July 31, 1621, where it is stated that the occupant of the post is, above all, to watch "sopra le piu illustri e gran chiese della Germania e principalmente sopra li tre Elettorati accioche non s'introduchino ne capitoli cattolici heretici, non s'eleggano prelati non cattolici e non zelanti" see LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 129. *Cf.* PACCA, Mem. storiche sul di lui soggiorno in Germania, 235 *seq.*

of the last and one of the most important measures of Gregory XIII. A short time before Bonhomini reached Cologne that pontificate which had witnessed the beginning of a new era for the Church in Germany came to an end. During the pontificate of Gregory great things had been accomplished in the north; the dioceses of Hildesheim, Cologne and, for the most part, of Münster, had been saved to Catholicism; at Fulda, Würzburg and Eichsfeld the ecclesiastical revival had made great progress, and the Catholic restoration was in preparation in Austria as well as Bavaria. It had been in a special way due to the Pope that things had developed as they had.[1] It was due to the nuncios whom he sent that the Church of Germany was inspired with new life; the colleges which Gregory had founded shared the merit of having laid the foundations upon which the new religious life could be built up. In Rome men of great influence had long resisted the conviction that it was no longer by the disciplinary measures of the middle ages that the new doctrines in the countries which had apostatized could be destroyed, but that salvation could only come from the instruction given by a clergy trained for the purpose from the beginning. In the time of Gregory XIII. the great protector and founder of the colleges, these ideas had won the day.

The Catholic reformation of the XVIth century must be specially connected with three great names; it was Ignatius of Loyola who traced the fundamental ideas, and drew out the plan for the revival of the Church; in connexion with him, and on the basis of the Council of Trent, Charles Borromeo became the legislator of the new ecclesiastical discipline, and in union with Borromeo, Pius V. reformed Rome and the

[1] A *brief of March 15, 1582, which calls upon Bishop Johann of Strasbourg to work harmoniously with Cardinal Madruzzo at the Diet, rightly says: "Perspectum esse fraternitati tuae facile arbitramur nostrum perpetuum studium rerum Germanicarum. Nihil est, quod tantopere cupiamus quam nobilissimam illam provinciam omni munere coelesti cumulatissimam esse, idque assidue Deum precamur." (Departmental Archives, Strasbourg, G. 172).

Papal court. Gregory XIII. was able to gather in the harvest which these illustrious predecessors had sowed. Ignatius had provided hundreds of unassuming teachers who, with the sweat of their brow, laboured for the young on the benches of the schools, Borromeo and Pius had trained prelates who could be employed as nuncios. Under Gregory XIII. the right way for the Church of Germany had been taken; to what this way might have led, if external circumstances, and especially the desire for conquest on the part of the neighbouring states, had not changed vast territories of Germany into a shapeless mass of ruins, can hardly be imagined. Once again it had been proved what a treasure the Church possesses in the calumniated Papacy, the living and vigorous source from which she is for ever drawing new strength.

CHAPTER IX.

The Catholic Revival in Poland.

After France, even in the time of Francis I., had entered into close relations with Turkey, the peace which first Venice, and then Spain had, to the great grief of Gregory XIII., concluded with the hereditary enemy of Christendom, implied the abandonment by the Latin nations of their ancient and historical mission in the east. It was therefore natural that henceforward the attention and the hopes of the Pope should have been turned to that state in the east of Europe which, especially on account of the increasing weakness of Germany,[1] seemed both on account of its position and its own interests, to be destined to oppose a barrier by land to the advance of the Turks. This was the great kingdom of Poland, which hitherto, by reason of its internal dissensions, had been unable to make use of its power outside its own borders, and had adopted a policy of neutrality towards Turkey. A change of policy seemed possible when the throne fell vacant at the death of Sigismund Augustus, the last of the Jagellons, which took place on July 7th, 1572.

The election of the King of Poland thus became a matter of great importance, not only for the war against Turkey, but also for the progress of the Catholic restoration in Poland, and in the eastern countries of Europe. Gregory XIII., to whom Cardinal Hosius described the state of affairs in Poland, recognized this so clearly that he ordered public prayers for the happy issue of the election.[2]

Many candidates, including Protestants, offered themselves

[1] In the November of 1574, Maximilian II. prolonged his peace with the Porte ; see Hammer, III., 609 *seq.*

[2] See Hosii Op. II., 332 ; Eichhorn, II., 427.

for the vacant throne. At first Sigismund Wasa, the son of John III., King of Sweden and Catherine Jagellon, Duke Frederick Albert of Prussia, the Czar Ivan IV., the Archduke Ernest of Austria, came forward, and then Duke Henry of Anjou, the Voivode of Transylvania, Stephen Báthory, Anna, the sister of Sigismund Augustus, and lastly the King of Sweden himself.[1] Of the above named the Archduke Ernest of Austria seemed to the Pope the most desirable, both for the war against the Turks and for the protection of Catholic interests. The Cardinal legate, Commendone, even before the death of Sigismund Augustus, had received express orders to work for the candidature of the Hapsburg prince.[2] After the death of the king the Polish bishops were urged in a special brief to use their influence in union and agreement with the legate for the election of a good Catholic ruler.

Cardinal Commendone was not wanting in zeal. He strove at first, with great labour and skill, to unite the Catholics of Poland, and to prevent a union of the Protestants. He was successful in averting the danger of the election of a Protestant king, but his efforts on behalf of Duke Ernest met with no success, on account of the extravagant policy of the irresolute and badly advised Emperor.[3]

The Porte worked against the candidature of Austria, but much more against that of Russia, seeing in the Czar an adversary who might become very dangerous. In the impossibility of elevating a trusted partisan to the throne

[1] See BIAUDET, Le St.-Siège, I., 204 *seq.*

[2] P. DE CENIVAL, 118 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* GRATIANUS, Vita Commendoni, IV., 2; PILINSKI, Das polnische Interregnum von 1572-73 und die polnische Königswahl Heinrichs von Valois, Heidelberg, 1861; REIMANN in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 69 *seq.*; DE NOAILLES, Henri de Valois et la Pologne en 1572, 3 vols, Paris, 1867, 2nd edition, 1878, SCHIEMANN, Russland, Polen und Livland, II., 344 *seq.*; BIAUDET, Le St.-Siège, I., 212 *seq.*, 217 *seq.*; P. DE CENIVAL, 119 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* The arbitrary conduct of the nuncio Vincenzo Portico, who supported the candidature of Princess Anna, sister of Sigismund Augustus, led to his recall; *cf.* BIAUDET, *loc. cit.* 229 *seq.*

of Poland, Turkey at length declared in favour of Henry of Anjou, whose election, as the result of the unceasing and unscrupulous efforts of French diplomacy, was announced on May 16th, 1573.

The absence of any hope of the election of the Archduke Ernest forced Gregory XIII. to fall in with the French candidature. Although he did this comparatively soon the change was very distasteful to him.[1] But no other course lay open to him, as this at anyrate prevented a Protestant becoming King of Poland.[2] The religious future of that country seemed to be all the more seriously threatened as the Protestants, before the election of the king and under the leadership of Firley, the grand marshal of the crown, had formed a confederation at Warsaw which promised full equality of rights to all who differed in faith (excluding only the non-Christian sects, such as the Antitrinitarians and the Anabaptists), and granting supreme authority over their subjects even in religious questions to the noble land-owners. This agreement violated Catholic interests, in that it placed Protestant and Catholic worship on an equal footing, even though the latter had not ceased to be the state religion, and prevented any attempt to recover stolen ecclesiastical property.[3] The bishops, with the single exception of the Bishop of Cracow, refused to recognize the federation, and in

[1] Gregory XIII. made, as BIAUDET says (*loc. cit.* 236), "bonne mine à mauvais jeu." From this attitude, Maximilian concluded that Commendone had not sufficiently supported the Archduke Ernest; see P. TIEPOLO, 227 and Venez. Depeschen, III., 524, note 6. For the attitude of Commendone and the difficult situation in which he was placed see NOAILLES, II. (2), 256 *seq.*; P. DE CENIVAL, 157 *seq.* He was made responsible for everything that took place, not only at the imperial court (see Nuntiaturberichte edited by SCHELLHASS, III., 52), but also in the Curia (*cf.* the *Relatione di Serguidi of 1581, State Archives at Florence). In reality it was Galli's "politique trop ondoyante et pleine de trop d'intentions" that was to blame; see P. DE CENIVAL, 175.

[2] *Cf.* P. DE CENIVAL, 135 *seq.*

[3] See BERGA, Skarga, 180 *seq.*

this they were encouraged by Cardinal Commendone. In his speech before the Diet of Warsaw the Cardinal had opposed the attempt to make the various religions live in peace together by citing the action of Samson, when he tied together the foxes' tails, set fire to them and thus burned the harvests of the Philistines.[1]

Even though the Protestants were unsuccessful in getting their confederation generally accepted, they nevertheless succeeded in persuading Jean de Montluc, the leader of the French embassy, to swear to it. When the primate Uchanski learned of this he made a protest and declared the oath null.[2] King Henry accepted the protest, but was forced by Firley to take an oath in which the dissentients saw a confirmation of the liberties that had been promised to them.[3] As the new nuncio, Vincenzo Laureo, Bishop of Mondovì,[4] who went first to Paris and afterwards to Warsaw, resolutely defended the rights of the Catholics,[5] Henry would have found himself involved in a serious conflict if the death of his brother Charles IX., which occurred on May 30th, 1574, after only four months' reign, had not unexpectedly obliged him to return to France.

The Catholics were supremely humiliated, though the Protestants rejoiced, at the departure of the king, which was almost a flight;[6] the latter hoped that one of themselves

[1] Reimann in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 108.

[2] See Eichhorn, II., 435. *Cf. Hist. Zeitschrift*, XI., 126 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Lüdtke in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.* (III.[2], 1859 *seq.*, where the special Polish literature is utilized.

[4] *Cf.* Vita V. Laurei card. Montisregalis Ruggerio Tritonio auctore, Bononiae, 1599.

[5] *Cf.* Maffei, I., 111 *seq.*; Eichhorn, II., 484 *seq.*, 488 *seq.*; Reimann in the *Hist. Zeitschrift*, XII., 380 *seq.*, whose article, as Hergenröther rightly remarks (III. [1880], 435) needs a great deal of sifting. Since then have appeared Laureo's reports in Wierzbowski, V. Laureo nonce apost. en Pologne 1574-78, Warsaw, 1887, unfortunately in a very defective edition; *cf.* Korzeniowski in the Cracow periodical *Przeglad polski*, 1888 May number.

[6] See Berga, Skarga, 188.

would now obtain the throne. The Papal nuncio Laureo at once developed a strenuous activity and succeeded in preventing the summoning of a national council. He would have been glad to save Poland from the bitter controversies of a new election, but the Diet of Warsaw resolved to give the king until May 12th in the following year as the last date for his return, and if he should not do so to declare that he had forfeited the crown.[1]

Almost the same candidates as in 1572 found themselves opposed to each other in the renewed fight for election. The Emperor himself came forward on behalf of Austria, and with him his son Ernest and the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol.[2] Gregory XIII. again favoured the candidature of Austria,[2] as the union of Austria and Poland held out the best hopes for the war against Turkey. Báthory on the other hand was dependent on the Turks, and thus seemed to promise very little security for the Catholic Church, as his religious opinions were spoken of as doubtful.[4] In December, 1575, a two-fold election took place; the primate Uchanski, Archbishop of Gnesen, on the 12th proclaimed in the name of the senatorial party the Emperor Maximilian as King of Poland, while two days later the *Schlachta* elected Stephen Báthory,

[1] See MAFFEI, I., 125 *seq.*; WIERZBOWSKI, V. Laureo; N. BAIN in the *English Historical Review*, 1889, 645 *seq.* *Cf.* also SZADECZKY, Báthory István Lengyel királylyá választása. 1571-1576, Budapest, 1887.

[2] In addition to the works of Wierzbowski and Szádeczky referred to in the preceding note, see also NOAILLES (2), 475 *seq.* See also HIRN, II., 243 *seq.*; *Nuntiaturberichte*, V., 231 *seq.*, 274, note; WIERBOWSKI, two Candidatures for the Polish Throne: William von Rosenberg and Archduke Ferdinand of Tyrol, Warsaw, 1889 (in Russian). *Cf.* also HÜPPE, De Poloniae post Henricum interregno 1575-76, Vratislaviae, 1866.

[3] See BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist. xli.

[4] See Vol. XIX. of this work, Appendix No. 28, the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, (Boncompagni Archives at Rome).

on the condition of his marrying Anna Jagellon, the sister of Sigismund Augustus.[1]

In spite of his sympathy for the candidature of Austria, Gregory XIII., out of consideration for France, had been obliged to maintain an attitude of reserve.[2] His nuncio, however, had worked strenuously for Maximilian. After the two-fold election he urged the Emperor to take action, but quite in vain. On account of the hesitation and inertness of Maximilian his supporters decreased while those of Báthory increased in number. At the end of April the latter made his solemn entry into Cracow, where, after the celebration of his marriage with the Princess Anna, he was crowned on May 1st, 1576, as King of Poland, by Stanislaus Karnkowski, Bishop of Leslau. On July 5th, he announced his election to the Pope in a humble letter. He asked for his protection and announced the sending of envoys for the *obedientia*.[3] Thus the attitude of the Holy See towards the Polish question was substantially altered. Rome had to take into account what had actually been done, for otherwise the most serious disadvantages for religion in that country would have ensued.[4] Gregory XIII., however, had the greatest consideration for the Emperor, and at first refused to give any reply to the envoys of Báthory,[5] but caused the

[1] See WIERBOWSKI, Laureo, 281-316; SZADECZKY, *loc. cit.* 198 *seq.* The report of the election arrived in Rome by special messenger on Thursday (according to a *report of Giulio Masetti, dat. February 8, 1576). On the following Monday the messenger had audience of the Pope. (State Archives, Modena).

[2] See *Sporeno's reports dated Rome, January 2 and February 24, 1575 (Government Archives, Innsbruck). *Cf.* HIRN, II., 84.

[3] See THEINER, II., 206 *seq.* On June 10 Laureo was instructed by Báthory to await the Pope's reply outside the kingdom; see SZADECZKY, 417. Laureo went to Breslau to await events; see WIERBOWSKI, Laureo, p. iv.

[4] See Galli's letter to Morone of July 21, 1576, in the *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 93.

[5] Báthory had also applied to Hosius for help; see THEINER, II., 208.

attitude which was to be adopted towards the claimants to the Polish crown to be discussed once more by a congregation of Cardinals.[1] Their decision was made substantially easier by the favourable reports received of Báthory's religious sentiments, and by the news of the death of the Emperor which reached Rome at the end of October.[2] Gregory XIII. now no longer delayed in recognizing Báthory as King of Poland, and in accrediting Vincenzo Laureo as nuncio at his court, by a brief of November 6th, 1576.[3]

The ten years of the reign of Stephen Báthory, perhaps the greatest of the kings of Poland,[4] were to be of decisive importance for the religious future of the Polish kingdom.

Perhaps in no nation of Europe had the apostasy from Rome led to such great confusion of faith as in Poland. Besides the Lutherans, Calvinists and Greek schismatics who had been numerous there for a long time past, the country contained a varied assortment of every kind of sect; Zwinglians, Bohemian Brothers, Neo-Arians, Anabaptists,

[1] The Congregation was established on October 12, 1576; see SANTORI, Diario consist. XXV., 119. *Cf.* *Giulio Masetti's report of October 13, 1576 (State Archives, Modena). See also MAFFEI, I., 230. For Báthory's ambassador Zamoiski see HEINICKE in the *Programm des Hohensteiner Gymnasiums*, 1853, and *Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 148, 153, 168.

[2] On October 26, 1576, Gregory XIII. imparted the news to the cardinals, see *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican). *Cf. Nuntiaturberichte*, II., 172.

[3] See THEINER, II., 209 *seq.* In SZADECZKY, 429 *seq.*, the brief is given with the wrong date, "August 6," owing to a mistake in the copy from which it was reproduced.

[4] According to LISKE in his review (*Hist. Zeitschrift*, LXI., 375) of ZAKRZEWISKI's St. Bátory, Cracow, 1887. This magnificent work first drew attention to the importance of Báthory. KRASINSKI also says (Geschichte der Reformation in Polen, 181) that Báthory's reign was "one of the most glorious epochs in the history of Poland." NOAILLES (II.², 484), calls Báthory one of the best and greatest of Poland's kings.

Antitrinitarians, and finally Socinians.[1] As some of these sects called in question the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, so there were not wanting in addition true free-thinkers, who denied all doctrine, and others who adopted a convenient indifferentism.[2] The easily moved and inflammable character of the Poles on the one hand, and the many foreigners, Germans as well as Italians, on the other, who had settled all over the country, for the most part as merchants, had led to the spread of the most varied and often most radical ideas.[3]

The principal support of Protestantism was the aristocracy, and especially the *Schlachta*, or lesser country gentry, who often forced their serfs by fines to attend the sermons of the innovators. In addition to material considerations a decisive influence was exercised over the Polish magnates by their spirit of independence. "Our state is free," said the nobles; "if the king has no power to give us orders, much less have the Pope and the bishops."[4]

A free hand had been given to the Protestants of Poland by the confederation of Warsaw. The Catholics, however, under the leadership of Archbishop Uchanski of Gnesen, had protested against this agreement as illegal; even the one

[1] *Cf.* Bukowski, Dzieje Reformacye w Polsce, II., 366; Trechsel, Die protest. Antitrinitarier vor F. Socinus, 2 vols., Heidelberg, 1839, 1844; *Freib. Kirchenlex.* (2), I., 975 *seq.*, XI., 465 *seq.*; Fock, Der Socinianismus, Kiel, 1847; Luckfiel in the *Zeitschrift der Hist. Ges. für die Prov. Posen*, 1892-93; *Real-Enzykl. für protest. Theol.*, XVIII.[3], 459 *seq.*; Morawski, Arianie polscy, Lemberg, 1906; Zivier, I., 740 *seq.*, 764 *seq.*, 770. A monograph on Lelio and Fausto Sozzini is expected from the pen of the Sienese scholar Ant. Mazzei.

[2] For the Polish deists and freethinkers see Merczyny in *Przeglad Historyczny*, XII., Warsaw, 1911, 3 *seq.* and von Dunin-Borkowski in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LXXXV., 165 *seq.* For the Czech Neo-Arianism see also Brückner, Roznowiercy polscy (Polish sectaries), 239 *seqq.*

[3] See Spannocchi, Relatione, 244 *seq.* For the Italians see Bolognetti's report in Theiner, III., 727 *seq.*

[4] See Spannocchi, Relatione, 243.

bishop who had at first recognized it, Krasinski of Cracow, joined in this protest,[1] but Báthory had to promise to maintain the confederation of Warsaw. With scrupulous conscientiousness, he kept to this promise during the whole ten years of his reign ;[2] but in other respects, as a deeply convinced Catholic,[3] he, with his wife Anna and his chancellor Zamoiski, did everything in his power to further the interests of the Catholics. The Babel-like confusion in religious matters which prevailed in Poland, filled him and all who had the good of the kingdom at heart, with the greatest anxiety. As Hosius rightly said in one of his letters, he fully realized that from the time when Poland had abandoned the Catholic faith, her political faith had also disappeared, and that the kingdom could only be at peace when once again it had *one* faith.[4] But in the circumstances Báthory saw no other way out than rigorously to maintain the confederation of Warsaw. Nevertheless the Protestants did not succeed in obtaining anything more than a passive toleration. How anxious Báthory was to restore the Catholic Church was shown in the first year of his reign by his ordering the restitution of all the churches under the royal patronage which had been stolen by the Protestants. He made a conscientious use of his right of patronage by informing himself of the merits of the candidates.[5] This action of the king substantially facilitated the work of Catholic restoration, the principal promoters of which were, besides Cardinal Hosius, the Jesuits Skarga and Possevino, and the Papal nuncios.[5]

Laureo and the Archbishop of Gnesen, Uchanski, had acted as presidents of the provincial synod held at Petrikau in May, 1577. This assembly not only repudiated the confederation of the dissentients at Warsaw, but unanimously accepted the decrees of the Council of Trent, and issued further special

[1] See *ibid.* 249.
[2] See Berga, Skarga, 190 ; Boratyński, Caligarii Epist., xlv.
[3] Boratyński, Batory, 243.
[4] Hosii Op. II., 404 *seq.* Eichhorn, II., 496.
[5] See Berga, Skarga, 190-1.
[6] *Cf.* Wierbowski, Laureo, v. *seq.*

decrees for the reform of the clergy; the acta were sent to Rome for confirmation.[1] This was an event of great importance for the carrying into effect of the Catholic reform. An attempt made against the Catholic clergy by the dissentients in the year following the Diet of Warsaw was fortunately frustrated by the action of Báthory.[2]

Although Hosius, who from Rome took an active part in the fortunes of Poland, could have wished for greater resoluteness on the part of the king in certain matters, the Holy See could on the whole feel very satisfied at his attitude. The King of Poland, it was felt in August, 1577, at the Curia, showed more and more clearly his Catholic sentiments.[3] Laureo too, who at first did not trust Stephen, changed his opinions.[4] His last reports were so encouraging,[5] that the new nuncio whom Gregory XIII. appointed in April, 1578, in the person of Giovanni Andrea Caligari,[6] was charged to express to the king the Pope's gratitude.[7]

The King of Poland made an unequivocal profession of his Catholic sentiments when he sent Paul Uchanski to Rome

[1] See WIERBOWSKI, *loc. cit.* 546 *seqq.*, 561 *seqq.*; MAFFEI, I., 283 *seq.*; EICHHORN, II., 506 *seq.*, 510; THEINER, II., 394; *Archiv für Kirchenrecht*, XXII. (1869), 89 *seq.*; ZIVIER, I., 756; ULANOWSKI in the *Archiwum Kom-Prawniczej*, I. (1895), 496-506; BERGA, Skarga, 191.

[2] See EICHHORN, II., 511; THEINER, II., 394 *seq.* For the mitigations granted by the synod in view of special Polish conditions see BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist. lv.

[3] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, August 3, 1577 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also St. Szántós' letter to Báthory dat. Rome, December 8, 1577, in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, I., 62 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* BORATYŃSKI, *loc. cit.* xliv.

[5] See WIERBOWSKI, Laureo, 685.

[6] See the Brief of April 5, 1578, in THEINER, II., 394. The instruction for Caligari dated April 23, 1578, first printed in the *Scelta di curiosità lett.*, 198, Bologna, 1883, 76 *seq.* The reports of Caligari's nunciature can be seen, beautifully edited, in BORATYŃSKI; I. A. Caligarii Epist. et Acta (Mon. Pol. Vatic. IV.), Cracoviae, 1915.

[7] See the Instruction of April 23, 1578, *loc. cit.* 5 *seq.*

in 1578 to make his public *obedientia* to the Pope. Gregory XIII., in his reply to this act of homage, on April 11th, 1579, expressed his joy at the zeal which Báthory was showing for the Catholic religion. The king gave a further proof of this by appointing a permanent ambassador in Rome. This important office had been destined for Paul Uchanski, but he lost it because, attracted by the beauties of Italy and its marvels, he made the journey to Rome too slowly. The Bishop of Plock, Peter Dunin Wolski, was appointed in his stead.[1]

The good relations between Báthory and the Holy See were strengthened by the fact that the king supported, as far as he could, the efforts of Gregory for a radical reform and restoration. The Curia learned with satisfaction that he only conferred the benefices in his gift upon good priests, who made the Tridentine profession of faith, and observed the duty of residence. The civil authorities as well in many cases complied with the Pope's wish to place tried Catholics in the more important civil offices. Báthory supported in every way the reform of the regular and secular clergy, which had been laid upon Caligari as his special duty ; as he travelled about he often personally inquired into the state of the parishes, and the king soon found others to imitate him. Many of the higher officials publicly displayed their zeal for the Catholic faith.[2] The University of Cracow also showed its loyalty to the Pope when its governing body ordered in 1578 that no one should receive academic degrees who had not made the Tridentine profession of faith.[3]

It was of yet greater importance that Báthory gave effectual help to the Jesuits, not only by assisting them financially,

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 42 ; *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apostolskich*, I., 302 *seq.* ; THEINER, III., 60 *seq.* For the "Obedientia" see BORATYŃSKI, *loc. cit.* 157 *seq.*, 764 *seq.*, and also *Odescalchi's report of April 11, 1579 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See MAFFEI, I., 339 *seq.*, II., 139 *seq.*, 185 *seq.* ; THEINER, III., 63 *seq.* ; SPANNOCCI, Relatione, 274 *seq.*

[3] See THEINER, III., 66.

but also in other ways.[1] In so doing he was complying with the special wishes of the Pope, who saw in the support of the Jesuits the best means for the restoration of religion in Poland.[2]

The nuncio Commendone and Hosius had already interested themselves in the introduction of the Jesuits into Poland, being convinced that the clergy were not sufficiently equipped for dealing with the religious innovations, and that the necessary reform of religious conditions could not be looked for without help from outside.[3] Hosius put his wishes into effect by summoning the Jesuits to Braunsberg at the end of 1564, where at the beginning of the following year they opened a college, and soon extended their activities to Poland as well. The first Jesuit house on Polish soil was opened at Pultusk in 1566, which was followed by colleges at Wilna and Posen in the years 1570-1571.[4]

Besides the revival and development of Catholic life, the Jesuits at first looked upon the struggle against Protestantism as their principal task, but they soon also turned their attention to the conversion of the adherents of the Greek schism.[5] Their method of procedure was similar to that which they had adopted in other countries. They resisted

[1] *Cf.* Boratyński, *loc. cit.* 80 *seq.*, 255 *seq.*, 470 *seq.* As early as June, 1577, Báthory had written to the Jesuits saying that he would support them "re potius quam verbis"; see Rostowski, 55.

[2] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, December 6, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua), and *Avviso di Roma of February 21, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 57 (Vatican Library).

[3] See Berga, Skarga, 164.

[4] For the spread of the Jesuits in Poland *cf.* Sacchinus, IV., 1, II., 42, III., 102, IV., 64 *seq.*, 76 *seq.*, V., 77, VII., 83 *seq.*, 121; Eichhorn, I., 179, II., 181, 473; Zaleski, I., 171, 177, 185, 242 *seq.*, 252 *seq.* *Ibid.* 235 *seq.* for Báthory's earlier relations with the Jesuits. For the foundation of the college in Posen see *Zeitschrift der Hist. Ges. für die Prov. Posen, IV.*, 71 *seq.*, 123 *seq.* For the college at Braunsberg *cf.* Duhr, I., 179 *seq.*, 307 *seq.* and *Zeitschrift des westpreussischen Gesch.-Vereins*, 1899, 1 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* Likowski, Union von Brest, 66.

the spread of the new doctrines by constant preaching and by learned writings; by their excellent teaching they won the respect and confidence of parents, and by their exemplary conduct and sincere piety gave edification to both clergy and people. In some places they attained results bordering on the miraculous, especially when it is remembered that most of the fathers were not Poles; at Gostyn all the inhabitants returned to the Church. The consequence was that the pastors attacked and even threatened the new religious, and often the disciples of St. Ignatius were called upon to show their readiness to suffer severely for their faith. The Jesuits did not mix themselves up in political questions, and during both the interregnums observed a complete neutrality. The authorities of the Order had prudently taken the circumstances into account at the time of the election of Anjou by severing the connexion with Vienna and setting up a separate Polish province.[1]

Wilna, the capital of Lithuania, was the most important centre of the Jesuits in the Kingdom of Poland. Báthory himself urged the conversion of the existing college there into a university,[2] and Gregory XIII. carried out this design on October 29th, 1579.[3] When Báthory had taken the city of Polozk from the Russians he hastened to establish a house of the Jesuits there (1580).[4] The new colleges of the Order at Lublin and Kalisch also owed much to the generosity of the king. Gregory XIII. favoured these establishments of the Jesuits in every way, and repeatedly made them con-

[1] *Cf.* BERGA, Skarga, 165, 188, 191. BRÜCKNER also, in *Ullstein's Weltgeschichte* (period 1650 to 1815) describes the Polish Jesuits who opposed protestantism as "men filled with devotion and self-sacrifice, full of strength and will and strength of faith; men of burning eloquence, theological learning and ascetical life."

[2] See THEINER, III., 66.

[3] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 560 *seq.* *Cf.* ZALESKI, I., 1, 252 *seq.* and BIELINSKI, Uniw. Wilna, Kraków, 1899-1900.

[4] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 260; IV., 1, 181 *seq.*

siderable gifts.[1] The great activity which they displayed was of ever increasing importance for the religious future of Poland.[2]

As in other places, so in Poland the Jesuits devoted themselves by preference to education and teaching. When the king died they were in charge of two universities, those of Wilna and Braunsberg, eight high schools, and one preparatory school. In order to provide professors for these establishments they had at first to make use of fathers belonging to other nations; side by side with Germans were to be seen Italians, and in some places fathers from Spain, Portugal and England. As the Poles specially esteemed foreign professors, this was of great advantage to the Jesuits.[3] The painstaking and intelligent care which they devoted to the work of education explains the great results obtained by the Jesuits, to whom many who differed from them in faith entrusted their sons. Even more than in Germany it was the sons of the greatest families of Poland who attended the educational establishments so admirably conducted by the Jesuits. In 1581 the college at Pultusk contained 400 pupils, almost all of whom belonged to noble families.[4] The Order also undertook the education of the lower classes;

[1] See *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198, Bologna, 1883, 88 *seq.*; *Zeitschr. der His. Ges. für die Prov. Posen*, IV. (1888), 73; REICHENBERGER, I., 9; BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist. 241 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* LJUBOWITSCH, History of the Jesuits in the Lithuanian-Russian Countries, Warsaw, 1888 (Russian), and, by the same author, The Beginnings of the Catholic Reaction and the Decline of the Reformation, Warsaw, 1890 (Russian); also ZALESKI's great work; Jesuici w Polsce, especially I., 1, 363 *seq.*, 375 *seq.*; IV., 1, 44 *seq.*, 59 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*, 116 *seq.*, 187 *seq.* An abbreviated edition, in one volume, appeared at Cracow in 1908. See also ARGENTUS, Ad Sigismundum III., Ingolst., 1616; POLLARD, The Jesuits in Poland, Oxford, 1892, 26 *seqq.*; SCHMURLO, Russia and Italy I., Petersburg, 1908, 123 (Russian).

[3] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 376 *seq.*

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 186.

thus free Ruthenian elementary schools were opened at Wilna and Pultusk in order to draw the Ruthenian children from the schismatic schools; there were others at Braunsberg for the children of the German workmen.[1]

The Jesuits were equally indefatigable in the care of souls. Especially did they encourage, by their striking and practical sermons, those who had remained faithful to the Church, and won back to it many Calvinists and Lutherans who had left it. They also devoted their care to the schismatic Ruthenians, and Fathers Herbest and Nahaj are specially mentioned as the apostles of the territory inhabited by them.[2] The success of the Jesuits in converting the Protestant wives of the chancellor Zamoiski and the Voivodes of Podolia caused the greatest amazement. There were also numerous conversions among the lower classes, especially among the schismatic Ruthenians. During Lent, 1579, the king himself witnessed the reception into the Church at Wilna of eighty-two Protestants and forty Greek schismatics. Similar conversions continued in the following year, as is shown by the reports of the nuncio Caligari. Skarga received into the Church no less than 134 Protestants and schismatics, and about 100 Bernardines at Wilna.[3]

How energetically the Jesuits devoted themselves to the religious instruction of the people was shown not only by their sermons, but also by the lectures which they delivered to the educated classes in the larger cities, two or three times a week, for the explanation of the more important passages of Scripture; in the smaller cities there were corresponding lectures on the catechism. The fathers gave a practical turn to the confraternities, bearing in mind the conditions of the time, by exhorting the members to the practice of good works and especially to the veneration of the Blessed Sacrament. In this way, moreover, they at the same time refuted the doctrines of the innovators. This was also done by their

[1] See ZALESKI, I., 1, 377.

[2] *Ibid.* 387.

[3] See BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., liv, 472, 533, 540, 623, 654, 775 *seq.*, *cf* 781 *seq.*, 823, 829, 836 *seq.*

great literary activity and by their taking part in the public religious disputations then in vogue, the most celebrated of which were those held in the seventh decade of the century at Wilna and Posen, and in the eighth at Lublin.[1]

The king, whose confessor, Father Martin Laterna, was court preacher, as was also for a long time the provost of Cracow, Stanislaus Sokolowski, continued to favour the Jesuits in every way, but the magnates too, among whom were many Protestants, valued the fathers for their instructions and their educational abilities.

The representatives of Protestantism were unable to accomplish much in the face of all this. If became more and more evident what feeble roots the new doctrines had taken, in spite of their wide dissemination in Poland and Lithuania. The little resistance offered by Polish Protestantism was the result, not only of its want of depth, but also of the great want of union among those who professed it.[2] The Lutherans were violently opposed to the Calvinists and the Bohemian Brethren, while all three were at one in persecuting the Socinians and the Antitrinitarians to the death. By excluding the latter sects from the confederation of Warsaw, the Protestants undermined the convention on which their existence was based. It was not surprising that there was a steady increase in the number of those who, wearied of the bitter controversies, became disgusted with Protestantism and withdrew from it, or returned once more to the ancient Church, whose clear and coherent doctrinal system the Jesuit preachers set forth so impressively. People of all classes flocked to their sermons, partly out of curiosity and partly led by an undefined desire, including thousands into whose minds the Protestant preachers had instilled the most extraordinary ideas of the Catholic faith.[3]

The great change which was taking place in an ever

[1] Zaleski, l., 1, 378 *seqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Altmann, Über den Verfall der Reformation in Polen, Erfurt, 1861, 4 *seq.*; Malianiak, Andreas Fricius Modrevius. Vienna, 1913, 34.

[3] Spannocchi, Relatione, 316.

increasing degree may be clearly seen from the reports of the Jesuits. "I have seen," relates one who had worked at Cracow, "the greatest diversity of hearers: Lutherans, Zwinglians, Calvinists and Anabaptists, who had all come to hear a Jesuit preach. The number of those who wish to embrace the faith is so great, that I cannot count them." To this report, belonging to the first days of the sermons, others can be added, from which it may be gathered that the crowds of persons "who are starved in spirit" increased in an extraordinary way; the fathers had to remain in the church from three in the morning until seven in the evening.[1]

The names of the modest priests who laboured in this way are only recorded in the annals of their own Order. But one still lives on in the heart of every Polish Catholic with undiminished freshness; this was Peter Skarga. What Canisius was for threatened Germany, Skarga was for his own people.[2]

Peter Skarga, who was born in 1536 at Grojec in Masovia, had shown his wonderful oratorical powers in 1564 as theologian at Lemburg. In 1569 he entered the Jesuit noviciate of

[1] See the report of July 17, 1579, in LJUBOWITSCH, Zur Gesch. der Jesuiten, Document 1, and SCHIEMANN, II., 370.

[2] *Cf.* the valuable monograph by RYCHCICKI (pseudonym for Count Maurice Dzieduszycki): Piotr Skarga i jego wiek (Peter Skarga and his times), Cracow, 1850, 2nd edition, 1868-69, 2 vols., and BERGA, P. Skarga, Paris, 1916. See also GRABOWSKI, P. Skarga na tlo katholickiej literatury religijnej w Polsce wieku, XVI. 1536-1612 (P. Skarga in the Catholic religious literature in Poland in the 16th Century), Cracow, 1913; DE BACKER-SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 1264 *seq.*; ROSENTRETER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.[2], 386 *seqq.*; PH. SCHMIDT in the *Katholik*, IV., 11 (1913), 38 *seq.*; KUMMERFELD in the Munich "Hochland" XI., 1, 486 *seq.* *Cf.* the special articles and literature referred to in the *Mitteil. des Osterr. Inst.*, 1915, 766, and in the *Zeitschr. für Kirchengesch.*, XXXIX., 185. Berga's monograph is one of the best works on Polish history in the 16th century. No other work gives such a lucid description of the conditions of the Catholic Church from the time when the new doctrines first began to make their influence felt; and no other work gives a clearer presentation of those new doctrines themselves.

S. Andrea in Quirinale in Rome where, six months before, his fellow-countryman, Stanislaus Kostka, had given back his pure soul to God.[1] In 1571 Skarga was sent to Poland by his General, Francis Borgia. There he laboured first at Pultusk and after 1573 at Wilna, and in the following year he became vice-rector of the college there.

Skarga found the Catholics in a considerable minority in Lithuania; they were almost lost in comparison with the great numbers of the Calvinists, Antitrinitarians and Greek schismatics. Thenceforward all his energies and powers were directed to winning over the latter by instructing them in the Catholic faith: "We have no need," he said, "to go and be missionaries in India; the Lithuanians and the peoples of the north are our Indies."[2] With his extraordinary oratorical powers, his words were very efficacious, especially his pathetic perorations.[3] He knew how to bring out with appropriate imagery the marvellous unity of the Church: she was the one secure vessel which took men to heaven: "therefore," he said, "do not leap into a new and untried boat, where there is no capable helmsman, and where there is danger of disputes, disunion and shipwreck."

Like Canisius, Skaga was averse to any kind of violence. "The heretics," he said, "are not to be won over by force of arms, but by the example of virtue and by love. It is true that the dissentients of our Poland, which was Catholic for centuries, must be overcome, but not with the dagger and the sword, but by a virtuous life, by learning, by sermons and friendly treatment." When a Calvinist had actually maltreated Skarga, and threatened him with death, and was to

[1] On August 15, 1568. The saint was only eighteen years old at the time of his death, and every year hundreds of pilgrims flock to his tomb. His biographies are collected in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, XI.², 729. For particulars of Saint Stanislaus Kostka's cell, now converted into a chapel with a statue of the Saint by Le Gros in the noviciate house at S. Andrea al Quirinale, see SEB. BRUNNER, Italien, II., 99.

[2] See BERGA, Skarga, 184-5.

[3] *Cf. ibid.* 268-373.

be punished by having his hand cut off, Skarga intervened efficaciously on his behalf, pointing out that the unhappy man had acted under the influence of drunkenness. This magnanimity won for the Jesuits general esteem, and soon led to plentiful results. Many, among them the four sons of Prince Nicholas Radziwill, found their way back once more to the Church.[1]

Skarga was not only a fascinating preacher, but also a writer of distinction. He wrote, both in Latin and in Polish, a long series of works which are still held in esteem in Poland.[2] In 1576 he published an eloquent defence of the Holy Eucharist against the Calvinists, and in the following year there appeared his great work on the unity of the Church, which later on was of decisive importance for the reunion of the Ruthenian schismatics. To these was added in 1579 a Lives of the Saints written in Polish, which was spread in many editions, throughout the country.[3]

Skarga was held in high esteem, not only by the Papal nuncios,[4] but also by Báthory. During his long stay at Wilna, from March to June, 1579, the king often conversed with the indefatigable father who, in 1580, was placed as rector at the head of the Jesuit college founded by Báthory at Polozk in White Russia. After the conquest of Livonia, Báthory made use of the Jesuits Martin Laterna and Skarga for the restoration of the Catholic Church which he at once inaugurated in the conquered territory.[5] At Riga, where the Catholic worship which had been suppressed was again

[1] *Cf.* Rostowski, 54; Berga, Skarga, 187. Radziwill's eldest son, Nicholas Christopher, founded a colony of Jesuits at Nieswiez in 1584; see Zaleski, IV., 1, 426 *seq.* Stanislaus Radziwill also displayed great zeal for the Catholic Cause; see Maffei, II., 185 *seq.* *Cf.* Raess, Konvertiten, II., 571 *seq.*

[2] See St. von Smolka, Die Reussische Welt, Vienna, 1916, 255, who calls Skarga the Polish Bossuet.

[3] *Cf.* Berga's brilliant critical analysis of these works in Skarga 192 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*, 200 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Theiner, Mon. Pol., II., 736.

[5] *Cf.* Theiner, III., 336 *seq.*; Berga, Skarga, 200, 202 *seq.*

introduced, he gave Skarga the convent and church of St. James in order that he might establish there a college of the Society of Jesus, which, however, could take no root in the wholly Protestant city.[1] Báthory chose as regent of Livonia George Radziwill, whom Skarga had brought back to the Church, and who was elected Bishop of Wilna in 1579. The difficult work of Catholic restoration in Livonia, which had become almost entirely a prey to Lutheranism, and in which the Jesuit Antonio Possevino[2] also took part, was consolidated by the formation of a separate diocese with its see in the city of Wenden, which was erected by Gregory XIII. in 1582 at the request of Báthory.[3]

In 1584 Skarga was chosen by his superiors as head of the Jesuit house of St. Barbara in the ancient coronation city of Cracow.[4] A better place could hardly have been found for his apostolic zeal, for Calvinist and Antitrinitarian doctrines had become widespread among the nobility of Cracow, while the greater number of the citizens, consisting of German immigrants, were Lutherans.

Here too Skarga, labouring indefatigably, both in the confessional and the pulpit, won many Protestants to the Church. He especially devoted his care to the sick, the poor and the prisoners. Himself sprung from the people, he fearlessly stood up for the rights of the weak against the aristocracy, in whose preponderant power he saw a grave

[1] *Cf.* Bull. Rom., VIII., 444 *seq.*; BERGA, Skarga, 204.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 340 and BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 841 *seq.* Possevino composed a memorandum, intended for Gregory XIII., which dealt with the means to be adopted for restoring the Catholic Faith: Livoniae commentarius Gregorio XIII. scriptus. Acc. eiusdem litt. ad episcopum Vendensem etc., ed. Napierski, Rigae, 1852. *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 260 *seq.*; WINKELMANN, Bibl. hist. Livoniae, 134.

[3] See THEINER, III., 340 *seq.*, 439 *seq.*

[4] See Historici diarii domus profess. S. J. ad S. Barbaram Cracoviae 1579 ad 1597 (*Script. rer. Pol.*, VII.), Cracoviae, 1881, 63. Possevino had given the first impulse to the settlement of the Jesuits in Cracow; see WIERZBOWSKI, Laureo, 714.

danger for his country.[1] In order to succour the need of the shamefaced poor he set up at Cracow the "Confraternity of Mercy." By means of a system of pledges, after the manner of the Monti di Pietà in Italy, which advanced small sums without interest, he saved many of the working classes, and by his "Union of St. Nicholas," on the model of the institute of Cardinal Turrecremata in Rome, for the rescue of girls without dowries, he became the saviour of endangered innocence. The "Confraternity of St. Lazarus" which he established, undertook the care of the sick and homeless poor. Based as they were upon the foundations of religion, the greater number of Skarga's social institutes have continued their existence down to the present day.[2]

Of the greatest importance for the improvement of the religious state of Poland was the fact that a number of the bishops turned their attention with great energy to the work of reform. After the departure of Cardinal Hosius for Rome, Martin Cromer, following in his footsteps, laboured at Ermland, while in 1574 Peter Kostka, who became the reformer of his diocese, was appointed Bishop of Kulm.[3] Kamieniec received an excellent bishop in 1577, in the eloquent Martin Bialobrzeski,[4] Wilna in 1579, in George Radziwill,[5] Lemberg in 1582, in John Demetrius Solikowski,[6] and Chelm in Adam Pilchowski,[7] who devoted all their energies to the carrying out of the decrees of Trent, to the moral transformation of clergy and people, and to inspiring them with a true spirit

[1] *Cf.* PACZKOWSKI in the *Zeitschrift für osteurop. Gesch.*, II., 541 *seq.*

[2] See *Historici diarii*, 66 *seq.*, 85; PH. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.* 40; SOMMERVOGEL, VII., 1273; BERGA, Skarga, 207 *seq.*, 209 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* EICHHORN, M. Cromer, Braunsberg, 1868; *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, III.[2], 1197 *seq.*, 1226.

[4] *Cf.* LÜDTKE in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, II.[2], 581 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 185. *Cf.* the praise that Bolognetti gives to the Bishop of Wilna in his report of December 30, 1583, in the *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 153 *seq.*

[6] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 343; SPANNOCCHI, 342.

[7] See THEINER, III., 344.

of religion. The progress of the movement towards Catholic restoration was much advanced when, in April, 1581, the distinguished Bishop of Leslau, Stanislaus Karnkowski, who was greatly esteemed[1] by Gregory XIII., took possession of the primatial see in succession to the weak Uchanski. It was he who established a seminary at Gnesen, and another at Kalisch, which he placed under the direction of the Jesuits. Karnkowski exercised a great influence for good by holding many synods, and by the publication of religious works. His countrymen also owed to him a Polish translation of the Sacred Scriptures, which he caused to be made by the Jesuit, James Wujek.[2]

The nuncio Caligari was also filled with great zeal for the renewal of religious life in Poland, but the great expectations which were entertained at his arrival were not altogether fulfilled. There is no doubt that during his nunciature Caligari loyally sought to promote Catholic interests wherever he could, to carry out the reform decrees of Trent, especially for the reform of the regular clergy, and everywhere to resist the many abuses which in various forms were closely connected with the state of affairs in Poland. In so doing he met with sympathy and support from King Stephen, and ready assistance from the Jesuits. But very often the nuncio was lacking in the necessary prudence. His extraordinary zeal often led him into forming a false opinion of the people he had to deal with. Himself of a naturally quick temperament, he was too ready to believe in rumours, and allowed himself to be swayed by the feelings of the moment, which were inevitably false. Austere and stern by nature, Caligari, and

[1] *Cf.* the Brief of March 15, 1581, in Boratyński, Caligarii Epist. 585 *seq.*

[2] See Theiner, III., 344 *seq.*; Likowski in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, V.[2], 762; *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXXIX. 185. The Catholic restoration in the diocese of Leslau, begun by Karnkowski, was continued by his successor, Hieronymus Rozdrazewski since 1582; see Kujot, Visitationes archidiaconatus Posnaniae H. Rozrazewski Wladislav. episcopo facate, Thorn, 1897-99.

this was especially fatal, was unable to get upon good terms with the Polish episcopate. His shortcomings and mistakes did not escape the notice of the Cardinal Secretary of State, Galli, and he repeatedly advised the nuncio to act with greater caution.[1] In spite of this the recall of Caligari did not take place until April 1st, 1581.[2] His successor was Alberto Bolognetti,[3] who familiarized himself with his new sphere of action extraordinarily quickly, although many of the conditions were quite new to him. It was especially important that Bolognetti, immediately after he had entered upon his nunciature, entered upon close relations with the more influential bishops. First of all he had a quite secret interview with Karnkowski, the distinguished primate of Gnesen, at the castle of Lowicz. The two men agreed upon a common course of action and formed a lasting friendship.[4] As well as Karnkowski, Bolognetti was able to count upon the Bishops of Cracow, Wilna, Lemberg, Ermland and Kulm. But in the case of many of the other bishops—there were sixteen

[1] *Cf.* Boratyński, Caligarii Epist., liii. *seq.*, lvi.-lx., lxiii.-lxv.

[2] See *ibid.* xxxii., lxv., 599 *seq.*, 642 *seq.*, 645 *seq.*, 709 *seq.*

[3] The *Correspondence of Bolognetti in the Papal Secret Archives, from which Theiner published a few documents (Ann. III.), was thoroughly investigated by the Cracow Academy together with relevant documents in the library of the Nonantola Abbey at Modena and in the codex of the Capitular library at Toledo; see *Script. rer. Pol.*, XII., 69 *seq.*; *Anz. der Krakauer Akademie*, 1894, 32 and Boratyński in the *Abhandlungen der phil.-hist. Kl. der Krakauer Akad.*, 2nd Series, vol. 24 (1907), 53 *seq.* Dr. C. Hanke intends publishing them. O. Spannocchi's Relatione delle cose di Polonia has been utilized by Ranke (Päpste (8), II., 241 *seq.*, III., 80* *seq.*), by F. Calori Cesis in the rare publication, Il card. A. Bolognetti e la sua nunziatura di Polonia, Bologna, 1863, and by C. Morawski (Andrzej Patrycy Nidecki, Krakow, 1892). It has been published in its entirety by Korzeniowski, *Anal. Romana*, 233-57. Some extracts from the *Instruction for Bolognetti (Cod. Barb., Vatican Library) in Ciampi, I., 245 *seq.* Reports from him in the *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 116 *seq.*, 126 *seqq.*, 137 *seq.*, 153 *seq.*, 179 *seq.*

[4] See Spannocchi, Relatione, 323.

dioceses in Poland altogether—the nuncio found, to his sorrow, nothing but inertness and want of firmness.[1] He nevertheless tried in every way to inspire these prelates with new zeal, to exhort them to common action and a vigorous defence of Catholic interests at the Diet, and to the reform of their clergy. He especially recommended to them a careful visitation of their dioceses, the observance of their duty of residence, the wearing of ecclesiastical dress, and greater care for divine worship. Frequently Bolognetti himself took in hand the reform of the clergy, in doing which he knew very well how to make use of severity or gentleness according to circumstances. When, at his first visit to Warsaw, he observed that the Holy Viaticum was taken to the sick without any ceremony, and that no one in the streets knelt before the Eucharistic God, he at once had this altered. With the help of Queen Anna he founded a Confraternity of the Blessed Sacrament on the Roman model, the members of which were to accompany the Blessed Sacrament with canopy and lighted torches.[2]

Bolognetti preached by his own example that Catholic reform which he sought to promote everywhere. The fasts, which were especially strict in Poland, were nowhere so carefully observed as in the house of the nuncio. When Bolognetti was at Warsaw, he always took part with all his household, even in the most severe weather, at the Forty Hours Prayer, and at the High Mass on every Sunday and feast day. He strictly insisted that those about him should lead exemplary lives; he would receive no presents, and granted all favours gratuitously.[3]

The nuncio was in no less close relations with the royal court than with the higher clergy. When Báthory was in the field, he kept up a close correspondence with him, and at other times as far as possible he kept by the side of the king. As the latter was very often travelling about, Bolognetti was always ready to go with him. He shrank from no trouble

[1] See *ibid.* 267, 271.

[2] *Ibid.* 304 *seq.*, 309, 311 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*

[3] *Ibid.* 279, 312.

in order thus to follow the court. As an Italian, and a man of very indifferent health, he suffered a great deal from the unaccustomed food, from his wretched lodgings in small rooms, overheated and filled with steam, and from the trials of the northern climate; but though the cold was intense during the long winter, and the heat overpowering during the three months of summer, he accompanied the king everywhere throughout the kingdom, from Cracow to Warsaw, and from Wilna to Lublin.[1]

Bolognetti attached a special value to thus being in close touch with the king, because in Poland, of all the ambassadors, only the nuncio had the right to speak to the sovereign without the presence of a senator. Bolognetti made good use of this privilege; whenever Catholic interests were at stake, he personally brought them to the notice of the king. He eloquently pointed out the necessity for the restoration of the tithes, the exclusion of all Protestants from the court, and the prohibition of Protestant worship in the cities dependent upon the king, as the Protestant nobles would not allow Catholic worship in their own territories. If Bolognetti was not able to obtain definite success in all these matters, he did not allow himself to be discouraged, as the king always did what he could, very often carried out his suggestions completely, and in other cases did so partially. For example, Báthory could not completely exclude all Protestants from his court, but for the future he took no suspect persons into his service, while those who still held any office or dignity were made sensible of the loss of his favour. The English merchants had asked to be allowed the free exercise of their religion; the negotiations as to this, which were already far advanced, were broken off in consequence of the protests made by Bolognetti to the king.[2]

How well able Bolognetti was to manage the king was seen

[1] *Ibid.* 329 *seq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 293 *seq.*, 295, 296; *cf.* 255 for the question of tithes which occupied Bolognetti up till 1585. See also R. Ludwig, Quae Bolognettus card. Papae nuncius apost. in Polonia ab a. 1582 usque ad a. 1585 perfecerit, Vratislaviae, 1864.

in the controversy which occurred over the nomination of a quite unworthy man to the diocese of Premysl, to whom the Pope had had to refuse confirmation. After the controversy had been ended by the death of the candidate, Bolognetti obtained from the king the promise to choose for the bishoprics in future only priests of tried Catholic sentiments. In fact, during the whole of the nunciature of Bolognetti no important appointment was made after this without his advice being first sought.[1] This fact alone afforded a safe basis for the carrying out of the reform decrees of Trent, to which Bolognetti attached such importance. He also tried indefatigably to win back the churches which had been withdrawn from Catholic worship, to see that districts that were in danger were provided with pastors, and to strengthen in their faith others, such as Masovia, which had as far as possible been kept free from the religious innovations.[2] He took a conspicuous part in the difficult work of Catholic restoration in Livonia.[3]

In his efforts to restore the Papal authority, Bolognetti had the great happiness of seeing the king. at his request, order the introduction of the Gregorian calendar throughout the kingdom. How tenaciously the nuncio defended the interests of the Church was shown by the fight which he carried on for many years for the removal of the apostate Nicholas Pac, Bishop of Kiew. Although the latter had many powerful supporters, Bolognetti did not rest until he had resigned his bishopric, and a worthy pastor had been appointed in his place.[4]

[1] See SPANNOCCHI, 298 *seq.*

[2] SPANNOCCHI, 290 *seq.*, 316.

[3] *Ibid.* 319 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 186; SPANNOCCHI, 321; THEINER, III., 439 *seq.*; R. LUDWIG, *loc. cit.* 21 *seq.*, TURGENEVIUS, Monum., I., 396 *seq.* (The visitation journey of 1584 shows the attachment of the common people to the old Church). For the remnant of Catholicism which had maintained itself in Livonia, *cf.* SERAPHIM, I., 208 *seq.*

[4] See SPANNOCCHI, 282, 301 *seq.* The movement against the new calendar was easily suppressed in Dorpat, though in Riga serious disturbances took place in 1585; see KRASINSKI, 186.

It is not surprising that Bolognetti everywhere favoured the Jesuits as "the principal defenders of Catholic truth." It was he who suggested to the king the foundation of a house of the Order at Cracow.[1] It is clear from the important correspondence of Bolognetti, and from the reports of his secretary, Orazio Spannocchi, how important a part was played by this representative of the Pope in the renewal of religion in Poland. They also bring out clearly how great were the difficulties which had to be overcome in Poland; despite the unwearied efforts of part of the episcopate and the Jesuits, supported by the king, there yet remained a very great deal to be done, before Poland could once again become a Catholic country.

Bolognetti had made all the preparations for an extensive visitation, in which he was to be accompanied by his friend, Bishop Radziwill of Wilna, a man of like sentiments with himself, when the news came that the Pope had, on December 13th, 1583, rewarded both these distinguished prelates by conferring on them the purple.[2] In the following year there followed another cardinalitial appointment which was a signal mark of honour for Poland; the young nephew of the king, Andrew Báthory, was summoned to the Sacred College on July 4th, 1584.[3]

Andrew Báthory had been carefully educated, at the advice of his uncle, by the Jesuits at Pultask, and as he had shown an inclination for the ecclesiastical life, had been sent to Rome. He was there charged to make the *obedientia* in the name of the King of Poland for the province of Livonia, which had recently been conquered. This ceremony took place on December 5th, 1583. When the new Cardinal left Rome

[1] See SPANNOCCHI, 313.

[2] *Ibid.* 317; CIACONIUS, IV., 95-99. Bolognetti died, at the early age of 47, on May 9, 1585, at Villach while on his return journey to Rome; see CALORI CESIS, *loc. cit.*, 5.

[3] See *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, July 7, 1584. In a *memorandum of Juli 14, 1584, Odescalchi praises the new Cardinal as a cultured and distinguished man. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 105 *seq.*; KOLBERG, 14 *seq.*

on July 26th, 1584, he had to go to Transylvania in order to safeguard Catholic interests on account of the tender years of his nephew, Sigismund Báthory, who had been appointed Voivode of that territory in 1581.[1]

In Transylvania, which had become the arena of the most various Protestant sects, the Catholics, who had been despoiled of their Church property, found themselves in a difficult position. The most striking feature was the great want of priests. In order to provide these, the King of Poland had decided in 1579, together with his brother, Christopher, who had been elected Voivode in 1576, to summon the Jesuits, who made foundations at Klausenburg and Weissenburg. As they had had to do in the missions beyond the seas, the fathers, who often had to begin from the very foundations in this country which from the religious point of view was entirely neglected, were indefatigable in their care of souls and in giving instruction.[2] On account of the divisions among the innovators it was not difficult for them to win back many of them to the ancient Church.[3] But the

[1] See THEINER, III., 444 *seq.*; KOLBERG, 3 *seq.*, 14, 20.

[2] See A. VERESS' excellent publication: Epistolae et Acta Iesuitarum Transilvaniae temporibus principum Bathory (Fontes rerum transilvaniae, I. and II.), Vol. I.: 1571-83, II.: 1575-88, Budapest, 1911, 1913. See also Vol. III. of the *Fontes*: A. Possevini Transilvania (1584), ed. A. VERESS, Budapest, 1913. *Cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, in the *Civ. catt.*, 1912, IV., 477 *seq.*; 1914, III., 73 *seq.* The publication of these documents refutes the assertion made, without any evidence to support it, by TEUTSCH who says: "The principles taught by the Jesuits were bound to cause the destruction of all society and the killing of all morality" (Geschichte der Siebenbürgener Sachsen für das sächsische Volk, II.,[2], Leipzig, 1874, 30). Abuse of the Jesuits (historically quite useless) is also contained in the article by HÖCHSMANN: Zur Geschichte der Gegenreformation in Ungarn und Siebenbürgen, in the *Archiv für siebenbürg, Landeskunde*, N. F. XXVI., Hermannstadt, 1895, 522 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* the *letter of Stephanus Arator Pannoniae to Sirleto dat. Claudiopoli September 21, 1581, in which it says: "Et sane (Deo nostros conatus promovente) labor noster in hoc

hostility they met with increased in consequence. During the discussion in the Diet concerning the recognition of Christopher's son as his successor, in May, 1581, the States decreed that the Jesuits must be restricted to the above-mentioned cities, and that Catholic preachers in general were only to be sent to places where the majority of the inhabitants were Catholics.

In spite of these limitations, the Jesuits were able to accomplish a far-reaching work, as Báthory, who after the death of his brother held the government of Transylvania in his hands during the minority of his son Sigismund, befriended them. With his support and that of the Pope, Antonio Possevino, who in 1583 visited Transylvania and Hungary, founded, in connexion with the college there, an educational establishment at Klausenburg, which soon numbered 250 pupils, and attained so great a reputation that even many Protestant parents sent their sons there.[1] In addition to the work of this "Papal and royal seminary," the Jesuits of Transylvania, who were repeatedly assisted by Gregory XIII.,[2] devoted themselves to the pastoral care

regno non fuit prorsus inutilis, nam hoc biennio amplius 400 ex hereticis diversarum sectarum Ecclesiae catholicae sunt reconciliati." Vatic. 6180, p. 64 (Vatican Library).

[1] See VERESS, Fontes rer. Transilv., I., 253 *seq.*, II., 87 *seq.*, III., 145; *cf.* THEINER, III., 446 *seq.* For Szántó see FRAKNÓI, Egy magyar jezsuita a XVI. században. Szántó István élese (A Hungarian Jesuit in the 16th century. Life of St. Arator), Budapest, 1887. Possevino's relations with Hungary were exhaustively dealt with by FRAKNÓI; Possevino nagyváradi látogatása 1583 ban (Possevino's visit to Grosswardein 1583), Nagyvarad, 1901, and in the valuable study; Egy Jezsuita-Diplomata hazánkban (a Jesuit diplomatist in our fatherland), Budapest 1902. Suggestions of Possevino in 1584 with regard to Hungary in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 209. See also FRAKNÓI, Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római szentszékkel (Ecclesiastical and political relations of Hungary to the Holy See), III., Budapest, 1903, 167 *seq.*

[2] See VERESS, Fontes, I., 211 *seq.*, 297 *seq.*, 303 *seq.*

of the Catholics besides combatting the innovators. At Klausenburg their activities were especially directed against the "Arians" (Unitarians), who did not have their children baptized, and in other parts of the great principality against the Calvinists.

In all this it was a great advantage to the Jesuits that they had many superiors who were distinguished for their learning and apostolic activity, such as the rector of Klausenburg, Ferrante Capece,[1] and at Weissenburg, the tutor of the young Sigismund Báthory, Peter John Leleszi, who displayed an incomparable zeal. One of the best of these, the Hungarian, Stephen Szántó (Arator), worked at Grosswardein, where his blameless life convinced many of the innovators of the falsity of their ideas of Catholic priests. Szántó also engaged in disputations for several weeks with the Calvinists, who were unable to reply to him. The Jesuits also laboured with great success among the Magyars of Eastern Transylvania, and on the borders of Turkey at Lugos and Karánsebes. The fame of their qualities as priests as well as of their learning steadily increased. At the request of Báthory, in the autumn of 1585, their educational establishment of Klausenburg was transformed into a kind of university.[2]

The great services of Báthory for the spread of the Catholic faith as well as for the furtherance of the Catholic restoration were eulogized by Charles Borromeo himself in many of his letters.[3] The Pope gave them a solemn recognition by sending him the blessed hat and sword in 1579.[4] The king was always forming new projects for the consolidation of the Catholic restoration in his kingdom. Thus he took much trouble to

[1] For F. Capece, who died in 1586 while ministering to the plague-stricken, *cf.* TACCHI VENTURI, Opere stor. di M. Ricci, II., 398 *seq.* and VOLPE, Antonio Capece martire nel Giappone, Napoli, 1912, 12 *seq.*

[2] See VERESS, Fontes, II., vi.

[3] See *Scelta di curios. lett.*, 198 (1883), 83 *seq.*, 93, 99 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, III., 74; BORATYNSKI, Caligarii Epist., 340, 364, 435. The sheath of the sword is now in the Czartoryski Museum at Cracow.

secure as court preacher Robert Bellarmine,[1] who had already made himself a great name by his theological lectures at the Roman College, as well as for the foundation in the Eternal City of a Polish College, already suggested as necessary by Caligari, which, like the Germanicum itself, was to be a training ground for learned and virtuous priests.[2] The same purpose was served by the pontifical seminaries established at Braunsberg and Olmütz by the Jesuit Possevino, to which Gregory XIII. gave a charter in 1578. In these the youth, not only of Livonia, Lithania, Pomerania, Prussia, Hungary and Russia, but also of Sweden, Gothland, Norway and Denmark "were to be trained as chosen labourers in the great vineyard of the Lord, and for the restoration of the ancient faith and piety."[3] Braunsberg, the only large city which had remained loyal to the Catholic faith, seemed to be especially well adapted to such an establishment, since, situated as it was in the neighbourhood of the flourishing commercial cities of Dantzig and Königsberg, it was in constant and easy communication with the neighbouring Sweden, which was not very different in climate and manner of life; there, too, many distinguished families from Scandinavia and Finland had settled, whose sons could be led by the foundation of a house there, to attend the school of Braunsberg, and thus be led together with their neighbours to the knowledge of Catholic doctrines. Just as the Jesuits of Wilna extended their activities to Samogitia, and those of Riga and Dorpat

[1] See Boratyński, *loc. cit.* 54.

[2] See Spannocchi, Relations, 294; Maffei, I., 340. For the Polish national church of S. Stanislao dei Polacchi, founded in Rome by Cardinal Hosius in 1575, together with the adjoining hospice (*cf.* Th. Treterus, Theatrum virtutum St. card. Hosii, Braunsbergae, 1879, 103 *seq.*) see (in addition to Kolberg, Beiträge zur Gesch. des Kard. A. Báthory, Braunsberg, 1910, 25) Boratyński in the *Anz. der Krakauer Akad.*, 1911. The church, which contains several Polish monuments, belonged to the Russian Government up to 1917; it has now been handed back to the newly-formed Polish State.

[3] See Theiner, Schweden, I., 529 *seq.*, II., 153 *seq.*

throughout Livonia, so did those of Braunsberg seek to develop their work in Prussia, Denmark and Sweden.[1]

[1] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 533 *seq.*, II., 322 *seq.*; HIPLER, Literaturgesch. des Bistums Ermland (Mon. hist. Warm. IV.), Braunsberg, 1873, 166 *seq.*; EHRENBERG, Ostpreussen, xvii.; BENRATH in the *Zeitschrift des Westpreuss. Gesch.-Vereins*, XL. (1899); ZALESKI, I., 1, 9 *seq.*, 387; L. DAAE in the *Hist. Tidskrift*, III., Kristiania, 1895, 306 *seq.*

CHAPTER X.

The Missions to Sweden and Russia.

The training of missionaries for Protestant Sweden was connected with the hope which had come into being in the time of Gregory XIII., that that kingdom too might be won back to Catholicism. This hope was based upon the attitude of John III., who had come to the throne in 1568. John, who, after the death of his father, Gustavus Wasa, had succeeded to the Duchy of Finland, had married in 1562 Catherine Jagellon, the sister of Sigismund Augustus of Poland. In her marriage contract she had been guaranteed the free exercise of her religion, and she was allowed to take two Catholic priests with her to her court.[1] This Catholic princess, who had thus come into a Protestant kingdom, acted as a faithful wife in the midst of the misfortunes that befell her husband.

The hopes of attaining to the throne of Poland which were opened out to John by his marriage, were opposed by his half-brother, King Eric XIV., with increasing bitterness. The consequence was that the two brothers soon found themselves violently opposed to each other. John, who had been condemned to death by the Swedish States for high treason, was forced to surrender on August 13th, 1563, after two months' siege. Eric shut him up in the castle of Gripsholm on the lonely lake of Mälar. He tried in vain to separate his wife from John, but the Polish princess preferred to share the imprisonment of her husband. When he was at last set free in 1567, even then John's life was not safe,

[1] See Biaudet, Le St. Siège, I., 93 *seq.*, who shows that Catherine's two court chaplains were not Jesuits in disguise as has often been asserted.

for the hereditary madness of the House of Wasa again showed itself in Eric in 1568. When the king married the woman who had hitherto been his mistress, the daughter of a corporal, John and his younger brother Charles put themselves at the head of the malcontent nobles. Eric was forced to abdicate, and was imprisoned in the same castle of Gripsholm, where his brother had once been confined.

On account of his hopes of the throne of Poland, and his marriage to a zealous Catholic, John III. could not take up a strong anti-Catholic attitude, as his predecessors had done. He was also averse to any such thing because, during the four years of his imprisonment, he had discovered from his wife and from his reading of theological books, that the Catholic religion was not the mixture of superstition and error which his tutors had made it out to be. Such a realization, however, was very far from implying his return to the ancient Church, all the more so as the theological knowledge which John had acquired was by no means profound.[1]

Political considerations and material interests had exercised a decisive influence in the separation of Sweden from the ancient Church.[2] It was the same considerations which now led to a rapprochement between John III. and Rome. A first attempt in this direction in the time of Pius V. had

[1] This has often been exaggerated; see, in contradiction to this BIAUDET, I., 110 *seq.*, 433. *Cf.* also GEIJER, II., 215. RANKE'S view (Päpste, II.,[8] 54), that John III. busied himself privately with ecclesiastical problems is quite false. The king was first and foremost a politician; in religious questions he was only half educated and therefore obstinate.

[2] "Gustaf Ier Vasa, le grand-père du héros de la guerre de Trente ans, avait imposé à la Suède la réforme pour des raisons essentiellement politiques et économiques. Roi de par révolution populaire, aspirant à l'autocratie héréditaire, il voulut écraser le clergé catholique qui, par sa forte organisation hiérarchique et son ascendant sur les masses, genait ses ambitions dynastiques. Maître d'un pays ruiné il vit dans le pillage des biens de l'Église l'unique moyen de faire face aux nécessités du moment et d'affermir sa propre position." BIAUDET, I., ii.

failed.[1] When Sigismund Augustus died in 1572 the succession to the throne of Poland, as well as the complicated question of the immense inheritance of Catherine, John's wife—she was the niece of Gian Galeazzo Sforza and of Isabella of Aragon[2]—which consisted of possessions in Naples, became matters of burning interest. With regard to both these matters, the attitude of the Holy See was of the greatest importance. In order to open negotiations, Paolo Ferrari, a servant of Queen Catherine, was sent to Rome in November, 1572. He carried letters from Catherine to Gregory XIII. and Cardinal Hosius, asking for a Papal absolution for having received communion under both kinds, and at the same time asking that it might be allowed for the future to herself and the members of the court. The letter to Hosius concluded by asking for prayers that John might turn to the ancient Church, from which he was not far removed.[3] Gregory granted the absolution asked for, in a brief of March 8th, 1573,[4] but refused the request for the chalice through Hosius.[5] These letters had already been dispatched when the nuncio in Poland reported that the Swedish ambassador, Andrew Lorichs, had asked for his mediation in the same matter. Almost at once Commendone wrote that at the electoral Diet of Poland the Swedish ambassador had held out hopes to the nuncio Vincenzo Portico that, if the Holy See should support the election of John III. as King of Poland, he would return to the Catholic Church. Naturally, neither the Pope nor the Secretary of State, Tolomeo Galli, allowed themselves

[1] See Vol. XVIII. of this work, p. 311, n. 2.

[2] Biaudet deals very thoroughly with the question of the inheritance of Bona Sforza (I., 512 *seq.*).

[3] See Biaudet, I., 186 *seq.*, Notes et Documents, 27.

[4] See Theiner, I., 163.

[5] See Hosii Opera, II., 337. *Cf.* Biaudet, I., 191, for the postscript, added by Hosius on his own authority, in which he holds out hopes of a dispensation with regard to the chalice. In a *report to Philip II., dated December 14, 1574, Zuniga says of Hosius: "es facil de creer estas cosas." Coll. Favre, VIII., 5 (Library at Geneva).

to be influenced by this clumsy attempt to change their policy in the matter of the election of the King of Poland, but they considered themselves justified in inferring, from these Swedish attempts at a rapprochement, that a favourable moment had arrived for entering into closer relations with John III. Gregory XIII. therefore proposed the mission of the Polish Jesuit, Stanislaus Warszewicki, to Sweden, though in the end he had to abandon the plan because Warszewicki's presence was necessary in Poland.[1]

In November, 1573, Paolo Ferrari again appeared in Rome, In order to facilitate the gradual return of Sweden to the Church he proposed to the Pope that he should allow communion under both kinds. Gregory XIII. replied, with all possible courtesy, but with great firmness as far as the matter was concerned, that King John must first, by sending an embassy for the *obedientia*, make it clear that he seriously intended what he said, and that only then could his request be dealt with. Ferrari had in the meantime presented to the Curia by means of an agent the plan of supporting Spain against the insurgents in the Netherlands with a Swedish fleet. This led to the mission of the Jesuit, Stanislaus Warszewicki, to Sweden, who presented himself there as the envoy of the Princess Anna of Poland. Although the actual purpose of this mission, as well as the conversations which the Jesuit had with the king, came to nothing, yet, thanks to the reports of Warszewicki, Rome was for the first time put in possession of definite information as to the state of affairs in Sweden. There could now be no doubt that John's attempts at bringing about a rapprochement had no other ground than the fact that he wanted the Pope's support in the matter of his election as King of Poland, and in that of his wife's inheritance. It was, however, learned that the attachment to the ancient faith was not altogether extinct in Sweden, and that Queen Catherine was prepared

[1] See BIAUDET, I., 193 *seq.*; *cf.* EHRENBERG, Ostpreussen, 52. For Lorichs see ÖDBERG's monograph: Om Anders Lorichs, Skara, 1893.

to give her support to Catholic missionaries.[1] The first to be sent to Sweden were a secular priest named Florenz Feyt, and the Norwegian Lauritz Nilssön (Laurentius Norvegus), who had embraced the faith at Louvain in 1563, and afterwards joined the Jesuits. By command of the king both of them had to conceal the fact that they were Catholic priests, so that they might labour more effectively.[2] Nilssön founded a school at Stockholm, and won over a number of Swedish youths, who were destined to receive their further education at the German College in Rome.[3]

Out of consideration for the Protestant clergy, King John did not dare to proceed openly, but tried to attain his purpose by indirect means For this purpose he caused his secretary Peter Fecht to draw up a new liturgy, the so-called Red Book,

[1] See BIAUDET, I., 277 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*, 292 *seq.*, 332 ; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 82 *seq.* ; THEINER, Schweden, I., 432 *seq.*, II., 270 *seq.*, 323 ; GEIJER, II., 220 *seq.* The attachment of the people to the old Church is shown, both in Sweden and in Finland, by their observance of the fasts, prayers for the dead and veneration of the Mother of God. All this is brought out in Possevino's report of the year 1587 : Seconda relazione delle cose pertinenti alla cognizione dello stato presente del regno di Suetia. This report, intended for Gregory XIII., was published by C. BULLO (Il viaggio di M. Piero Querini e le relazioni della republica Veneta colla Suezia, Venezia, 1881, 73 *seq.*), though, as THOMAS points out (*Sitzungsberichte der Münch. Akad., Phil.-hist.*, Kl., 1882, I., 3, 358), in a defective form. Both Thomas and Bullo overlooked the fact that P. FERRATO had already brought out a good edition of the " Relatio " in 1876 : Relazione sul regno di Suezia da A. Possevino, Firenze, 1876 ; and that a Latin version, deviating very little from the original, already existed in THEINER, Ann. II., 278 *seq.* *Cf.* also *Hist. Tidskrift*, I., CX *seq.*

[2] See KARTTUNEN, 85 *seq.* For Lauritz Nilssön (Laurentius Norvegus)—generally called Klosterlasse in Sweden—*cf.* KARTTUNEN, 91 *seq.*, and A. BRANDRUD, Klosterlasse, Kristiania, 1895 ; REGER, Jesuiterpateren Laurits Nielssen, saakaldt Klosterlasse, Kristiania, 1896. Biaudet, who unfortunately died prematurely, was preparing a monograph on L. Nilssön.

[3] *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I.[2], 353 *seq.* ; BRAUNSBERGER, Canisius, 255.

which was based upon the Roman Missal.[1] This new ordinal, which appeared in print in 1577, at first met with the opposition of the Protestant clergy, but John III. secured its acceptance on February 16th, 1577.[2]

The ambitious king, who had failed for the second time to secure the crown of Poland in 1575, at last realized that he would have to do something more definite if he was to obtain the support of the Pope. When he at length decided, in the autumn of 1576, to restore the relations between the royal house of Sweden and the Holy See, which had been broken off since the time of Gustavus Wasa, by sending an official embassy, he kept his intention absolutely secret. General Pontius de la Gardie, to whom this mission was entrusted, was entirely devoted to him. The question of the inheritance of the royal family, which de la Gardie was to discuss with the Emperor, could not give rise to any suspicion. His companion, the royal secretary Peter Fecht, the author of the Red Book, was given the instructions in all that touched upon the religious question; Fecht was to obtain not only the sending of Jesuit missionaries to Sweden, but was also to ask the Pope for important concessions: communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, and the mass in the vernacular.[3] How completely secret the real purpose of the embassy was kept is shown by the fact that Lauritz Nilssön himself knew nothing about it. Nothing was said, moreover, of the fact that de la Gardie was once more to propose to the King of Spain that a Swedish auxiliary fleet should be sent against the Netherland insurgents.[4]

[1] *Liturgia Suecanae Ecclesiae catholicae et orthodoxae conformis*, Stockolmiae, 1576. *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 412 *seq.*; II., 267 *seq.* Annales, II., 217 *seq.*; QUENSEL, Bidrag till svenska liturgiens historia, Upsala, 1898; KARTTUNEN, 88 *seq.*, 90 *seq.* The copy of the Red Book that John III. sent to the Pope by Possevino is still in the Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* BIAUDET, II., 359 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* (in addition to THEINER, Schweden, I., 449 *seq.*, Annales II., 218 *seq.*). HILDEBRAND, 260 *seq.*, KARTTUNEN, 95 *seq.*, 98 *seq.*, and especially BIAUDET, II., xiii *seq.*

[4] See *ibid.*, xv, 218 *seq.*, 239.

The envoys embarked at Stockholm on October 1576, 11th, but were very soon shipwrecked near the island of Bornholm. Fecht was drowned, so that de la Gardie had to continue his journey alone. After a long stay at the Imperial court, he at last reached Rome on April 24th, 1577. By May 10th the Pope was able to inform the consistory that the envoy of the King of Sweden had made the *obedientia* in his master's name, and had given him his promise to introduce the Catholic faith into his kingdom, for which purpose he had asked for missionaries. In order to avoid any disturbance, the making of the *obedientia* had not taken place in consistory, with the customary ceremonies, but in the private apartments of the Pope, though in the presence of several Cardinals.[1]

Thus it seemed that the first step towards the reunion of Sweden to the Church had been taken. There was general rejoicing in Rome.[2] Although Gregory XIII. was not blind to the private interests which had prompted the action of John III., it would seem that at first he had no doubts as to the sincerity of the king, nor of the trustworthiness of his envoys. The letters of credence for de la Gardie, dated August 18th, 1576, and drawn up in the most respectful form, left nothing to be desired, while a private letter from Queen Catherine to the Pope contained the request that he would receive the embassy favourably.[3]

At Pentecost, May 26th, 1577, the General of the Jesuits, Everard Mercurian, and his private secretary, Antonio Possevino, had gone to the Villa Mondragone, near Frascati, for an audience with the Pope. Gregory XIII. had chosen that day with a definite purpose. He was fully convinced of the good prospects of an effective mission to Sweden. He

[1] See the Acta consist. in BIAUDET, II., 342 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 344 *seq.*, 352 *seq.* still more reports. *Odescalchi's memorandum dat. Rome, May 18, 1577, brings out the fact that the *Obedientia* was made only in the name of the king and not of the kingdom (infetto quasi tutto). (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See St. Rescius' report in BIAUDET, II., 381.

[3] See *ibid.*, 80 *seq.*, 82 *seq.*

would very willingly have set out for that country himself, but as that was impossible, Possevino was called upon to accept this important mission. With it was combined the political mission of bringing about an alliance with Spain. Possevino at first hesitated to mix himself up in political matters, but Gregory XIII. pointed out to him how closely this was connected with the interests of religion, and how important it was to the King of Spain, who was also sending a special envoy to Sweden at the same time, in the person of Francisco de Eraso.[1]

Antonio Possevino, who was equally distinguished as a preacher, missionary and teacher, as well as being a scholar, writer and diplomatist, was born at Mantua in 1534, and went to Rome at the age of seventeen. The incomparable educational opportunities of the Eternal City had all the greater effect in the case of the talented youth in that he had the good fortune to find himself amid surroundings that were both spiritually and socially of a high order. Possevino was secretary to Cardinal Ercole Gonzaga and the tutor of his nephews. He won the love and esteem of the Cardinal to such a degree that a splendid future seemed to be assured to him. But he gave all this up by entering the Society of Jesus in 1559. His superiors sent him in the following year to Savoy, where he laboured against the Waldenses. For ten years (1562-1572) he laboured with great success in France under very difficult conditions, and in 1573 the new General, Mercurian, appointed him his private secretary. As Possevino had hitherto worked successfully as a missioner, so in his new position he acquired a profound grasp of the religious conditions of the various nations. It would not have been possible to have found a man better fitted for the difficult task that lay before him in Sweden, for, in addition to his vast learning, Possevino was a man of big ideas, unwearied application, great missionary zeal, dexterity and versatility, and besides all this was firm in his

[1] *Cf.* *Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. al P. Possevino (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

principles and indefatigable in carrying out his plans and projects.[1]

After Pontius de la Gardie had made his *obedientia*, he at once went to Naples on account of the question of the inheritance of the Queen of Sweden, being furnished on May 21st, 1577, with a letter of recommendation to the viceroy by Gregory XIII. But a month later Cardinal Galli had to complain to the nuncio at Naples of the misuse of this letter of recommendation by the unscrupulous general.[2] In July, 1577, Hosius wrote to Queen Catherine that the view was gaining ground in Rome that the *obedientia* made by de la Gardie had only been a trick to win the support of the Holy See in the Naples question.[3] Such a suspicion made Gregory XIII. all the more insistent upon the mission of Possevino, as the latter's diplomatic ability seemed to be required to cope with the difficulties of the situation.

At the beginning of September, 1577, de la Gardie returned from Naples. The customary credentials were prepared for him and Possevino by the Papal Chancery,[4] after which they both set out upon their journey.[5] Possevino was accompanied by two of his fellow-religious, the Irishman, William Good, and the Frenchman, Jean Fornier. As John III. made a

[1] A. GOTTLOB aptly remarks (*Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 116) that Possevino was the "right type of Jesuit in the time of Gregory XIII." *Cf.* D'ORIGNY, La vie du P. A. Possevin, Paris, 1712 (Italian, Venezia, 1759), and the monograph by KARTTUNEN, Lausanne, 1908. For Possevino's prolific literary activity see SOMMERVOGEL, VI., 1061 *seq.*; HURTER, I., 181 *seq.* *Cf.* also FELL, Pädagogische Schriften Possevinos, Freiburg, 1901, and SCHLESINGER, Jesuitenportraits, Regensburg, s.a. 89-103.

[2] See BIAUDET, II., 358, 362, 412 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 441 *seq.*

[4] See KARTTUNEN, 119; BIAUDET, II., 97 *seq.* Special faculties granted by Gregory XIII. to the Jesuit missioners in Sweden, Norway and adjacent countries on September 5, 1577, *ibid.*

[5] E. Malvezzi was nominated "envoy of the king of Sweden" in Rome, but he died in August, 1578. His epitaph in S. Maria in Via Lata in FORCELLA, VIII., 393.

great point of avoiding any disturbance and of concealing the true purpose of the mission, they wore secular dress, as had been done by the earlier missionaries sent to Sweden by the Pope; at Prague Possevino was given the task by the widowed Empress of informing the King of Sweden of the death of her husband.[1]

After a wearisome journey Possevino reached Stockholm on December 19th, 1577. There he found that Lauritz Nilssön, who had been labouring there since April, 1576, and who in his optimism looked upon the bringing back of Sweden to the Catholic Church as an easy task, had, in his unthinking enthusiasm, fallen in with the peace projects of John III., and had strengthened the king in his illusion that he would be able to obtain the consent of the Holy See to them. The diplomatic skill of Possevino was soon able to obviate the difficulties of the position which had thus been created.[2] His principal efforts were directed to persuading the king of the truth of the Catholic doctrine. With marvellous patience, he replied to all his difficulties. Great was his joy when, after months of discussions, which often lasted for three or four hours,[3] at the beginning of May, 1578, John declared himself ready to accept the Tridentine profession of faith. This consent was soon followed by the act, and this in its turn by a general confession. Before absolving

[1] For Possevino's mission see his report to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, Schweden, II., 257 *seqq.*, where will also be found other relevant documents. *Cf.* also KONECZNY, Jan III. Waza i missya Possewina, Krakow, 1901; KARTTUNEN, 119 *seq.*, 127 *seq.* See also BIAUDET, II., 451, n.

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 460 *seq.*, 465 *seq.*; II., 33 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 119 *seq.*, 126 *seq.*; BIAUDET, II., xxi *seq.*, 244.

[3] Possevino expressly says so in his "Prima Relazione sulle cose di Suezia mandata a Gregorio XIII." (THEINER, Schweden, I., 257), and he adds that during the five months that he was there, hardly a day passed without his having an interview with the king. It was therefore not "a couple of interviews" as RANKE says (Päpste, II.[8], 55).

him Possevino once more asked the king if he was willing to submit himself to the Pope's judgment in the matter of communion under one kind, to which John replied in the affirmative. After his absolution the king seemed much easier in his mind, because his conscience had been heavily burdened, since he had, on the strength of a decree of the council of state (which had been signed by the Lutheran bishops), removed his brother by poison on February 26th, 1577.[1] Possevino made use of the favourable moment; he earnestly implored God, in whose hands are the hearts of kings, to be pleased to complete the work that had been begun. John embraced him with the words: "like you, I embrace for ever the holy Roman Catholic Church." On the following day Possevino said mass in the king's apartments and gave him communion. All this was done in the deepest secrecy, and in the presence of only a few intimate friends in the castle of Stockholm.[2] Further steps for bringing back the kingdom to the ancient Church had to be postponed until after the decision of the Holy See as to the concessions that had been asked for.

Possevino's return was rendered necessary not only by these negotiations but also by the fact that his being a Catholic priest had become known in Stockholm, and had caused great annoyance to the Protestant clergy. He prudently did not wait for the king to order his departure, but anticipated the order by declaring his readiness to undertake the advocacy of John's political interests in the matter of the alliance with Spain, and in that of the queen's inheritance. He left the kingdom on May 20th, 1578, as the ambassador of Sweden, and took with him a number of young Swedes and Finlanders,

[1] *Cf.* GEIJER, II., 198.

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 471 *seq.*, 485 *seq.*: "A. Possevini responsiones ad nobilissimi et regii viri septentrionalis interrogationes qui de salutis aeternae comparandae ratione ac de vera ecclesia cupiebat instrui," in his *Bibliotheca selecta*, Romae, 1593, I., 6, p. 438 *seq.*, and also in Possevini Moscovia, Coloniae, 1568, 316 *seq.* *Cf.* WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, IV., 334, n.

who were to be trained as missionaries in Catholic institutions.[1]

In addition to the spreading of sound Catholic books, as well as a Swedish translation of the catechism of Canisius, Possevino rightly considered, as the most important means of restoring the ancient Church, the training of good native priests, who should unite to their knowledge of their own language a thorough training in theology and enthusiasm for the ideals of a pure sacerdotal life.[2] Little by little such missionaries could attempt the recovery of the ground that had been lost. From Braunsberg Possevino suggested to Gregory XIII. a plan of establishing there a Papal seminary for the training of priests for the northern countries,[3] especially for Sweden and Finland, which were so important on account of their proximity to Russia.[4] This plan was carried into effect in the same year. A similar Papal college was founded by Possevino at Olmütz. There, in 1579, was received the Protestant minister Olaf Sondergelteus, who had entered the Church, and was given by Possevino the task of translating the catechism into Finnish and compiling a Finnish grammar; another student of the college at Olmütz, Petrus Cuprimontanus, was to compile a Swedish grammar.

[1] See Possevino's report in THEINER, Schweden, II., 271 *seq.*, and John's memorandum in THEINER, Annales, II., 408 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 130 *seq.*; STEINHUBER, I.[2], 354. Laureo sent, by Possevino, two Ruthenian youths and one Russian to be educated at Rome; see WIERBOWSKI, 713.

[2] *Cf.* PIERLING, La Russie, II., 210.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 245.

[4] "Qui guardagnera in Finlandia la conversione dell'anime aprirà una grande porta alla Moscovia e peró meno di quel paese perchè sieno in Roma instituiti," says Possevino on page 36 of the *Relazione* quoted *supra*, p. 421, n. 1. For the Finnish Jesuit alumni see LEINBERG, Om finske studerende i jesuitcollegier, in *Hist. Arkisto*, XI., Helsingförs, 1891, 156 *seq.*, and BIAUDET, *ibid.*, XIX. (1905), 178 *seq.* The undated *suggestion, which undoubtedly came from Possevino, to found seminaries for "Suecia e Finlandia," in Miscell., Arm. 11, t. 94, p. 213 *seq.* (Papal Secret Archives).

Thus to the Jesuits belongs the glory of having prepared the first grammars in both those languages.[1]

On his journey Possevino was at pains to promote the political interests of the King of Sweden both at Prague and at Warsaw.[2] When he reached Rome on September 27th, 1578, detailed discussions of the concessions asked for by John III. had already taken place.

A special commission, to which belonged, besides Cardinals Morone, Farnese, Savelli, Galli, Hosius, Montalto, Madruzzo and Sirleto, the Franciscan, Cesare Montalcino, and the Jesuit, Francisco Toledo, had come to the conclusion that, of the twelve concessions asked for, five could not be granted, because the example would be too dangerous for the other nations, and the Church could not attain to any real life in Sweden under such conditions. Thus the commission rejected the mass in the vernacular, communion under both kinds, the marriage of priests, the suppression of prayers for the dead and of holy water; on the other hand it recommended the granting of the other seven requests; among these was the renunciation of confiscated ecclesiastical property.[3] When Possevino returned from Naples, where, though without success, he had been dealing with the question of the royal inheritance, the commission sought his advice. On the basis of the memorial which he drew up, it devoted its attention to the future organization of ecclesiastical

[1] *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, II., 318; SCHYBERGSON, Geschichte Finnlands, I., 141 *seq.* for details of the attempts at a Catholic Restoration in Finland, and KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 96.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 136 *seq.*, Grégoire, XIII., p. 29.

[3] *Cf.* THEINER, Schweden, I., 503 *seq.*; II., 107 *seq.*, 109 *seq.*; WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, IV., 332 *seq.* The deliberations of the commission are reported by Odescalchi in his *memorandum dated Rome, July 29, 1578, in which he also relates that the Queen of Sweden had half converted her husband and that, on account of the concessions, Possevino was being sent to Rome "in habita secolare con spada e cappa." (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

discipline which was to be in force in Sweden when that country again became Catholic.[1]

A brief of December 1st, 1578, confirmed Possevino in his office of Papal nuncio, and gave him wide faculties as vicar-apostolic for the whole of Scandinavia and the neighbouring northern countries of Denmark, Moscovia, Lithuania, Russia, Hungary, Pomerania and Saxony. Gregory also ordered a general jubilee for the success of the new mission.[2]

In the spring of 1579 Possevino set out for the second time for Sweden. Gregory XIII. gave him two Tyrolese who had been educated at the German College.[3] After he had worked to further the interests of John III. at the courts of the Emperor and the King of Poland, and to bring about an alliance between Sweden and Rudolph II. and Philip II.,[4] he reached Stockholm on August 7th, 1579, this time dressed in the habit of his Order. His experiences there of the hesitation and vacillation of the king were very disappointing. There could be no doubt that the attitude of John III., who was now strongly insisting upon the Pope's consent to the demands which he had but recently been willing to abandon, was principally determined by the political situation. When the Papal-Spanish expedition to Ireland proved a failure, Possevino fell out of favour with the king, but when the news arrived of the conquest of Portugal by Philip II. he received a cordial invitation to the court![5]

It was impossible to bring John III. to the point of making a definite decision in ecclesiastical matters; he adhered firmly to his own system of religion, which as far as he was concerned was expressed in his new liturgy. Himself a mere opportunist, he was incapable of understanding the firm

[1] See THEINER, Schweden, I., 517 *seq.*

[2] See ZACHARIAS, Iter litt. per Italiam, Venetiis, 1762, 294 *seq.*; THEINER, Schweden, II., 44 *seq.*, 48 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* STEINHUBER, I.[2], 357.

[4] *Cf.* BEZOLD in the *Abhandlungen der Münch. Akademie*, XVII., 362 *seq.*

[5] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*; *cf.* Possevino's report in THEINER, Schweden, II., 236 *seq.*

stand of the Holy See, whose religious policy was based upon unchangeable principles. Under these circumstances Possevino was unable to attain the true end of his mission. On August 10th, 1580, he left Stockholm with fifteen Swedish youths who were to be trained as missionaries in the seminaries of Braunsberg and Olmütz. Henceforward he devoted his special attention to these establishments, which were making reassuring progress. His experience of the hesitation of John III. had confirmed him in his conviction that the conversion of Sweden would never be brought about by means of the king, but only by means of long preparatory labours on the part of native priests, trained in the Papal seminaries.[1] A similar view was shared by the authorities in Rome. Gregory did all that lay in his power, and was of opinion that money could not be laid out to a more useful purpose.[2] This indeed proved to be the case, for though some of the students of those establishments did not fulfil the hopes that had been placed in them, others proved themselves worthy to the degree of not even shrinking from martyrdom.[3]

When he left the capital of Sweden Possevino could feel satisfaction in the fact that the king at anyrate had taken under his protection the house of the Jesuits, which had been threatened by a popular tumult.[4] The venerable and

[1] See KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 149 *seq.* ; *cf.* ZALEWSKI, I., 1, 439 *seq.*

[2] See THEINER, II., 324. On February 18, 1581, Cesare Strozzi reported from Rome : *In casa del s. card. Farnese si è fatta questa settimana una congregatione sopra le cose del regno di Suetia con l'intervento delli sig. card^li Madruzzo et Como et del Padre Possevino et pare che non sia stato altro che erigere collegii esve si habbino a mantenere giovani che poi habbino a insegnare, in quel regno buona dottrina cattolica. (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). These deliberations resulted in the Bulls of March, 1581, quoted by KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 176).

[3] As for example John Jussoila and Petrus Erici. *Cf.* for both these, *Hist. Arkisto*, XI., 196 *seq.*, XIX., 192 *seq.*, 219.

[4] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 159. P. St. Warszewicki remained in Stockholm in place of L. Norvegus who departed with Possevino ; see *ibid.*, 161 *seq.*

ancient house of the Brigettines at Wadstena on the Lake of Wetter, whose rule had been reformed by Possevino, was also placed upon a firm footing; the two Catholic priests who had been sent there as confessors received full faculties for the absolution of those who wished to return to the Church.[1] The hopes of the Catholics rested principally upon the queen and the heir to the throne, Sigismund, in whose household two disciples of the college of Braunsberg, Lawrence Magnus, a nephew of the dead Bishop of Upsala, and the Finlander, John Jussoila, were installed as court chaplains,[2] Sigismund, whose firmness in the Catholic faith Possevino counted as the principal result of his second mission,[3] did not in the event disappoint the hopes that were placed in him.[4] John III., on the other hand, made it more and more evident that his rapprochement with Rome had been the outcome of political motives. As Possevino was well aware of this he continued to promote the political interests of the king in every possible way, especially in the matter of the inheritance of Catherine. If he met with no success, the fault was not his. It was a severe blow to King John when his ally of Poland made peace

[1] See THEINER, II., 156 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.*, 327; STEINHUBER, I.², 355. The faculties, dated Prague, May 22, 1584, given to John Jussoila by Possevino in *Hist. Arkisto*, XIX., 218-9: "Auctoritate, qua in regnis Septentrionalibus, ubi catholici episcopi non sunt, a S.D.N.P.M. Gregorio XIII. fungimur, facultatem tibi damus in iisdem regnis sacramenta rite et catholico more administrandi (exceptis sacramentis confirmationis et ordinum sacrorum) itemque absolvendi in quocunque casu, etiam in casibus reservatis in bulla Coena Domini, in foro conscientiae tantum ac cum, quocunque dispensandi in omnibus casibus irregularitatis (exceptis provenientibus ex bigamia et homicidio voluntario) deinde in quocunque loco cum altari portatili celebrandi . . . praeterea et libros prohibitos et haereticos legendi ad eum finem tantum modo ut haereses confutentur et s. fides catholica defendatur."

[3] See his *Sommario in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf. ibid.* the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli. See also *Anz. der Krak. Akademie*, 1891, 139 *seq.*

[4] See THEINER, II., 3, 22 *seq.*

with Russia in 1583. This was equally disastrous for the Catholic cause in Sweden, for the more the political advantages which John looked for from his union with Rome failed of their fulfilment, the more did his zeal for the Catholic religion grow cool.[1]

The hopes of the reunion of Sweden to the Church were further reduced by the death of Queen Catherine in 1583. In her the Catholics lost their great support. In her will this noble princess left a legacy of 10,000 thalers to the seminary of Braunsberg, for the maintenance there of five Swedish boys.[2] How greatly attached Possevino was to this institution is shown by the fact that he wrote its history and kept a detailed register of its pupils.[3] He took a share in the alteration of its statutes in 1584, when it was decided that the youths who were received there must give a promise that they would proceed to receive priest's orders.[4]

A great change for the worse in Catholic hopes in Sweden took place when, on February 15th, 1585, John III. married Gunnila Bielke, who was sixteen years of age and a zealous Lutheran. It even became difficult for the heir to the throne, Sigismund, to remain faithful to the Catholic Church.[5]

At the very moment when the tendency of the King of Sweden, prompted as it was by material considerations, towards a reunion of his kingdom with the ancient Church had come to nothing, it seemed as though a compensation

[1] GEIJER has already pointed this out (II., 226). BERLIÈRE says, very justly, in his review of Biaudet's brilliant work: "Le rapprochement de la Suede avec le St.-Siège fut une oeuvre de politique comme celle qui avait detaché cette nation de l'unité catholique." (*Rev. Bénédict.* XXIV., 435).

[2] See THEINER, Schweden, II., 327.

[3] See *ibid.*, 324 *seq.*, 327 *seq.*

[4] See DUHR, I., 309.

[5] See THEINER, II., 3, 23; *cf.* GEIJER, II., 226, 241. The events connected with the execution of A. Lorich (for whom Gregory XIII. interceded with John III. on February 2, 1585) also contributed to alienate the king from the Catholic cause; see *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXVIII., 312 *seq.*

might be found in another undertaking, the result of which would be of incalculable importance. Even in the times of the greatest difficulty the Popes had not lost sight of barbarous and schismatic Russia, for which country a brighter future could only be opened out when her opposition to the Catholic Church and the culture of the west had been overcome.

Ever since 1561 the Holy See had endeavoured to persuade the Czar Ivan IV. to send delegates to the Council of Trent and to join the alliance against the Turks. Underlying these efforts there was always the thought of a religious reunion on the basis of the Council of Florence. But neither the envoys of Pius IV. nor of Pius V. had been able to reach Moscow on account of the opposition of Sigismund Augustus, the King of Poland.

An attempt made by Gregory XIII. in 1576 to enter into relations with the Czar came to nothing because of the generally unfavourable political conditions.[1] The efforts made by Gregory three years later to put an end to the bloody war between Russia and Poland, and to win over the two Slav kingdoms to the crusade against the Turks, met with no better success. The King of Poland, Stephen Báthory, would not hear of a compromise, as his arms were victorious,[2] and in the time that followed he harassed the Czar to such an extent that the latter found himself compelled to make peace with Poland. As mediator for that purpose the schismatic sovereign of Russia called upon the moral power of the supreme head of the hated Catholic and Roman Church.[3]

[1] See (in addition to PIERLING, St.-Siège, I., 408 *seq.*) SCHELLHASS in the *Quellen und Forschungen des Preuss. Instituts*, XIII., 274 *seq.*

[2] See PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 419 *seq.*; *cf. Rev. des quest. hist.*, LXI. (1882), 224 *seq.*, and BORATYŃSKI, St. Batory i plan Ligi, Section 1.

[3] See PIERLING, A. Possevini Missio Moscovitica ex annuis litt. Soc. Iesu excerpta, Paris, 1882; Un nonce du Pape en Moscovie, Paris, 1884; Le St.-Siège, la Pologne et Moscou, 1582-7, Paris, 1885; Bathory et Possevino, Paris, 1887; La Russie et le St.-Siège, II., 2 *seq.* *Cf.* also LERPIGNY, Un arbitrage Pontifical au XVI^e siècle, Paris, 1886; KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 163 *seq.*; LICHATSCHEW in the *Bullet. de la Comm. archéographique de St. Pétersbourg*, 1903.

During the last week of February, 1581, there came to the Eternal City three men, whose strange oriental dress caused the greatest excitement. The amazement of the Curia was very great when it was learned that they had been sent by Ivan IV., the Grand Prince of Moscow, a schismatic and noted for his pride, from which place no messenger had presented himself in the capital of Christendom for half a century. At that time, in the days of Clement VII., apartments had been given to the envoy of Russia in the Vatican. This was not done on the present occasion. In the first place consideration had to be shown for the friendly sovereign of Poland, and this time it was not a case of a plenipotentiary, but only of the bearer of a letter from the Grand Prince. Therefore a middle course was adopted. When the envoys entered Rome on February 24th, 1581, the Colonna palace, the residence of Giacomo Boncompagni, was placed at their disposal. Báthory's representative at the Curia was able to arrange that they were not given any public audience, although they were the bearers of credential letters from the Emperor Rudolph II.; all they obtained was a private audience on February 26th. Besides Ivan Thomas Schewerigin, who was to deliver the Czar's letter, there were present only his interpreter, William Popler, together with Francesco Pallavicini and Giacomo Boncompagni.[1]

Schewerigin, a handsome and striking man,[2] appeared in a mantle of red scarlet cloth, with a silk dress of the same colour, long boots of skin and a tall hat of sable. The letter which he brought was written in the Russian tongue. Gregory,

[1] See MUCANTIUS, Diarium, in THEINER, Annales, III., 284; **Avviso di Roma* of February 25, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 87, Vatican Library; *Bernerio's report dated Rome, March 4, 1581, State Archives at Vienna; *Odescalchi's memorandum dated Rome, February 25 and March 4, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also MONTAIGNE, II., 6. SCHIEMANN'S statement (II., 383) that the Pope received Schewerigin "in full consistory" is altogether false.

[2] *E huomo di nobilissimo aspetto et di bellissima presenza, wrote Odescalchi on February 25, 1581, *loc. cit.*

therefore was only able, when he informed the Cardinals of the embassy in secret consistory on the following day, to say that thanks must be rendered to God for such a mission.[1]

There can be no doubt that the appearance of an envoy from the mysterious east at once raised hopes in the mind of Gregory XIII., not only for the furtherance of the war against the Turks, but also of the reunion of the Russian church with the Holy See, which had been vainly attempted by many of his predecessors. The translation of the letter[2] showed that Ivan was acting with true Asiatic cunning. He promised, if he were granted the friendship of the Pope and the other Christian princes to throw open his country to the trade of western Europe. He therefore begged Gregory XIII. to induce the King of Poland, that "vassal of the Turks," to lay aside his arms. This disposition manifested by the Grand Prince to ally himself with the Pope and the Christian princes after the restoration of peace, coincided with the Pope's favourite project. For that end Ivan asked that a representative of the Holy See might be sent to Moscow.

Although the request for mediation was honourable, and the hope held out of his support in the struggle against Islam was encouraging, the complete silence in which Ivan passed over the religious differences which existed between Rome and Moscow was very strange. The Curia did not, however, indulge in any exaggerated hopes; "the style of the letter," wrote Cardinal Galli to the nuncio in Poland, "is in some ways convincing. But all who know as we do, that this does not come from the good dispositions of Ivan, but from the salutary defeat which King Stephen has inflicted upon him, will be all the less inclined to look for good results from this mission, in that in the letter there is not a word about religious matters."[3]

However difficult it was to check Báthory in his victorious

[1] See *Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[2] See PAMIATNIKI, diplom. Snochénij, I., 6 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 19 *seq.*

[3] See CIAMPI, I., 237 *seq*

progress, Gregory felt that he ought not to let slip the opportunity of once more entering into closer relations with Russia. This view was shared by Cardinals Farnese, Madruzzo, Galli, and Commendone, to whom he showed the letter for their advice ;[1] they approved of the decision which the Pope announced on March 6th, in secret consistory, to send an envoy to Russia as soon as possible, to treat, not only of the matter of the peace, but also of the reunion of the Czar's kingdom with the Church.[2] Out of consideration for Poland, and because Schewerigin had no high standing, this duty was entrusted to a simple religious, Antonio Possevino, who had acquired a special knowledge of the state of northern and eastern Europe in the course of his previous missions.[3] Great things were hoped of his zeal, his learning and his eloquence. It was also an advantage that he enjoyed the favour of Báthory.

The departure of Possevino, who was to travel with Schewerigin, was delayed for a while, as Gregory XIII. wished the envoy of the Grand Prince of Russia to assist at the impressive ceremonies of Holy Week.[4] Schewerigin, who attended in great state, behaved with absolute respect at his visits to the churches. He especially admired the new buildings of St. Peter's, the ceremonies of Holy Week, and

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 183 *seq.* On March 4, 1581, *Sporeno reported that the four Cardinals were still in consultation. (Government Archives at Innsbruck).

[2] See Acta consist. (Consistorial Archives of the Vatican).

[3] Odescalchi, on March 11, 1581, *reports the sending of Possevino and takes occasion to bestow great praise on the zealous religious for his past activity, especially in Sweden (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On the same day, *Bernerio also reports the mission (State Archives, Vienna). On March 4, Galli had considered it as probable ; see KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 173, n. 1. Here (on page 174) the author rightly observes that PIERLING trusted too much to Possevino's "Annales," for in them Possevino speaks only too often like a boastful old man.

[4] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of March 25, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 138 (Vatican Library).

the piety displayed by the Roman people; the fine discipline of the Swiss Guard also excited his admiration.[1] Possevino utilized the time before his departure by studying the works of Herberstein and Giovio on the strange country to which he was going. Gregory XIII. and Commendone placed all the documents in the Papal archives bearing on the subject at his disposal.[2]

In addition to letters to the courts of Russia, Poland and Sweden,[3] Possevino was given secret instructions, in accordance with which he was first to go to Venice to negotiate a commercial treaty between the republic and Russia, and then to bring about peace between Ivan and Báthory. Once this had been arranged, he was to press for the alliance against Turkey, to which the commercial treaty with Venice was to open the way,[4] and this, if possible, was to have its basis and guarantee of stability in the reunion of Russia with the Catholic Church.[5]

Possevino was given as his companions four of his fellow-religious, two of whom spoke the Slav language, as well as two interpreters.[3] As Schewerigin had, by Ivan's command, brought to the Pope a gift of precious furs, Gregory in return sent valuable gifts to the Grand Prince. Schewerigin himself received rich presents, so that he left the Eternal City on March 27th, 1581, together with Possevino, in a state of high

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 4, 8 and 11, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 101, 103, 109 (Vatican Library), and Avvisi-Caetani, 110.

[2] *Cf.* TURGENEVIUS, Suppl. ad Hist. Russiae monumenta, Petropoli, 1848, 20 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 25.

[3] See the text in Possevino's Moscovia, 57 *seq.*, and in THEINER, Schweden, II., 63 *seq.* *Cf. Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 343 *seq.* KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 175, n. 3.

[4] Cardinal Galli lays stress on these "arrière-pensées" in his *Memorie (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[5] See TURGENEVIUS, Hist. Russiae monumenta, Petropoli, 1841, 299 *seq.* *Cf.* CIAMPI, I., 241 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 26 *seq.*

[6] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 176.

satisfaction.[1] The journey was made by way of Austria, with a stay at Venice. In Venice Possevino discussed a league against the Turks, but the government maintained an evasive attitude. From Villach he paid a visit to the Archduke Charles at Graz, in the interests of a marriage between the Hapsburgs and the royal house of Sweden. He joined Schewerigin once more at Prague. There, as the Pope had given him several thousand scudi for the seminary training of missionary priests for the north of Europe, he founded a Papal seminary, which was very soon in a flourishing condition.[2] His visit to the Emperor was without result. He then set out by way of Breslau for Poland, while Schewerigin continued his journey to Moscow through Lübeck.[3]

Báthory had viewed the coming of Possevino with considerable distrust. But the Jesuit was able by his shrewdness to overcome the prejudices of the king and win his confidence. It was of great advantage to the success of his undertaking that, as things stood, mediation was always desired in Poland.[4]

At the beginning of August, 1581, Possevino set foot on Russian soil, that is to say in a world which to a native of western Europe was as unknown as it was strange. Passing through Smolensk, on August 10th, he reached Stariza on the Volga, where Ivan had his court. Two days later he presented the Pope's letter and gifts to the Grand Prince. The letter was written with consummate diplomatic skill.[5] In it, Gregory recalled the relations between his predecessors and Russia, gave expression to his joy at the hostile feelings of the Grand Prince for the Turks, and declared himself all the more ready to intervene with Báthory in the cause of

[1] See *Odescalchi's report of April 1, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf. Avvisi-Caetani*, 111.

[2] See the *Sommario delle commissioni date da Gregorio XIII. al P. Possevino (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[3] See PIERLING, II., 45 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, 176 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* PIERLING II., 53 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*

[5] Printed in Possevino's Moscovia, 58. KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 171) describes it as a diplomatic masterpiece.

peace, in that the arms of Russia as well as Poland could then be turned against Islam. Since, as Possevino would be able to explain more clearly, political union without a religious one was impossible, the Pope begged Ivan to study the deliberations of the Council of Florence, which he sent to him, in which the Greeks had recognized the Roman primacy, to present them to his theologians, and then send another embassy to Rome. The gifts consisted of a precious crucifix in rock crystal and lapiz lazuli, containing a relic of the True Cross, a copy of Michelangelo's Pietà in ivory, a rosary adorned with precious stones, and a copy of the decrees of the Council of Florence written in Greek.[1]

During his stay of nearly four weeks at the Russian court Possevino had six audiences with the Grand Prince, which were for the most part very short. All the longer were his negotiations with the Boyars. In the latter Possevino first of all maintained the necessity of an understanding, not only with Poland, but also with Sweden, as well as the formation of a general league against the Turks, which could only rest on a solid foundation if the same faith united all those who composed it. He pointed out that the Pope was not asking the Russians to make any sacrifice of their liturgy. With regard to the commercial treaty with Venice he pointed out that the Venetian caravans were always accompanied by two priests, and that it was therefore only right that these should be given free access to Russia, and be allowed to build a church for foreigners.[2]

The replies of the Russians showed that in diplomatic skill they were quite the equals of Possevino. They rejected the inclusion of Sweden in the peace negotiations, though they made the concession that the envoy of John III. should be given a hearing. The Venetians might be allowed to bring Catholic priests to Russia if the same concession was made

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 25, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 141, Vatican Library. *Cf.* PIERLING, II., 85.

[2] See PIERLING, Bathory, 115 *seq.*; La Russie, II., 86 *seq.*; LERPIGNY, Arbitrage, 153 *seq.* *Cf.* THEINER, Annales, III., 353 *seq.*, where, for 1582, read 1581.

to the Russians in the case of Venice ; it was quite out of the question to allow the building of a Catholic Church in the dominions of the Grand Prince. The negotiations concerning any religious reunion must depend upon the conclusion of peace with Poland. For the latter, Ivan laid down hard conditions : above all he demanded the cession of Narva, which would give him access to the Baltic.

On receiving this reply Possevino went on September 12th to Báthory, whose position, on account of the stubborn resistance of the Russians, had changed greatly for the worse. He was therefore very ready for peace negotiations.[1]

The successes which the Swedes had in the meantime met with, made it clear to Ivan as well that an understanding with Poland was very desirable. Beginning on December 13th, 1581, the matter was discussed, with the mediation of Possevino, at the border village of Kiwerowa Horka, in the neighboroughood of Jam Zapolki, on the road to Novgorod. It was the depth of winter. In a small cabin, containing but one room, and with but primitive means of heating, the disciple of Loyola took up his abode, and, as Papal legate, was accepted by both parties as arbitrator. After unspeakable difficulties, he was at last successful, on January 15th, 1582, in arranging the terms of an armistice for ten years between Russia and Poland.[2]

After this Possevino repaired to Moscow, where he was received in audience by Ivan on February 16th, 1582. Although

[1] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 90 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Possevino, Moscovia, 82 *seqq.* The complaint that the armistice unduly favoured Russia is not justified ; *cf. Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXXVI., 357. See *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 421 *seq.*, 429 *seq.* ; LERPIGNY, 231 *seq.* ; PIERLING, La Russie II., 113 *seq.*, 129 *seq.*, 132 *seq.* KARTTUNEN (Possevino, 192 *seq.*) draws attention to the fact that political conditions also played an important part in the conclusion of peace ; but, at the same time, he remarks, quite rightly : " Batory aussi bien qu'Iwan étaient beaucoup trop orgueilleux pour céder l'un à l'autre. Si le jésuite ne s'était pas trouvé là, la lutte aurait continué probablement jusqu'à la défaite complète de l'un ou de l'autre."

he obtained but little from the Czar in the matter of an exchange of prisoners, he was able to count with all the greater confidence on success in the matter of the anti-Turkish league, as, although Ivan had been obliged to give up Livonia, he had rendered important service to the exhausted Grand Prince by obtaining the ten years' armistice.[1] But Ivan, now that he had obtained peace, had not the least intention of fulfilling his promises. Amid empty subterfuges he insisted that the Pope must first win over the states of Europe to such an alliance, and then treat of the matter at Moscow; he was, however, prepared to send a fresh envoy to Rome, who was to make the journey with Possevino. The passport for the Catholic priests of the Venetians was issued, and with regard to the sending of some young Russians to be educated in Rome in the ancient Greek faith he gave a promise without any binding force.[2]

On February 21st, 1582, the reunion of Russia with the Church was debated.[3] This memorable discussion, which took place in the Kremlin, did not have the results which were desired and perhaps expected by Possevino. Ivan, who prided himself a great deal on his theological learning, replied to Possevino's appeal to the primacy of Peter and his successors by remarking that some of the later successors of the Prince of the Apostles had shown themselves unworthy of that position by their evil lives. Possevino replied that they must not blindly believe all the accusations that were made against the Popes, and that in any case, the same thing applied to the Popes as to the Grand Princes, namely that there were

[1] According to LAVISSE-RAMBAUD (V., 752).

[2] See PIERLING, La Russie, II., 160 *seq.*; ÜBERSBERGER, Russlands Orientpolitik, I., 11.

[3] In addition to Possevino's report in his *Moscovia* (31 *seq.*), there is also a Russian one which agrees, more or less, with that of the Jesuit; see SCHEIMANN, II., 393, n. 1. Against Possevino and Pierling, WALISZEWSKI is at pains to show (Iwan le Terrible, Paris, 1904, 461), that the conference had not been arranged in advance, and that, on this occasion, the Czar was only accompanied by his ordinary entourage.

good and bad ones, but that their right and prerogatives were always the same, no matter who filled the office. Carried away by rage, the Grand Prince exclaimed that the Pope was not a shepherd but a wolf.[1] To this insult Possevino replied with bold candour that it was a wonder that Ivan had sought the mediation of a wolf. Being thus driven into a corner, the Grand Prince gave a loud cry and grasped his sceptre which was tipped with iron, and with which he had a few months before killed his own son, and lifted it to strike at Possevino.[2] The latter, however, remained quite calm, whereupon Ivan again cooled down. They continued the discussion for a long time. Ivan reviled the Pope because in his pride he had himself carried in a chair and made men kiss the cross that was embroidered upon his shoe ; he tried to make a laughing stock of Possevino by asking him why he shaved, since it was considered an outrage to cut off one's hair and beard in Russia. Possevino answered these attacks calmly and to the point, but Ivan clung firmly to his contention that the Pope allowed himself to be worshipped as God. The antipathy for the Catholic Church felt by the Russian Grand Prince, and the prejudices against the Latins which he had inherited from the Greeks, were fanned by the English merchants, who represented Rome as Babylon and the Pope as Antichrist, because it was the policy of the shrewd envoys of Queen Elizabeth to obtain a monopoly of the trade of Russia by parading the Protestant flag.[3]

[1] Possevino did not dare to print this outburst in his *Moscovia*, though it is contained in his original manuscript ; see TURGENEVIUS, Suppl. ad Hist. Russiae Monumenta, 104.

[2] BRÜCKNER says (Geschichte Russlands, I., 405) : " Possevino might easily have fallen a victim to his own zeal for conversion. It was a deed of daring to expose himself to the unbridled passion and brutality of a tyrannical opponent." According to LAVISSE-RAMBAUD (V., 752) : " Iwan IV. se montra de mauvaise foi dans le discussion, pédant, insolent."

[3] *Cf.* BRÜCKNER, I., 405 ; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 166, 190 *seq.* For Possevino's written defence against the English attacks on the Pope see WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, III., 353 *seq.*

Two days later Possevino was again invited to appear before the Grand Prince, who apologized for the expressions he had used against the Pope, and even asked for a memorial setting forth the doctrinal differences between the two churches. Nevertheless the schismatic sovereign had no serious thought of coming to any agreement. On the first Sunday in Lent, March 4th, a first attempt was made to induce Possevino to take part in the Russian worship, but in vain. Ivan, who wished to maintain his relations with the Pope, which were so useful to him politically, tried to persuade him up to the last moment; the courageous Jesuit was courteously received in a farewell audience,[1] and in company with a Russian envoy, named John Molvianinow, set out on March 14th, 1582, for Riga, where he discussed with Báthory the best means for the restoration of the Catholic religion in Livonia, which had been secured by the peace; he then set out on his return journey to Rome.[2] During his stay in Moscow, as was also done in the case of all the foreign diplomatists, he had been so closely watched over by a supposed guard of honour that he could not even go for a short walk, and thus had been unable to get into touch with anyone.[3]

On his way back to Rome, at the end of June, 1582, Possevino discussed with the Emperor his controversy with Báthory, and got Rudolph II. to accept the Pope as arbitrator.[4]

For the Anglo-Russian relations see also SCHIEMANN, II., 395 *seq.*; G. TOLSTOY, England and Russia, 1553-93, St. Petersburg, 1875; *American Hist. Review*, XIX. (1914), 525 *seq.* The question of kissing the foot was dealt with at the time by the Spanish theologian Jos. Stephanus (see HURTER, I., 186) in his work: "De adoratione pedum Rom. Pontif." which was not printed at Venice until 1578. It also appeared "Coloniae, 1580" and "Romae, 1588."

[1] See POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 36 *seq.*

[2] See PIERLING, II., 177 *seq.*

[3] See PIERLING, Bathory et Possevino, 146.

[4] The dispute was about the towns of Szatmar and Némety and still occupied the attention of the nuncio Malaspina; see REICHENBERGER, I., xix *seq.* *Cf.* also VERESS, Berzwiczy Márton, Budapest, 1911, 158 *seq.*

In Venice Possevino made it clear that there was nothing to be hoped from either Russia or Poland for the war against the Turks, and he accordingly made proposals of another kind for the defence of Christendom.[1]

On September 14th, 1582, amid the roar of the cannon of St. Angelo, and a great concourse of the people, the Russian mission made its entry into Rome.[2] There it still remained under the care of Possevino, to whom the rude behaviour and the barbarous habits of Molvianinow caused no little embarrassment.[3]

On September 16th their reception by the Pope, who was attended by fourteen Cardinals, took place in the Palace of S. Marco, in the Sala del Mappamundi. Here too Molvianinow behaved in a boorish fashion. When his secretary failed to hand him the letter of the Grand Prince quickly enough,[4] so that he might deliver it to the Pope, he struck him![5] No negotiations took place; as the envoy had no powers there could be no more than an exchange of ideas and gifts.

On October 16th, Molvianinow set out again with Possevino.[6] He carried for Ivan a letter from the Pope, in which Gregory XIII. expressed his satisfaction at the relations that had been opened through Possevino and

[1] See PIERLING, Bathory et Possevino, 168-93.

[2] See *Odescalchi's report dated Rome, September 15, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* both the *Avvisi di Roma of September 15, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 332, 336, Vatican Library. See also the *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1582, in the State Archives, Naples, C. Farnes. 6.

[3] See PIERLING, *loc. cit.*, 145, 215; *cf.* La Russie, II., 192 *seq.*

[4] Printed in POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 112.

[5] See MUCANTIUS, Diarium, in THEINER, III., 349 *seq.*; PRIULI in MUTINELLI, I., 135; Lettres de P. de Foix, 601; *Donato's report of September 22, 1582, State Archives, Venice; *Odescalchi's memorandum of September 22, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Avviso di Roma of September 22, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 344, Vatican Library. *Cf.* DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 109.

[6] See *Avvisi di Roma of September 29, October 3 and 16, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 360, 368, 380, Vatican Library; PRIULI in MUTINELLI, I., 137 *seq.* *Cf.* PIERLING, La Russie, II., 204 *seq.*

Molvianinow between Russia and Rome, and welcomed as a matter for particular satisfaction the fact that Ivan in an earlier letter to Báthory had recognized the preservation of the true faith in the Roman Church. He hoped that the Grand Prince would continue to hold this view. The Pope promised to further the league against the Turks, and informed Ivan that he might make use of Possevino for the future as a trustworthy mediator. The letter, which was furnished with a seal of gold, concluded with an expression of the Pope's pleasure at the free passage which had been granted to the merchants and their priests, and with an acknowledgment of the gifts of the Grand Prince.[1] This brought to an end the relations of the Holy See with Ivan, who died on March 18th, 1584.[2]

The restoration of peace between Poland and Russia was certainly to the advantage of the kingdom of Báthory, and specially advantageous for Livonia, which he acquired by it.[3] But the immediate results obtained by Possevino ended there; with regard to the principal matter, the reunion of Russia with the Church, his mission had been a failure, as had been his earlier attempts in Sweden. Nevertheless he did not altogether despair of success. In his memorials to the Pope,

[1] The document has often been printed: in POSSEVINO, Moscovia, 114, in *Relacye Nuncyuszów Apost.*, I., 448 *seq.*, in TURGENEVIUS, Hist. Russiae Monumenta, I., 393 *seq.*, and in THEINER, III., 351 *seq.* The original with the attached Golden Bull is preserved in the archives of the Imperial House at Moscow; *cf.* BÜHLER, Reproduct. d'anciens cachets Russes, I., Moscow, 1880, p.v., where, however, for 1552, read 1582. In return for his presents, Ivan received a picture of Our Saviour.

[2] For Gregory XIII.'s attitude towards Ivan's successor, see TURGENEVIUS, II., 3 *seq.*; PIERLING, La Russie, II., 252 *seq.*; *cf. ibid.*, 271 for the Papal order, inspired by the General of the Jesuits, in accordance with which Possevino had to leave the Polish court, owing to the rivalry between Rudolph II. and Báthory which necessitated strict neutrality on the part of the Jesuit Order.

[3] *Cf.* ZAKRZEWSKI, Stosunki Stolicy Apost. z Iwanem Groznym, Krakow, 1872, and ARNDT in the *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, XXXI., 240 *seq.*, 503.

which contain so much information of the highest importance as to the state of affairs in Russia, which was almost entirely unknown in the west, he recommends the training of special missionaries who should make themselves thoroughly acquainted with the language, and gradually impart to the neglected and ignorant people a true idea of western civilization and of the Catholic Church.[1] The introduction of any true missionary work on such lines proved to be impossible, yet the missions of Possevino had important indirect consequences which were realized in 1593 with the accession to the throne of Sigismund III., and in 1595, with the union of the schismatic Ruthenian Church to that of Rome.[2] In putting an end to the Ruthenian schism, an event of the greatest importance for eastern Europe, Possevino's fellow Jesuit, Skarga, as well as Gregory XIII. himself, had already played an energetic and important part.[3]

[1] *Cf.* both Possevino's Commentarii which are printed in his Moscovia, 1 *seq.*, and 12 *seq.*, and WERNER, Gesch. der polem. Literatur, III., 341 *seq.*

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Possevino, 205 *seq.*; *cf.* PELESS, Zur Geschichte der Union der ruthen. Kirche mit Rom, I., Vienna, 1878, 507 *seq.*; PIERLING, II., 219-27. See also *Anz. der Krak. Akademie*, 1891, 137 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 402, and THEINER, III., 340, 433 *seq.* For the union of Polish Ruthenians brought about by Bolognetti and the Jesuits see MAFFEI, II., 350 *seq.*

CHAPTER XI.

Foreign Missions.—Japan.—China.—The Indies.

As he had done in the case of the various countries of Europe, Gregory XIII. also displayed so great an activity for the consolidation and spread of the Church in the Far and Near East, in Asia, Africa, and the New World, that he has rightly been called the Pope of the Missions.[1] Here too he found his best and most indefatigable helpers in the Society of Jesus. Like their founder, who at first had wished to devote his labours to the infidel as a missionary, the young followers of Loyola devoted themselves in a special way to carrying the Gospel to the peoples who were lost in the darkness of paganism. In this task Gregory XIII. supported and helped them in every possible way.[2] The unwearied labours of Francis Xavier, all on fire with zeal for the salvation of souls, had made it clear that the work for the conversion of Asia must be directed not only to the effeminate and visionary Hindoos and Malays, but rather to the Japanese and Chinese.[3] During the period that followed the Japanese islands offered to the Jesuits a field of labour that held out high hopes of success.[4]

[1] See Karttunen, Grégoire XIII., 94 *seq.* *Cf.* Guido Ferreri, *Vita Gregorii XIII., c. 4 (Papal Secret Archives).

[2] *Cf.* the countless dispensations and privileges enumerated in the Synopsis: 64, 67, 68, 70, 78, 82, *seq.*, 84, 86, 94, 95, 96, 97, 99-101, 108, 117 *seq.*, 129, 132, 136, 138-9, 140.

[3] See Vol. XIII of this work, p. 315 *seqq*

[4] See L. Delplace, Le Catholicisme au Japon. François Xavier at ses premiers successeurs, 1540-93, I., Bruxelles, 1909, 77 *seq.* and Hans Haas, Geschichte des Christentums in Japan, II.: Fortschritte des Christentums unter dem Superiorat des P. Cosmo de Torres, Tokio, 1904. *Cf.* M. Steichen, the Christian

When Francis Xavier left Japan in 1551, only a few hundreds of the natives, and those of the lowest class, had been won over to the religion of the Cross. Gaspar Vilela, who returned to India in 1571, worn out by his long missionary labours, estimated the number of Christians at 30,000.[1] Among the new converts there was one of the sixty Daimios, and not a few of the most highly educated and learned men of the country. There were also isolated Christians in those places where the missionaries had not yet penetrated; such were to be found, in the opinion of Ludovico Froes in 1566, in almost all the sixty-three principalities into which Japan was at that time divided.[2] In the midst of the corruption of the representatives of Buddhism and Shintoism, the Japanese felt themselves more and more attracted in those difficult times to the missionaries, in whom they still saw the spirit of Francis Xavier. Compared to the comfortable life and the selfishness of the pagan priests, the generosity and the self-sacrificing care for the sick shown by the missionaries formed a contrast which made a deep impression.[3]

The zeal of the new converts corresponded to the heroic courage and spirit of sacrifice of the missionaries.[4] They come on Sundays, wrote Baldassare Gago in 1559,[5] from a distance of two and three leagues, to the instructions for catechumens at Funai; those who live further off arrive the evening before and spend the night at the hospital. On solemn feasts the church is too small for the number of the faithful, but their devotion and the tears with which they receive the holy sacraments make the missionaries blush.

Daymios: A century of religious and political history in Japan (1549-1650), Yokohama, 1903. For a criticism of MURDOCH'S History of Japan, Kobe, 1903, *cf.* THURSTON in *The Month*, 1905, I., 291 *seq.*, 388 *seq.*

[1] DELPLACE, I., 172.

[2] *Ibid.* 149.

[3] *Cf.* the opinion of the Japanese G. MITSUKURI in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 194 *seq.*

[4] See HAAS, II., 332-71.

[5] DELPLACE, I., 91.

Every Wednesday and Friday during Lent, after a sermon on the Passion of Christ, they take the discipline before the crucifix. Everywhere there is set up a system of works of charity for the poor, and the care of the sick; meals in common, especially on the feast of the Visitation of Our Lady, help to foster the love and mutual good-will of the Christians. The steadfastness and constancy of the converts were no less great than their zeal. When the Daimio of Hirado persecuted the Christians in 1560, many went into exile and forfeited all their property.[1] When he was asked how far his love for Jesus Christ ought to extend, a boy of eleven replied: "as long as I am a Christian, even though I were to be cut into small pieces";[2] such replies are frequently recorded, even though at the utmost there were only isolated cases of true martyrdom.[3]

The joy experienced by the converts in feeling themselves to be members of a great universal Church, and children of the Vicar of Christ, was shown by the eagerness with which they asked the Pope for blessed *Agnus Dei*, or copies of the *Sudarium*. Some of them, wrote Lodovico Froes, pass eight days in prayer in order to merit the happiness of possessing such things. Some of the *Agnus Dei* had to be broken into 1530 pieces, in order to satisfy the devotion of all the claimants. Every day boat loads of men and women arrived asking to share in these treasures.[4]

The results of the labours of the missions, when compared with the difficulties they were faced with, are all the more remarkable. At first the missionaries were only quite a small number. Until the end of 1563, there were never more than nine priests in the country; in the following year they were increased by seven priests and eight lay-brothers, of whom four were Japanese; in 1570 two more priests were added.[5]

[1] DELPLACE, I., 96.

[2] HAAS, II., 342.

[3] DELPLACE, I., 94, 173.

[4] (I. P. MAFFEI), Rerum a Societate Iesu in Oriente gestarum volumen, Coloniae, 1574, 351, 369.

[5] DELPLACE, I., 98. HAAS, II., 274.

What was accomplished by this little band was the result of an inexhaustible perseverance, which never allowed itself to be discouraged, even when after years of work there were no visible results, and one of the frequent wars, or a change in the government, or the whim of a ruler seemed to have swept away all that had been won. From Kagoschima, where the work of the missions had been begun, the prohibition of the sovereign kept the missionaries away for a long time, and the Christian community to a great extent became demoralized.[1] A church was established amid great perils at Hakata, but almost entirely fell into ruins, because it was impossible to send any missionary there.[2] At Jamagutschi the progress that was made at first was considerable; the governor of the city himself, Naito Takaharu, with two of his sons, two learned priests, who obtained Christian priests from Meaco, received baptism. But in 1556 the Daimio Joschinaga was driven out, and his successor Mori Motonari forbade the preaching of the Gospel, and for about twenty years the Christians there were without priests.[3]

The conditions were most favourable for the missionaries in the kingdom of Bungo.[4] The Daimio there, Otomo Joschischiga, had asked the viceroy of India for missionaries, and went so far in his courtesy towards them as to ask them once a year to dine with him. But as he did not himself embrace Christianity they were unable to win over the magnates of the district. For thirty years, a missionary wrote in 1580, we have undergone great labours and dangers, and the result has been that from time to time we convert a hunchback, a cripple, or a leper. A young Portuguese merchant, Luiz Almeida, who soon afterwards entered the Society of Jesus, had built out of his own means a hospital for deserted children, and another for lepers, where those

[1] Haas, II., 192 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 94 *seqq.*

[3] Delplace, I., 79 *seq.* E. Satow, Vicissitudes of the Church at Yamaguchi from 1550 to 1586, in *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, VII., Yokohama, 1879, 131-56.

[4] Haas, II., 72-111. Delplace, I., 83-96.

who were suffering from venereal disease also found a refuge. Many came out as Christians from these hospitals, and their charitable work thus met with its reward, but this did not prevent Christianity from being looked upon, on account of its connexion with these hospitals, as the religion of the poor and neglected, to which those of high rank ought not to belong. In spite of this by 1556 there were about two thousand Christians in Bungo.

There were about the same number in 1561 in the Island of Hirado, where the fickle Daimio, Matsuura Takanobu, was at one time favourable and at another opposed to the new religion, in each case in accordance with the political considerations of the moment. There the Jesuits found a supporter in Koteda, the powerful vassal of Takanobu, and the islands of Tukaschima and Ikitsu which were subject to him soon became almost entirely Christian.[1]

The preference which the Portuguese showed for the port of Hirado, suggested to Sumitada, the ruler of Omura, to the south, the idea of attracting Portuguese merchants to his state by offering great advantages to their merchants and missionaries. He offered them his port of Jokoseura, which they accepted. After several visits of courtesy, Sumitada began to take his relations with the missionaries more seriously; he began to wear a cross of gold in public, and went to visit the Jesuits at night, in order to discuss questions of religion with them, and at last openly embraced Christianity, and when, at the outbreak of the next war he went, in accordance with the Japanese custom, to visit the temple of the god of war, it was only in order to strike the idol with his sword. After this the Jesuits met with brilliant success at Omura. Soon, however, an insurrection of twelve of his vassals against the Daimio threatened once more to imperil the whole position. Sumitada found himself in great straits, but refused to purchase the submission of his vassals by abandoning his religion as they demanded; he was saved by the intervention of his father, who was still a pagan.[2]

[1] Haas, II., 207 *seqq.*

[2] *Ibid.* 229 *seqq.*

The example of Sumitada decided his brother, the Daimio Joschisada of Arima to call in the Jesuits as well, to his beautiful port and city of Kotschinotsu. But here the cause of the Cross was again defeated and the missionaries driven out for a time. After their return almost the whole city embraced Christianity. In the Islands of Goto, whither the Daimio Takaaki summoned the Jesuits in 1566, he had his son baptized by the name of Louis.[1] In the Island of Amakusa even more seemed to have been obtained. The Daimio himself embraced Christianity, but very soon again apostatized, when he found that the commercial advantages which he had looked for from his conversion were not realized.[2]

All this progress, however, could not have any decisive effect, because these were all places of the second rank. The religious centre of the country was the capital, Meaco (Kioto), with its Holy Mountain of Hije, which was peopled by hundreds of monasteries of the bonzes. It was necessary for Christianity to get a footing there, if the whole of Japan was to be won. Such a thing, however, was only possible by slow degrees and with great difficulty.[3] Cosmo de Torres, the head of the mission, had sent thither in 1559 his two best fellow-workers, Gaspar Vilela and the Japanese, Lawrence. Cross in hand, Vilela began to preach in the public streets, and aroused wonder even in the most exalted quarters. The Shogun himself (majordomo) summoned him twice to his presence and gave him a safe conduct. He soon aroused the hatred of the powerful bonzes, when he had converted about a hundred persons, including fifteen of the bonzes themselves. The position grew steadily worse, so that in August 1561 the missionary had no other course open to him but to leave the city, which, even apart from this, soon became the scene of military disturbances. Going back in the autumn of 1562 Vilela had once more to leave about Easter, 1563, and from 1565 to 1569 during the political disturbances which preceded

[1] *Ibid.* 258 *seqq.*
[2] *Ibid.* 262 *seqq.*
[3] DELPLACE, I., 100 *seqq.* HAAS, II., 113 *seqq.*

the union of Japan, any permanent residence in the capital was impossible for the missionaries.

Driven out from Meaco itself, Vilela continued to work indefatigably in the surrounding district, and gradually obtained some results. Lodovico Froes, who was Vilela's fellow labourer from 1565, and later on his successor, pointed to this as a definite proof that everything could be won by persistence. "Despised," he says, "hated, stoned, persecuted in every way, treated as unworthy of any consideration, Vilela has never ceased to do all he could for the spread of the faith. To-day he is venerated and loved by two of the greatest dignitaries, and by the king himself, the supreme head of all Japan, who willingly converses with him. Great lords have become Christians, and he has built seven churches in a district covering from twelve to fifteen leagues. In spite of his weariness and weakness, he does not cease to labour, as though he were still in good health."[1] For six years Vilela had seen no European, and for three years he had been unable to say mass, because owing to the depredations of bandits it had been impossible to convey vestments to Meaco.[2]

In 1577 there were about 1500 Christians in the capital.[3] In the surrounding district the progress had been greater and more rapid. For example, at the fortress of Imori 500 Japanese asked for baptism within a short period, after an important official there, the secretary of the first minister of Meaco, had become a Christian. The reasons for his conversion are characteristic of the existing state of affairs in Japan. The bonzes of Meaco had demanded of the minister of justice the expulsion of Vilela, but the minister replied that it would first be necessary to examine Vilela's doctrine. The two bonzes who were entrusted with this examination both declared themselves in favour of Christianity and asked for baptism. This unexpected conversion led to that of the secretary and through his means to many others.[4]

[1] DELPLACE, I., 113.
[2] DELPLACE, I., 106, 116.
[3] *Ibid.* 172.
[4] *Ibid.* 110.

Vilela made an even more interesting conversion in that of Takajama Hida-no-kami, governor of the fortress of Takatsuki, who was baptized under the name of Darius. Together with two other important nobles, he had invited Vilela and Lawrence to his house on the pretext of asking for instruction, but his real intention had been to cut off both their heads, if they, who spoke so much of the unreasonableness of the Japanese religion, should themselves say anything unreasonable. The result of the interview was that the governor himself, and his two guests, embraced Christianity.[1] Of the two brothers of Darius, one, Francis Moriaku, commandant of Sawa, was also a zealous Christian, and the other, Wada (Vatandono), fell in battle before his conversion had been completed, but his favourable dispositions towards Christianity were even more important than those of his two brothers. For when the Shogun and the whole of the Wada family perished in an insurrection in 1565, he saved the Shogun's brother Gakkei, the heir to the Shogunate, by giving him shelter in his own castle. When Oda Nobunaga, the prince of Owari, took up arms on behalf of Gakkei, for the conquest of Meaco, and assumed the supreme power, Wada became all powerful with the new sovereign, and used his influence on behalf of the Christians. At his recommendation, the Jesuit Lodovico Froes was enabled to obtain a personal interview with Nobunaga, and received from him a document permitting the missionaries to live in Meaco, and setting them free from various disabilities.[2]

A new era in Japan, both in its political history and in that of Christianity, began with the accession to the throne of Nobunaga. Whereas that powerful sovereign acted unhesitatingly against the Buddhist priests, who had joined forces with his enemies against him, he showed the Jesuits so much favour that it was rumoured that he had secretly embraced Christianity. Although the ambitious monarch had no thought of any such thing, he nevertheless remained very friendly towards the Christian mission. Thus the hopes

[1] *Ibid.* 135.

[2] Haas, II., 159 *seqq.*

of Francis Xavier were at length to be realized. Father Organtino Gnecchi erected a church at Meaco, to the building of which the converts of the capital and the neighbourhood contributed. In memory of the day on which Francis Xavier first set foot on Japanese soil, he dedicated the church, though it was not yet quite finished, on the feast of the Assumption, 1576.[1]

Cosmo de Torres, the companion of Francis Xavier, died in October, 1570, after a laborious apostolate of twenty-one years. Francis Cabral then undertook the charge of the missions. In October, 1575, Cabral informed the General of his Order that since he had been working in Japan several thousand souls had been converted every year, and that in the present year there had been conversions in mass; in the kingdom of Omura alone 20,000 pagans had been won to the Church, together with sixty monasteries of the bonzes. Many, too, had been converted in Bungo and Meaco, and among them many of the nobles. In many of the other kingdoms preachers of the Gospel had been asked for, but he had only been able to reply to them with his tears, so great was his sorrow at seeing countless souls being lost without anyone being able to go to their assistance. He implored by the Sacred Wounds of Jesus that labourers might be sent to that vineyard, in which there was so much fruit and so few labourers, who, moreover, were for the most part very scattered and far distant from each other. Cabral in this letter also called the attention of the General to the need for the establishment of a special house to serve as a seminary for the natives, who had to be trained to act as catechists; the few whom he had at his disposal for that purpose were worn out by their constant labours, and some had died, so that he was in sore need of more help.[2] In spite of the insufficient numbers, however, the years that followed were rich in results, news of which was sent to the nations of Europe in special reports, printed in Latin, Italian and German.[3]

[1] See DELPLACE, I., 129 *seq.*, 135, 138.

[2] See *ibid.* 183 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CARAYON, Bibl. hist., 92 *seq.*; DE BACKER, II., 319 *seq.*; *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1920, 235 *seq.*

In 1575 the ruler of Tosu at Schikoku embraced Christianity, and in 1576 his example was followed by the prince of Arima, and in 1578 by the prince of Bungo. The progress of the missions was especially great at Meaco, where conversions took place in mass. Many important dignitaries became Christians; Nobunaga continued to treat the missionaries with the greatest honour, and discussed religious questions with them. Optimistic persons thought that within ten years the whole of Japan would be converted.[1]

An important event for the missions in the Far East was the coming of Father Alessandro Valignani, who had been sent as visitor. This distinguished man, who was a native of Chieti in the Abruzzi, united a burning zeal for souls to consummate prudence; in course of time he was to win the name, in company with Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the East, of having done all that could be done for the Christianizing of the East.[2] When Valignani reached Japan in July, 1579, he found there 150,000 Christians, for whom he had at his disposal only 59 missionaries, 23 of whom were priests.[3] He divided Japan into three provinces: Bungo, Meaco and Hizen (Figen). He established a seminary at Arima, to which another was afterwards added at Ansukimono. In these institutions young Japanese were to be trained in Christianity, and if they proved to have a vocation, educated for the priesthood. In 1580 Valignani had the joy of administering the sacrament of baptism to the new ruler of Arima—giving him the name of Protasius—by whose example almost the whole of his kingdom was converted. It was of the greatest importance to retain the good-will of Nobunaga,

[1] *Cf.* Delplace, I., 184, 189, 211; Bartoli, Degli uomini e de' fatti d. Comp. di Gesù, Torino, 1847, I., 4, c. 14; and Del Giappone, I., Torino, 1825, 61 *seq.*, 74 *seq.*, 389 *seq.*; Gregory XIII.'s brief to "rex Bungi" of December 20, 1578, Bull. patr. Portug., I., 229.

[2] A monograph on Valignani is in preparation by Luigi Manzi.

[3] In 1574 the number of Jesuit missionaries was 42, including 19 priests; see Manoel Camara, Missões dos Jesuitas no Oriente nos siglos XVI. e XVII., Lisboa, 1894, 140.

who, indeed, showed great favour to Father Gnecchi. In order to make the missionaries popular in Japan the prudent Valignani insisted that they should adapt themselves as far as possible to the customs of the country, and this led to good results. Gregory XIII. bore a great part of the expenses, not only of the two seminaries at Arima and Ansukimono, but also of the new Jesuit college at Funai, and the house of probation at Iquisenqui.[1]

When Valignani, who was accompanied by Organtino Gnecchi and Lodovico Froes, went to the court of Nobunaga at the beginning of 1581, he was received with the greatest honour. He presented the powerful monarch with a gilt chair, some yards of crimson velvet, and crystal vases. Nobunaga used the chair at a sumptuous tournament at which the whole court was present. Unfortunately there were no hopes of winning Nobunaga himself to Christianity; all the thoughts and preoccupations of that haughty man were fixed upon military glory and the extension of his power.[2]

Besides his work of internal organization, Valignani was at pains to bring about the sending of an embassy of the Christian Japanese princes to the Pope in Rome. He had a two-fold purpose in so doing: in the first place he wished homage and obedience to be paid to the supreme head of the Church, and thus give proof that the Pope's energetic support of the Japanese missions[3] had borne good fruit, but at the

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 351 and BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI (*infra* p. 459, note 2), xxi. *Cf.* HUONDER, Einheim. Klerus, 102 *seq.*, and vol. xix. of this work, p.

[2] *Cf.* BARTOLI, Del. Giappone, I., 137 *seq.*, 146 *seq.*, 150 *seq.*, 155 *seq.*, 163 *seq.*, 238 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*; DELPLACE, I., 203 *seq.*, 207 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. supra* p. 448, note 2. The great success of the Jesuits in Japan aroused, at the time, well-deserved admiration in the Curia; *cf.* *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, October 25, 1578 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). According to the *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1582 (Vatican Library), the yearly payments of the Pope to the Jesuit colleges of Japan amounted to 4,000 scudi. *Cf.* also SPECIANI, *Considerationi (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

same time Valignani had another purpose in view, namely that the Japanese, who were so proud of their own institutions and their own learning, might form, by their personal experience, an idea of the far higher culture of the west, and of the splendour of the Catholic Church.[1]

The Christian sovereigns of Bungo, Arima and Omura welcomed the proposal of the enterprising Jesuit.[2] They chose as their envoys their own near relatives, who were still young men, because it was thought that they, better than older men, would be able to bear the hardships of so long a journey, and the differences of climate. The "King" (Daimio) Francis of Bungo, chose as his representative a cousin named Mantius Ito; "King" Protasius of Arima and the ruler of Omura, also chose a near relative, Michael

[1] The opinion of BERCHET (*Arch. Veneto*, 1877, I., 255 *seq.*) that commercial and political aims were also involved in the sending of envoys is untenable; see TACCHI VENTURI, in the *Civ. Catt.*, 1904, III., 456, note 3. The Japanese MITSUKURI expresses the same opinion in the *Hist. Zeitschr.*, LXXXVII., 193.

[2] See "De missione legatorum Iapanensium ad Romanam curiam rebusque in Europa ac toto itinere animadversis Dialogus ex ephemeride ipsorum legatorum collectus et in sermonem latinum versus ab Eduardo de Sande sacerdote Soc. Iesu. In Macaensi portu Sinici regni" (Macao, 1590), written by A. VALIGNANI as is expressly stated in the copy in the Casanatense Library, Rome. Moreover, the book is not, as BRUNET asserts, the first to be printed in Macao; see TACCHI VENTURI, *loc. cit.* 455, note. *Cf.* also the Relazioni della venuta degli ambasciatori Giaponesi a Roma. . . raccol te da GUIDO GUALTIERI, Roma, 1586 (*cf.* PAGÈS, Bibliogr. jap., 28), Reprint, Schio, 1895; SACCHINUS-POSSINUS, V., 225 *seq.*; BARTOLI, I., 266 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 393 *seq.*; BERCHET, *loc. cit.* I., 255 *seqq.*; FRANCESCO BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Le prime due ambasciate di Giapponesi a Roma (1585, 1615) con nuovi documenti, Roma, 1904, a very beautiful publication (restricted to 104 copies) issued to celebrate the golden wedding of the Prince of Piombino Rodolfo Boncompagni and Agnese Borghese. See also CORDIER, Bibl. Jap. (1912), 94-107; *Die kathol. Missionen*, 1920, 217 *seq.*

Cingiva. To these royal personages others belonging to the great aristocracy were added, Julian Nacaura and Martin Hara. On February 20th, 1582, the envoys, accompanied by several Jesuits, among them Valignani, embarked upon a Portuguese vessel at Nagasaki. The whole company was not very large. On the way across to China the travellers had to pass through a cyclone lasting five days. At Macao they had to delay for nine months, because vessels only sailed thence once a year for the Indies. The Japanese made use of the time, as they did again during long delays at Malacca and Goa, in learning the Latin language, and the writing of the west.

The continuation of the voyage towards India was rendered extremely perilous by storms and pirates, and as Valignani had received orders to remain in India as provincial, he handed over the care of the envoys to Father Nuño Rodriguez, who was being sent to Rome as procurator of the interests of the Order. The envoys were also accompanied by another Jesuit named Meschita, who acted as interpreter. After having rounded the Cape of Good Hope, at last, after a voyage of two and a half years, the harbour of Lisbon was reached on August 10th, 1584. King Philip II., who received the envoys at Madrid, caused the most honourable welcome to be prepared for them in his kingdom, and the envoys were even shown the Escorial. At Alicante they embarked for Leghorn, which, on account of the storms which delayed them, they only reached on March 1st, 1585. The Grand Duke of Tuscany also showed the foreign visitors every possible attention; at Pisa, Florence and Siena they were lost in wonder at the splendid cathedrals and the other wonderful things they were shown.

Gregory XIII., after having carefully examined copies of their credentials, caused the envoys to be welcomed at the frontier of the Papal States by a guard of honour. After going to Viterbo, the Japanese visited the castle of Caprarola, the owner of which, Cardinal Farnese, entertained them in princely style. In the evening of March 22nd this unique embassy, which was awaited by the Curia with the greatest

enthusiasm,[1] arrived before the gates of the Eternal City. Three full years and thirty-two days had elapsed since they had set out from Japan! The envoys lodged, as had generally been the case on the course of their journey, with the Jesuits, this time in the professed house. Their solemn reception was to take place on the following day at a public consistory.

An enormous crowd assembled in the streets of Rome on the morning of March 23rd, to see the foreign visitors who had come from the mysterious island kingdom in the farthest east. The entry of the Japanese, whose short stature and appearance, as well as their youth, caused general pleasure, was made with the customary solemn ceremonial from the Villa of Julius III.[2] Thence the cortège passed by way of the Porta del Popolo and the Ripetta, past the Tor Sanguigna, and along the Via de' Coronari and the Via dei Banchi, to the Castle of St. Angelo. The cannon of the fortress saluted the envoys, who were mounted upon fine palfreys with black trappings, richly embroidered in gold. They had donned their national dress; white silk coats, embroidered in gold, with birds and flowers in various colours, open in the front and with wide sleeves, while over their shoulders was a rich scarf, crossed upon their breast and tied as a girdle. In their right hands they bore a splendid scimitar and in their left a dagger, in a sheath adorned with lacquer.

In the Vatican the envoys were first offered refreshments,

[1] *Cf.* *Camillo Capilupi's report dat. Rome, March 16, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* (in addition to the authorities quoted *supra* 459, n. 2) the *detailed report of C. Capilupi dat. Rome, March 23, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). See also "Acta consistorii publ. exhibiti a D. N. Gregorio XIII. regum Iapanicorum legatis, Romae" (ap. Zannettum, 1585 (published by Giampietro Maffei; *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 421 and PAGÈS, *loc. cit.* 23); reprint Dilingae, 1585, Italian translation: Descrizione dell' ambasciata dei regi . . . del gran regno di Giapone, Venezia, 1585; see moreover the report of Mucantius in THEINER, III., 637 *seq.*, and that of Alaleone in BONCOMPAGNI-LUDOVISI, Appendix 12 *seq.*

and were then led to the Sala Regia where the Pope and the Cardinals were assembled. Two archbishops conducted Mantius Ito to the Papal throne, two more Michael Cingiva, and two bishops Martin Hara; Julian Nacaura had to be absent from the ceremony on account of a violent attack of fever.

After the envoys had expressed their veneration for the Pope by kneeling in the customary way, the Pontiff bade them rise and expressed his deep emotion at thus embracing the first born of the Church of Japan. The credential letters were handed to the secretary of briefs, Antonio Boccapaduli. After a short speech in Japanese, which the Jesuit Meschita translated into Italian, the envoys took their place in a tribune. Amid general attention the Portuguese Jesuit Consalvi delivered a Latin address to the Pope,[1] in which he expressed himself as follows:

The island kingdom of Japan is, it is true, so far away that its name is hardly known, and some have even doubted its very existence. In spite of this, those who know it set it before all the countries of the east, and compare it to those of the west, in its size, the number of its cities, and its warlike and cultured people. All that has been lacking to it has been the light of the Christian faith. But when not so long ago, the Gospel had made its way there with the authority of the Holy See, it was received, by the help of God, as in the case of the ancient Church, first by the lower classes and then little by little, by the nobility as well, and at length, under the happy and golden rule of Gregory, by the sovereigns and princes. Thus the Pope, while labouring with all his power for the restoration of the Catholic religion in those neighbouring countries which have been shaken by error, has seen the faith take root and grow in far distant countries as well. This consoling fact, which hitherto had been known to him only by report, he could now touch with his own hand and make known to all the world.

[1] The discourse appeared in an Italian translation by Agostino Ghettini, Firenze, s.a. (1586).

Noble princes, led by none but religious motives, Consalvi went on to say, have come from the furthest ends of the earth to promise to the father of Christendom their obedience and loyalty. Once upon a time Rome, under the rule of the Emperor Augustus, had been deemed happy because ambassadors had come from the Indies; but now envoys have come from even more distant countries, whom it had taken three years to reach the presence of Pope Gregory. Those Indians only sought to enter into a treaty of friendship, but to-day Rome had seen young men of the royal stock, offering their obedience as subjects. As the Church in the days of Gregory the Great had the special joy of seeing distant Britain converted to the Christian faith, so to-day she was sorrowing in equal measure at the apostasy of that island. The conquest of Japan afforded a rich compensation, and the joy they felt was all the greater in that the prophets had foreseen and proclaimed it. They might imagine they could hear David singing to his harp: "A people, which I knew not, hath served me: at the hearing of the ear they have obeyed me." In the days of antiquity a philosopher travelled as far as the Indies only to hear a hierophant explain from a throne of gold the courses of the stars. How much more marvellous is the love and zeal for religion of the Japanese, how much more fervent their desire to attain to the faith, when they have undertaken a journey with which that of that philosopher can hardly bear comparison! But in Rome they have found Gregory XIII., upon the throne of Peter, teaching no earthly science, but that of heaven.

In the further development of his discourse Consalvi extolled the religious zeal of the Japanese, who had sent these representatives, and he concluded with praise of the Pope. The perfect prince, better than anyone else, may be compared to the sun. It stands in the centre of the heavens and illumines with its rays, not only the nearest, but the most distant parts of the globe. In like manner the generosity and religious zeal of Gregory XIII. was not limited to Rome, to Germany, Bohemia, Hungary, Poland, Syria, Greece and Slavonia, but extended in like manner across the equator to the distant

kingdom of the Japanese. Hardly had the Pope learned that the Christian faith had taken a firm footing there, when, convinced that true progress could only be assured to it when the natives of the country where trained for the priesthood, he spared no expense to establish colleges for the young students. There was reason therefore to hope that the work of conversion, by the labours of the students of those foundations, and by means of the members of the Society of Jesus, would make so great progress that the Christians of Japan would become more than men could number.

Antonio Boccapaduli replied to this address in the name of the Pope. The Princes of Japan, so he began, have done well to send an embassy to the Holy See, since there is but *one* faith, *one* universal Church, *one* head, and *one* shepherd: the successor of Peter, and Bishop of Rome. Gladly did he welcome the obedience of the Japanese princes, and prayed that by their example the kings and princes of all the world would renounce their idolatry and errors, and recognize the true God, and Him whom He had sent, Jesus Christ, in whom is eternal life.

After the envoys had once again expressed their veneration for the Pope, they accompanied him to his apartments. There they took part in a banquet given by Cardinal Boncompagni, at which Cardinal Guastavillani and the Duke of Sora were also present. Finally they had a private audience with the Pope, at which the Jesuit, Giampietro Maffei, acted as interpreter. At a subsequent audience they presented their gifts, among them a precious writing desk of ebony and a picture showing a Japanese city, which was included in the Vatican collection.

Gregory XIII. afterwards loaded the envoys with favours. He bore the expense of their lodging, and sent to them, as it was Lent, choice fish, and caused the sick Julian Nacaura to be tended by his own physicians; in this matter he took as much trouble as though Nacaura had been his own son. He assigned an annual sum of 4000 scudi for twenty years to the colleges in Japan. When the envoys visited the church of the Minerva on the feast of the Annunciation, they were

given, as royal princes, places before the Margrave of Baden. As their strange Japanese costume excited too much comment among the satirical Roman populace the Pope sent them European dress together with a gift of 1000 scudi. They appeared in this dress for the first time on March 29th at the granting of an indulgence in St. Peter's.[1]

The Cardinals and the ambassadors at the Curia too showed the foreign visitors the greatest honour. In contrast to the previous envoys from Russia the Japanese behaved with complete courtesy, culture and modesty.[2] All four understood Portuguese well, as well as Latin, Spanish and Italian, though they always communicated with strangers through an interpreter. Their moderation in eating gave great edification—above all, they never touched wine—as did their keen intelligence, their prudent restraint and the quickness with which they at once conformed to the usages of courtesy of the west. The way in which they professed their Christianity was altogether edifying. They assisted every day at mass with the greatest reverence and piety, and received the holy sacraments every week. The Jesuits watched over them that they should see nothing that could give them scandal, or be harmful to the mission after their return home.

We are told that Gregory XIII., after the reception of the Japanese envoys, repeated in consistory with tears in his eyes, the words of old Simeon : " Now let Thy servant depart in peace " and the presentiment felt by the aged pontiff was not an empty one : this embassy was his last happiness.[3] It was still in Rome when the supreme head of the Church was called out of this world on April 10th, 1585. It is characteristic of the modesty of the Pope that when the Romans

[1] *Cf.* *C. Capilupi's report of March 30, 1585 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] Jesuit reports on this subject are confirmed from other sources see *Arch. Veneto*, 1877, II., 153.

[3] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163. For a sonnet on the Japanese envoys addressed to Gregory XIII. see *Arch. Rom.*, VII., 522.

and the ambassadors of the powers congratulated him on the coming of so many Japanese into the Church, he disclaimed the credit, saying that all the merit belonged to the Society of Jesus.[1]

The hopes which the Popes of the XIVth century had entertained of the winning over to the religion of the Cross of China, the Central Kingdom, as the Chinese called their country,[2] during the stormy period of the fall of the Mongolian rule, and the rise of the national Ming dynasty, which was hostile to all foreigners, had come to nothing. Every trace of the mission of the Franciscans, among whom Father Giovanni da Montecorvino, who had been appointed Archbishop of Kambaluk (Pekin), in the XVth century, had been especially distinguished, had disappeared in the complete closure of China. The first to turn his attention once again, in his boundless charity, to the largest and most powerful empire in the east was Francis Xavier, the Apostle of the Indies. Resolved to sacrifice his life for this great work, this heroic man had breathed out his noble soul in 1552 in the lonely island of Sanchoan, in sight of the desired land.[3] But his spirit of sacrifice lived on in his brethren of the Society of Jesus. During the next thirty years, with wonderful tenacity of purpose, they made attempt after attempt to penetrate into China, which was strictly closed to them, with no other result than, after a short stay, having to leave the country again. Thus, on his way to Japan, the provincial of the Indies, Melchior Nuñez Barreto, twice during the summer of 1555 reached Canton, the capital of the province of Kwangtung, but was not able to remain there longer than four weeks. The Dominican, Gaspar de Cruz, met with no better success in the following year. The Jesuit, Francisco Perez, who arrived in Canton in 1565 with Portuguese merchants, vainly sought from the mandarin of the city

[1] See the *memorandum of C. Capilupi dat. Rome, March 30, 1585, (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] See Vol. I. of this work, p. 60 *seq.*, where the special literature is quoted.

[3] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 321.

permission to stay there. An attempt made in 1568 entirely on his own initiative, by the Jesuit Giambattista Ribera, to penetrate into China, also failed, as did the missionary enterprise of Cristoforo da Costa seven years later.[1]

In the time of Gregory XIII. other religious sought to obtain what the Jesuits had not succeeded in doing. In 1575 two Augustinians set out for China from the Philippines; in 1579 three Spanish Franciscans and one Italian, also set sail from the Philippines, but they all very soon had to leave the country.[2]

A change for the better only took place when the highly-gifted Jesuit, Alessandro Valignani, took the matter in hand. That the clear-sighted General of the Order, Everard Mercurian, was right in seeing in him the man best fitted to give a new impetus to the missions in the east, was proved not only in Japan.[3] Valignani had modestly only asked permission to go and labour as a simple missionary, but in August, 1573, the General appointed him visitor for the whole of India, and gave him picked fellow-labourers.[4]

Valignani embarked at Lisbon in March, 1574, and went first of all to Goa, the capital of the Portuguese Indies. When he had put in order the more pressing needs of the mission there, he set out in 1577 for Japan, and in the course of the voyage had to wait for ten months in the Portuguese colony of Macao for a favourable wind for continuing his journey.

[1] *Cf.* Bartoli, Cina, I., c. 145 and 148; Brucker, M. Ricci, in the *Études*, CXXIV. (1910), 189 *seq.*

[2] See J. Gonçalez de Mendoça, Historia de las cosas mas notables, ritos y costumbres del gran Regno de la China, Madrid, 1586. *Cf.* Marcellino de Civezza, Saggio di bibliografia Sanfrancescana, 453 *seq.*; Orbis Seraph. II., 786 *seq.*; La Palestina e le rimanenti Missioni Francescane in tutta la terra. Cronaca compilata dai padri Marcellino da Civezza e Teofilo Domenichelli in varie lingue, I., Roma, 1890, 56 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 182 *seq.*, 248 *seq.*, 312 *seq.*, 374 *seq.*, 495. *Ibid.* 401 *seq.* the report of Fr. Paulus a Jesu to Gregory XIII.

[3] *Cf, supra,* p. 457.

[4] See Sacchinus, IV., 11, 55 *seq.*

During his long stay in the house of the Jesuits, which had been established at Macao since 1565, Valignani informed himself fully as to that Asiatic empire which was so little known in the west. From his conversations with the Portuguese merchants, as well as with the Chinese who came to Macao, he saw more and more clearly what great conquests Christianity might be able to make there, as well as what great difficulties stood in the way of such an undertaking. But no obstacles were able to dismay his apostolic zeal. His prudent and shrewd intelligence realized that the Christian missionaries would have to be trained in a different way from what had been done in the past if they were to attain to better results. Above all, the missionaries must no longer, as hitherto, have to rely upon interpreters who were for the most part unreliable, while, as well as having a knowledge of the Chinese language, it seemed to be equally indispensable that as far as possible they should conform to the customs and usages of the people among whom they wished to work.[1]

For the organization of the Chinese mission Valignani chose Michele Ruggeri, who had come to the Indies in 1578, and who had with great facility learned the difficult language of the natives of the Fishermen's Coast. When Ruggeri reached Macao in 1579 he found waiting for him detailed instructions from Valignani, who had already set out for Japan, as to how he was to prepare himself for his difficult task. Ruggeri threw himself zealously into this and first of all composed a catechism in the Chinese language,[2] but he had to struggle for three years before he succeeded in getting a firm footing in China.

On March 9th, 1582, Valignani arrived for the second time at Macao with the mission of the princes of south Japan to Rome.[3] There is a tradition that he would often take his

[1] BRUCKER, *loc. cit.* 193 *seq.*

[2] This work, which appeared in 1584, was the first book by a European to be printed in Chinese; *cf.* BARTOLI, Cina, I., 1 and Ricci's letter of November 24, 1585, in the *Civ. catt.*, 1902, I., 220.

[3] See *supra* p. 460.

stand at the window of his house and gaze with sighs towards the land to which it was his supreme ambition to carry the blessings of Christianity. In the city itself he gathered together the poor Chinese who were working there as slaves into a congregation under the Holy Name. For the furtherance of the mission proper he found in Matteo Ricci, who arrived on August 9th, 1582, the man who was destined to succeed in doing what had hitherto proved impossible. In September, 1583, Ricci and his faithful companion, Michele Ruggeri, reached Tschao-King in the province of Kwangtung. He acted with the greatest caution and prudence. Attracted by the high reputation of the Chinese government, so he told the governor, he had come from a great distance to that land, for the sole purpose of serving God, the Lord of Heaven, in a small house and chapel; he and his companion would live on alms, and they accordingly asked for permission to live in the city. This modest request was granted.

Matteo Ricci,[1] whom Providence had destined for the

[1] *Cf.* besides the older biographies by D'Orléans (Paris, 1854), Ch. Sainte-Foi (Paris, 1859), Werfer (2nd ed. Regensburg, 1870) the excellent article by Brucker in the *Études*, CXXIV. (1910), 197 *seq.* The memory of Ricci has been kept alive most of all by Tacchi-Venturi who, at the instance of the Italian committee which organised the celebration of the 300th anniversary of the death of the "apostle and geographer of China" undertook to edit Ricci's historical works: Opere storiche di M. Ricci . . . Con prolegomeni, note e tavole. Vol. I.; I Commentarii della Cina; II.: Le lettere dalla Cina, Macerata, 1911-13. For the value of the letters, in which Ricci's heroic qualities are better expressed than in the Commentaries, *cf. Civ. catt.*, 1914, IV., 215 *seq.* and the beautiful article by A. Luzio: Le opere storiche del P. Ricci, in the periodical, *La Lettura*, XV. (1915), 209 *seq.*, which praises Tacchi's publication as a "Monumentum aere perennius." *Cf.* also L. Nocentini, Il primo Sinologo, in the *Atti del IV. Congresso internaz. degli Orient.*, II., Firenze, 1881, 273 *seqq.*; Caracci, Il P. M. Ricci e le sua opera geograf., in the *Riv. geogr. Ital.*, XXV. and XXVI, (1918 and 1919); Ricci-Riccardi, Il P. M. Ricci (1578-1619), Firenze, 1910; Vacca in the *Nuova Antologia*, 1910, Sept.

carrying out of the work longed for by Francis Xavier, was born in 1552 at Macerata in the March of Ancona, and sprang from a distinguished family. After being educated at the Jesuit school at Macerata, he first studied law in Rome, and in 1571 entered the Society of Jesus, where Fabio de' Fabi was his master of novices. Besides this excellent man, he owed much to another of his masters, the celebrated Cristoforo Clavius. Clavius taught him the science of astronomical mathematics, a thing which, together with his exceptional talent for languages,[1] was to be of great use to him among the Chinese, who were so interested in learning.

Ricci and his companion hired a small but well situated house in Tschao-King, the main room of which served as a chapel. They very soon made a favourable impression by their well-ordered and hard-working life, which, in its kindliness, was so different from that of the bonzes. They very wisely adapted themselves to the peculiar conditions of the people, and by thus coming into closer contact with the temperament of the Chinese they discovered their prevailing characteristic, a seeking for what was practical and useful. Starting with this, Ricci began with great courtesy to explain to them the wonderful things they had in their house, artistic clocks, good pictures, printed books, beautifully bound, on cosmography, geography and architecture, terrestial and celestial maps, astronomical and mathematical instruments, and charts of the seas. The learned mandarins were delighted when the missionaries explained these products of western learning. Ricci was especially happy in the dexterity he

Richthofen (China, I., Berlin, 1877, 654) describes Ricci as one of the most outstanding figures in the history of missionary activity in the East. "Se la Compagnia di Gesù," says Luzio (*loc. cit.*, 217), "annoverà il P. Ricci fra le figure più immacolate delle sue missioni, la civiltà e la scienza devono in esso additare una delle creature che le hanno più nobilmente propagate con le virtù dell'ingegno e del carattere, con l'idealità degli intenti, con l'eroismo dei sacrifici."

[1] See Dahlmann, Sprachkunde, 27; Baumgartner, Weltliteratur, II., 511.

possessed of embodying foreign ideas in a form easily understood by the Chinese, an art in which few Europeans have equalled him.[1]

Ricci excited the greatest wonder by a map of the world, of which he produced in 1584 a Chinese version, by the desire of the viceroy.[2] The viceroy had copies made of this work, which far surpassed all the native productions of that kind, and sent them to his friends. By pointing out the great distance of his own country, Ricci was able to dispel the fears of the Chinese that he had in view the conquest of their country. The reputation which he gained in an increasing degree by imparting his geographical, astronomical and mathematical knowledge, was made use of by him to lead his hearers, always ready to learn, from earthly sciences to a knowledge of a Christian and moral religion. In this matter, too, he set to work slowly and prudently, begining with the fundamental truths and the Ten Commandments. At the end of 1584 he published a small catechism with the assistance of a scholar.[3] In spite of this at first he did not succeed in converting any of the educated Chinese, but only one poor incurable, who had been abandoned by all.

The first public baptism was administered to two Chinese on November 24th, 1584, one of whom had taught the missionaries Chinese. For the most part the field proved very sterile, and the number won to Christianity in 1585 was only twenty, and only sixty in the four years that followed.[4] Ricci saw in this slow progress the will of Providence, that the work of Christianizing China should spring from the most modest beginnings.[5]

[1] *Cf.* WYLIE'S opinion, Notes on Chinese Literature, Shanghai, 1867, 138.

[2] Ricci gives detailed reports of this publication in his letters to Aquaviva of November 30, 1584, and October 20, 1585, as well as in his Commentarii, ed. TACCHI-VENTURI, II., c. 5, 32. Copy of the map in the periodical *Razón y Fe*, IV. (1902), 464.

[3] TACCHI-VENTURI discovered a Latin translation of this catechism and published it in Ricci's Opere, II., Appendice.

[4] See TACCHI-VENTURI in the *Civ. catt.*, 1910, II., 397.

[5] See BRUCKER, *loc. cit.*, 207. *Cf.* BAUER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, III.[2], 151.

Rightly recognizing how important it was for the missions, both in China and Japan, that there should be united and harmonious action, in 1585 Gregory XIII. forbade all the other religious Orders to set foot in those countries under pain of excommunication.[1]

In the ancient and wonderful country of India the work of the missions had to struggle steadily with great difficulties. The position of the Christian missionaries, face to face with Brahmanism and its rigid castes on the one hand and Islam on the other, was all the more beset with difficulties in that they had to work side by side with a foreign conquering power, the Portuguese, whose cupidity and immorality had given grave scandal to the natives from the time of Francis Xavier.[2] They had an advantage in the fact that a number of metropolitan sees had not been erected in eastern Asia, as was the case in Spanish America. The first Portuguese colonial bishopric had been established by Leo X. in 1514 at Funchal in Madeira, the right of patronage being given to King Manuel the Fortunate.[3] Funchal, whose immense territory extended from the island of Madeira to further Asia, was in 1534 raised to be a metropolitan and primatial see, the right of patronage being reserved to the Portuguese crown, which undertook the whole endowment of the new archdiocese. Suffragan sees for Goa and the Indies were established at São Miguel in the Azores, in the Cape Verde island of São Thiago and at São Thomé on the Equator.[4]

The further advance of the Portuguese power and of Christianity in India led to a further development of the hierarchical organization under Paul IV.; Funchal, which was too far away from the colonies, was suppressed as a metropolitan see, and was, with its suffragan sees, placed under the archiepiscopal see of Lisbon. Goa, the undoubted emporium of the east, and, as the residence of the viceroy, the second city of the Portuguese dominions, was raised by

[1] See *Synopsis*, 133 *seq.*, 139. *Cf.* DELPLACE, II., 16 *seq.*

[2] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 311.

[3] See JANN, 69 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. X. of this work, p. 365 *seq*, and JANN, 79 *seq.*

Paul IV. in 1558 to be the metropolitan see for the missions beyond the Cape of Good Hope, with suffragan sees at Cochin and Malacca, the right of patronage of the Portuguese crown being extended to them. The dioceses in the west of Africa, and the recently established dioceses in Brazil were left by the Pope under the archdiocese of Lisbon.[1] The establishment of a single metropolitan see for so immense and so distant a territory was a mistake, which was aggravated by the dependence of the archbishops of Goa upon the Portuguese government. They occupied a dangerously exceptional position, and their despotism was soon shown by the fact that they assumed the title of Primate of the East.[2]

In the interests of the preaching of the Gospel in China and Japan, Gregory XIII., by the bull of January 23rd, 1576, separated those countries, together with the neighbouring islands of Malacca, and formed a new diocese for them at Macao, subject to the metropolitan see of Goa.[3] This arrangement took place at the instance of King Sebastian of Portugal, who rendered great service by sending the Jesuit missionaries to eastern Asia.

The head-quarters of the Jesuit province of the East Indies, and a work which Gregory XIII. promoted by the grant of numerous privileges,[4] was formed by their college founded by Francis Xavier at Goa, to which was attached a seminary for young Indians. The solemn baptism of the catechumens, for whom a special house had been in existence since 1555, generally took place in the church of the Jesuit college, where the Bishop of Malacca, a Dominican, said the first mass in 1572. In 1581 the Jesuits also built a professed house at Goa, and soon afterwards a noviciate. The professed house had the care of souls for the city. The novices had their exercises in common with the ancient missionaries of India,

[1] See the excellent treatment of the subject by JANN, 108 *seq.*, 110 *seq.*, 114 *seq.*

[2] See *ibid.* 110 *seq.*

[3] See Bull. patr. Portug., I., 243 *seq.*, Corpo dipl. Portug., X., 498 *seq.*; JANN, 124; STREIT, I., 347.

[4] See STREIT, I., 506 *seq.*

the Franciscans and Dominicans, especially in the care of the sick. Each month the Orders took their turn in the care of the royal hospital, but it would seem that the Jesuits proved the most capable, since in 1579 its care was placed entirely in their hands. The ranks of the fathers, thinned by their self-sacrificing labours during the frequent pestilences, were added to, at the arrival of the new visitor, Valignani, in 1574, by 44 new brethren, 26 of whom were priests.[1]

After his return from his visitation of the missions in the north—those in the south were visited by the new provincial, Rodrigo Vicente—the indefatigable Valignani held a provincial assembly at Goa, at which were present fifteen of his brethren, among them the provincial and the rectors of the colleges at Goa, Bassein and Salsette. After long discussion they abandoned the plan of dividing the province of East India into two parts, one on either side of the Ganges, and instead a vicar provincial was appointed for the regions beyond the Ganges. An important decision was that of establishing seminaries for learning the Indian language. With regard to the question whether it should be suggested that none but Portuguese Jesuits should be sent to India, they were unanimous in asking that as many members as possible of the Society should be sent, even from the other provinces of Europe.[2] After Goa, the most important centre was the Jesuit college at Cochin, where, too, the Dominicans had also been labouring since 1549.[3]

So far the work of the Christian missions had been entirely confined to the coasts of India, but in 1579 an opportunity quite unexpectedly presented itself of opening out the interior as well to the preaching of the Gospel. This came from the Great Mogul Akbar, whose dominions extended over the whole of north Hindustan, and in the south as far as the plateau of the Deccan. This enlightened sovereign, who was as energetic as he was desirous of knowledge, took a deep

[1] See MÜLLBAUR, 84 *seq.*, 89. *Cf.* also D'SA, History of the Catholic Church in India, I., Bombay, 1910.

[2] See SACCHINUS, IV., 92 *seq.*; MÜLLBAUR, 89 *seq.*

[3] See MÜLLBAUR, 107, 336.

interest not only in all political questions, but also in those of religion. Proof of this may still be seen in the splendidly constructed portico which he caused to be erected for purposes of religious disputations at his residence of Fatihpur Sikri, not far from Agra, and in which Brahmins, Buddhists, Mohammedans and Parsees took part in order to arrive at the best form of belief by means of comparative study. In course of time Akbar also turned his attention to the Jesuit missionaries, whose works of charity in Bengal, which were so advantageous to the state, had won his approval.[1] In the autumn of 1579 an envoy from Akbar presented himself at Goa, asking that two Jesuits might be sent to explain to his master the Christian religion, and take him their sacred books. Even though they might feel doubts as to the sincerity of the intentions of that powerful monarch, it was thought that the opportunity of carrying the Gospel into the interior of India must not be allowed to pass unheeded. The provincial of the Jesuits chose for this task, which was as difficult as it

[1] *Cf.* for what follows, *Litt. ann.*, 1582, p. 111 *seq.*; SACCHINUS, IV., 246 *seq*; V., 98, 145 *seq.*; BARTOLI, L'Asia, I., Roma, 1667 and Degli uomini e de' fatti della Comp. di Gesù, I., 4, c. 24; P. DU JARRIC, L'hist. des choses plus mémorables advenues tant des Indes Orient. qu'autres pays de la découverte des Portugais, I.-III., Arras, 1611 (Latin edition: Thesaur. rer. Indic., 4, vols, Coloniae, 1615); MÜLLBAUR, 133 *seq.*; GRUBER, Aquaviva, 80 *seq.*, 124 *seq.*, 167 *seq.*; V. NOER and G. V. BUCHWALD, Kaiser Akbar, 2 vols., Leiden, 1880 and 1885; NOTI, Das Fürstentum Sardhana, Freiburg, 1906, 55 *seq.*; DAHLMANN, Indische Fahrten, II., 172 *seq.* The treatise on the Emperor Akbar by the Indianist R. GARBE (Tübingen, 1909) is based almost entirely on the book by Noer, whose conclusions—in so far as they affect the Jesuit missionaries—are nearly all false and untenable; see (in addition to GRUBER, *loc. cit.*) also *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LXXVI., 468 *seq.*, *cf. ibid.*, XXXVII., 219 *seq.* In the latest monograph on Akbar by VINCENT A. SMITH (Akbar the Great Mogul, Oxford, 1917), the highest praise is given to the value of the Jesuit reports, especially to A. MONTSERRAT, Mongolicae legationis commentarius, 1582 (*Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1914, III.; *cf. Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1919, 132).

was important, three fathers who seemed to him to be especially fitted for it. One, Rodolfo Aquaviva, the son of the Duke of Atri, and related on his mother's side to Louis Gonzaga, was distinguished for his engaging kindliness, his courtly manners and his deep knowledge of theology. The second, the Spaniard, Antonio Montserrat, was also a distinguished personality, though his health left a good deal to be desired. To these was added Father Francisco Henriquez, a converted Mohammedan, who spoke Persian fluently.

On November 17th, 1579, the three Jesuits set out from Goa with the envoy of the Great Mogul, and on February 17th, 1580, they reached the court of Akbar. They met with a good reception, but found the conditions particularly difficult for their special object, for the Great Mogul had already devised a new religion of his own, and by its means was obviously pursuing the political end of consolidating his great dominions by the help of religious unity. In this he was energetically helped by his prime minister, Abul Fazil. The founders of this "Divine Faith" (Dini Ilahi) had in view the fusion, on a basis of rationalism, of Hinduism and Islamism with the best and purest elements of other religions. At first the new faith, which no one was to be forced to accept, only made its way among the courtiers and the officials.

Such was the state of affairs when Aquaviva and Henriquez, for Montserrat had fallen ill on the way, appeared at the court of the Great Mogul. By his wish the two fathers had at once to enter into disputations on religion with the learned Mohammedans, in the course of which Aquaviva, since Montserrat continued ill, explained the Christian religion in a detailed and brilliant defence, Henriquez acting as interpreter.

During the disputation Aquaviva spoke in bitter terms of Mahomet as a false prophet and an irreligious man, which made the followers of Islam so angry that the missionaries were in danger of losing their lives, and their desire of martyrdom would have been satisfied if the Great Mogul had not protected them. There can be no doubt that Akbar admired the Christian doctrine, for he consented that Montserrat

should instruct his second son Pahari, not only in Portuguese but also in Christianity.

The missionaries found a strong supporter in Abul Fazil, who, fully realizing the absurdities of the Koran, implored his master to accept Christianity, a step which also recommended itself on political grounds, as being the only way of introducing *one* religion into the Empire, as the Indians would never accept the faith of their oppressors, the Mohammedans. The missionaries even hoped that they were about to attain their end, for Akbar showed the greatest respect for the Christian faith; he venerated an image of Our Lady, which Aquaviva had brought him in the Pope's name, and wore an *Agnus Dei* round his neck. A plan for sending an embassy to Philip II. and Gregory XIII. was also discussed, but the conversion of the Great Mogul which was so anxiously awaited in Rome[1] did not take place.

Aquaviva waited patiently; in a report to his provincial he expressed the opinion that they must not give up hopes of the conquest of the "heart of India" until all possible means at their disposal had been tried. But Akbar remained undecided in his conduct. Although at heart he was naturally disposed towards religion, his pride and his unrestrained morals formed an insurmountable obstacle to his acceptance of the Gospel teaching. The many wives he had in his harem, and undoubtedly his political ideas prevented his following the guidance of grace. Akbar himself would have admitted that Christianity was too pure and his own morals too corrupt. He nevertheless sought to retain Aquaviva when the latter, on the strength of orders received from his provincial, asked leave to return to Goa, and it was only after a promise that he would come back that the Great Mogul allowed him to set out. On taking farewell of him he wished to give him gifts of gold and precious stones, but Aquaviva refused them

[1] *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report, dated Rome, February 3, 1582 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). On February 18, 1582, Gregory XIII. addressed a brief to Akbar in which he called upon him "ne animi motum a Deo profectum deliberationis tarditate prodat." *Synopsis*, 119.

on the plea of his vow of poverty. When Akbar insisted on his accepting some other favour, Aquaviva asked for the liberation of some Christian slaves. With the latter, as the only fruits of a difficult mission of three years, Aquaviva returned to Goa in May, 1583. His superiors then sent him to the peninsula of Salsette, where he was granted the crown of martyrdom which he had so often longed for. In July, 1583, he and four other Jesuits and twenty Christians were killed by the natives. As had been the case in the persecutions of the early Christian Church, here too the blood of the martyrs was fruitful; by 1584 fifty catechumens, among them one of the most eminent Brahmins had been baptized.[1]

A zeal equal to that of the Jesuits in China and Japan was displayed as early as 1565 by the religious of the Augustinian Order in the Philippines, which had been discovered in 1521 and had been taken possession of by the Spaniards fifty years later. Philip II. furthered in every way the conversion of this new and valuable territory, and at his request the Augustinians strengthened their hold upon it in 1575 by sending twenty-four more missionaries.[2]

A few years later the Franciscans joined the Augustinians; in 1577, seventeen sons of St. Francis landed at Manila under the leadership of the learned and energetic Pedro de Alfaro. There they established the Custody of St. Philip, the name of which Gregory XIII., who showed the greatest interest in the undertaking, changed in 1578 to that of St. Gregory the Great.[3]

As they had done under Pedro de Alfaro, who went to

[1] See MÜLLBAUR, 101; GRÜBER, Aquaviva, 227 *seq.*, 245 *seq.*, 286. *Cf.* also SUAU, Les martyrs de Salsette, Bruges, 1893. On October 6, 1584, Odescalchi sent, from Rome, to the Duke of Mantua a *Relatione del martirio di 5 padri del Giesù fatto nell' Indie l'anno passato (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua).

[2] *Cf.* GROETEKEN, Die Franziskanermission auf den Philippinen, in the *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, CXLII., 587 *seq.*, and NEHER in the *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, VI.², 691.

[3] See GROETEKEN, *loc. cit.*, and PEREZ in the *Arch. Ibero-Americano*, I., 100 *seqq.*

China in 1579, the work of the missions in the Philippines developed rapidly under his successors Pablo a Jesu (1580-1583) and Juan de Plasencia (1583-1586). As the result of the further forces sent by Spain the preaching of the Gospel was more and more extended, so that within nine years 250,000 of the natives had been converted. These natives, who had hitherto been scattered, were gathered together round the cabins of the missionaries and thus were formed the so-called Pueblos (villages), in which schools were at once established. How well the missionaries[1] cared for the bodily needs of the inhabitants was shown by the erection of hospitals. In 1578 Father Juan Clemente built the great leper hospital of St. Lazarus at Manila, which is still in existence; in the same year the Franciscans also erected a hospital for the Spanish soldiers. Father Lorenzo a S^ta^ Maria, who died at Cebù in 1585, rendered useful service to the cultivation of the sterile districts by bringing water to the plains from the mountains by means of canals.[2] Franciscan missionaries, and first among them Juan de Plasencia, composed grammars in the local dialect, the Tagale, a Spanish-Tagale vocabulary, as well as a catechism and other religious works in that language.[3]

A step of great importance for the consolidation of Christianity in the Philippines, as supplying a base for the work of the missions in the midst of the pagan world of eastern Asia,[4] was the formation of the see of Manila by Gregory XIII. in 1579, to which the Dominican, Domingo de Salazar,[5] who had rendered great service among the Indians of Mexico during a period of forty years active work, was appointed. By his means the Dominicans and Jesuits were also brought to the Philippines in 1582, whither in 1581, by the wish of

[1] *Cf.* P. Eusebio Gomez Platero, Catálogo biograf. de la provincia de S. Gregorio, Manila, 1880.

[2] *Cf.* P. Marcello de Ribadeneyra, Historia de las Islas de Archipélago, and Groeteken, *loc. cit.*, 589 *seq.*, 593.

[3] See Dahlmann, Sprachkunde, 115. *Cf.* Groeteken, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* Biermann in the *Kathol Missionen*, 1916-7, 53.

[5] See Gams, 113.

the Pope and the King of Spain, 33 more missionaries belonging to the Franciscan Order had gone.[1] The religious of the two Mendicant Orders, together with the Jesuits, had also worked with good results in the Moluccas since the time of the pontificate of Pius IV.[2]

[1] See MAFFEI, II., 168; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 251; SACCHINUS, V., 107 *seq.*

[2] See Daniele Barbarigo's report in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 14. *Cf.* HAHN, Gesch. der kathol. Missionen, II., 430 *seq.*; HENRION, Hist. des miss., I., 578 *seqq.*

CHAPTER XII.

Foreign Missions.—The Turkish Empire.—Africa.—Spanish America.

The eastern province of the Jesuits in India included, besides India proper, the Moluccas, China and Japan, as well as the east coast of Africa. The Jesuits had been working as missionaries in Abyssinia since the days of Paul III.[1] During the first part of the pontificate of Gregory XIII., it was above all others Andrea de Oviedo, who had been made a bishop, who, under the most difficult circumstances, displayed a truly apostolic activity, which was principally devoted to the Portuguese and their descendants who were scattered throughout the territory.[2] When this saintly man had succumbed to fever in 1577, the three Jesuits who had hitherto assisted him continued his work. In consequence of the hostility of the king, however, they found themselves in so difficult a position that in 1580 the question of giving up the mission was discussed.[3] But Gregory XIII. would not hear of this; he tried to meet the difficulties by sending a letter to the king, but the latter was animated with such feelings of hostility, that the Jesuits did not know whether he would even accept the letter.[4] The annual reports of the Order in 1582 state that there were at that time two fathers

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 112; Vol. XIII., p. 312.

[2] *Cf.* Bartoli, Degli uomini e de' fatti della Comp. di Gesù, I., 4, c. 29.

[3] See Beccari, Rer. Aethiopic, Stript. occid., V., 453 *seq.*; X., 306 *seq.* For P. Oviedo *cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 313, n. 2.

[4] See the report of Em. Fernandez of July 3, 1582, in Beccari, V., 328 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 303 *seq.*, the letter in which Gregory XIII. calls upon Prince Isaac Barnaynes to be at peace with the king and in union with the Holy See.

in Abyssinia, who were leading a life of great poverty and only making a conversion here and there, but that nevertheless there was no cause to despair, since often Our Lord sends His greatest help at the times of greatest need.[1]

For a whole generation the Jesuit Balthasar Barreira laboured as a missionary on the west coast of Africa, in Guinea, the Congo and Angola, where the Franciscans had already worked previously. In 1582 missionaries from the Order of Discalced Carmelites went to Guinea, and in the following year to the Congo, and in 1584 the King of Angola received baptism.[2] On the east coast, the mission begun by the Jesuits in the negro country, among the Bantu people, fell into ruin at the beginning of its sixtieth year, on account of the behaviour of the Portuguese colonists.[3] A new chapter in the history of the missions of east Africa was begun with the establishment of the Dominican house in Mozambique in 1577 ; missionaries from Mozambique supplied the territory of the Zambesi and the islands. The Dominican, João de Sanchez, who laboured there for a long time, has described the condition of that territory in a detailed work.[4]

The mission field also included the great Ottoman Empire, which contained a large Christian population, which, like the other non-Mohammedan inhabitants, had to pay for the right to live in their own country by the payment of a personal tax to the conquerors. But this tax was not all ; in addition, a system of oppression was carried on by the Ottoman authorities which the Venetian, Giacomo Ragazzoni, described in 1571 as passing all belief.[5] The state of affairs was worst

[1] *Litterae ann.*, 1584, 139.

[2] See HEIMBUCHER, II., 16 ; PAIVA-MANSO, Historia do Congo, 129 *seq.* ; Précis hist., 1895, 470 *seq.* ; STREIT, I., 87. *Cf.* KILGER in the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1921, 71 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* KILGER, Die erste Mission unter den Bantustämmen, 1560-2, Münster, 1917.

[4] Ethiopia orient., 1609. *Cf.* SCHMIDLIN'S *Zeitschrift für Missionsgeschichte*, VII. (1917), 99.

[5] See the report in ALBÈRI, III., 2, 100 ; *cf. ibid.*, 252, the opinion of Jacopo Soranzo in 1581.

in the provinces furthest removed from the capital, where the unhappy inhabitants were at the mercy of the cupidity of the governors.[1] It is characteristic that when in 1569 the Sultan, Selim II., confiscated the revenues of all the Christian churches in the empire, an exception was made in the case of Constantinople, Adrianople and Brussa.[2] This exception however, only applied to the Greek schismatics, whose patriarch, thanks to an annual contribution and other taxes, enjoyed the protection of the Turkish government. The Latin Church had no such official recognition. The Turkish authorities saw with jealousy and fear the union of the Latins with Rome, and they tolerated the presence of the Franciscans and other Catholic religious principally because they believed that they were all subject to the Greek patriarchate; the majority of the Catholic secular priests and bishops, had been constrained to take to flight, as Pius V. had already complained.[3]

The condition of the Catholics in the Balkan peninsula was supremely unhappy, and any provision that was made for their spiritual care was entirely owing to the self-sacrificing resistance offered by the Franciscans.[4] In 1573 the latter possessed fifteen convents in Bosnia,[5] but this was quite insufficient for the widely scattered population. The pastoral care of Gregory XIII. was by no means blind to the needs of the Catholics in the Balkan peninsula. In 1580 he appointed apostolic delegates and visitors for the Venetian-Istrian territory,[6] as well as for those ruled by the Turks. For the

[1] See report of the Bailo Gianfranc. Morosini in ALBÈRI, III., 3, 272.

[2] *Cf.* ZINKEISEN, III., 365.

[3] *Cf.* GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrb.*, VI., 60.

[4] *Cf.* BAKULA, I., Martiri nella missione Francescana osservante in Erzegovina, Roma, 1862, and BATINIČ, Djelovanje Franjecara n Bosni i Herzogevini, 2 vols., Agram, 1881-3.

[5] See Acta consist. in GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 52.

[6] Agostino Valiero, Bishop of Verona, became visitor; see FARLATI-COLETI, Illyricum sacrum, III., 465 *seq.*; IV., 227; V., 131 *seq.* *Cf.* also *list in the Cod. D. 6 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

northern provinces the Pope's choice fell upon the bishop of the small Dalmatian diocese of Stagno, Bonifacio de' Stefani, who had already been sent by Pius V. as visitor to Bosnia, and was still working with good results there at the beginning of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.[1] In the instructions given to him, Stefani was appointed visitor of Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Moldavia, Wallachia and Bulgaria. He was to labour generally for the improvement of the religious conditions in those countries, and make a report in writing on all the episcopal sees still existing or now extinct, on the places suitable for the establishment of new dioceses, on the churches and convents, and the life and morals of clergy and people.[2]

In December, 1580, Bishop Stefani sent to the Pope his report of his visitation of Bosnia and Herzegovina.[3] The Catholics of Bosnia and Serbia, as they wrote full of gratitude to the Pope in 1581, had hailed him as an angel of the Lord. It may be seen from the touching letter which the Bishop of Bosnia, Antonio de' Mattei, who lived at Diakovar, wrote in common with the Franciscans and the leading members of the Christian community, for the most part merchants, how well the apostolic delegate had done his work.[4] Unfortunately, his reports have not yet been found, but it was obviously these which led Gregory XIII., in 1581, to establish four more Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia.[5] When the delegate

[1] See FERMENDZIN, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XVII. of this work, p. 262, n.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, III., 271; GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrb.* VI., 45, 47, where the Instruction for B. de' Stefani, which is preserved in the Papal Secret Archives (Var. polit., 129, pp. 194-210), is utilised for the first time. It was published in 1892 by FERMENDZIN (321 *seq.*), but with the wrong date 1582. *Cf.* also *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 744.

[3] See FERMENDZIN, 313 *seq.*

[4] The documents in THEINER, III., 272 *seq.* *Cf.* BALAN, La Chiesa cattolica e gli Slavi, Roma, 1880, 206, 242, and FERMENDZIN, 314 *seq.*

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 181; GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 53, n. 1.

died at the beginning of the new year, and in the very midst of his self-sacrificing labours, the Pope charged the bishop of the island of Curzola, Agostino Quintio, a Dominican, to complete the visitation.[1]

At the beginning of 1584 Gregory XIII. sent Alessandro Komulowic, a canon of Zara, and the Jesuit Tommaso Raggio, to the Balkan peninsula as apostolic visitors. They both laboured with good results among the clergy and people.[2] In the reports which Komulowic sent to the Pope of his travels, he gave a description of the religious needs of those lands.[3] It appears from them how large was the number of the Christians who were suffering from the oppression of the Turks. Komulowic estimated the number of Christians capable of bearing arms in Albania as far as the neighbourhood of Durazzo at 40,000; they almost all belonged to the Latin rite. In the remainder of the Epirus and Macedonia the Greeks far outnumbered them. Komulowic says that there were there more than 100,000 capable of bearing arms, and there were as many in Herzegovina, Slavonia, Croatia and Serbia. In Bosnia and along the Danube as far as Belgrade there were 200,000 and as many in Bulgaria. On the shores of the Black Sea there were certainly 400,000 Christians.[4] Although these numbers may be an exaggeration, it is beyond question that all those countries still contained a very large Christian population.[5] It is quite incomprehensible how the western powers entirely neglected to get into touch with all these forces.[6]

[1] The Instruction for Agost. Quintio, dat. June 29, 1582, has been published by FERMENDZIN (335 *seq.*).

[2] See MAFFEI, II., 390; SACCHINUS, V., 170 *seq.*

[3] See FERMENDZIN, 339 *seq.*

[4] See *Relatione del P. A. Comuleo, Cod. Barb. 3392, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, Werke, XLIII-IV., 538 *seq.*, and PIERLING, Papes et Tsars, Paris, 1890, 445 *seq.*

[5] The Bailo Gianfranc. Morosini also said in 1585 that most of the inhabitants of European Turkey were Christians. ALBÈRI. III., 263.

[6] See GOTTLOB in the *Lit. Rundschau*, 1891, 117.

The attention of Gregory XIII. was called to the sad state of the Catholics in Constantinople, where especially pastors were lacking, by reports from Greek travellers,[1] and by a petition which the population of Pera addressed on October 1st, 1574, to the French ambassador to the Porte, François de Noailles. The latter sent on the document, together with two memorials for the Generals of the Dominicans and Franciscans, to the Papal nuncio at Venice, who sent it on to Rome. The result was that, in 1575, Gregory XIII. charged the Generals of the two Orders to send a number of capable priests to the Bosphorus.[2]

The care of Gregory XIII. was not only extended to the populations of the Latin Church in Turkey; with the large ideas that were so characteristic of him he also aimed at the union of the Greek schismatics with Rome. His advisers in this matter, in addition to the learned Cardinal Sirleto, were two other members of the Sacred College, Santori and Savelli. In 1573 he formed these into a special congregation to deal with the affairs of the Greeks.[3] By their advice the Roman Catechism was translated into modern Greek, and in 1576 no less than 12,000 copies were sent to the Levant, together with a like number of copies of the decrees of the Council of Trent. The Pope also gave orders for a new edition of the decrees of the Council of Florence, for which Sirleto wrote a covering letter addressed to the Greek schismatics,[4] which

[1] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of March 13, 1574, in the *Romana* State Archives, Vienna.

[2] *Cf.* THEINER, I., 317; MAFFEI, I., 206; GOTTLOB in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 46. A memorandum of Gregory XIII. for the Franciscans of Pera in the *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 719. In 1582 Gregory XIII. sent 199 gold scudi for the restoration of the churches in Pera; see Galli's *letter to the nuncio in Venice, dat. November 11, 1582, *Nunz. di Venezia*, XXIII., Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See the Acta consist. in the *Studi e docum.*, XXIV., 135.

[4] *Exhortatio ad Graecos preserved in the Vatic. 6792, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta, 57. See also the Relazione of Corraro, p. 275.

was spread throughout the Greek provinces, together with the defence of the above-mentioned Council attributed to Gennadius.[1]

Side by side with this came the establishment of the Greek College in Rome, which has already been spoken of.[2] Unfortunately, the results did not come up to the hopes of the Pope; the difficulties were too great.[3] These became apparent when, in March, 1580, Gregory XIII. sent the Bishop of Nona, Pietro Cedulini, to Constantinople as delegate and visitor of the Latin Church in Turkey. The immediate occasion of this mission was the fact that an Italian merchant, who lived in the capital of Turkey, had given the Pope a personal description of the religious needs of Turkey, and especially of Constantinople.[4]

From the first grave difficulties stood in the way of the mission of Cedulini.[5] All the endeavours of the Pope to obtain for him the protection of the Venetian government and its Bailo in Constantinople were in vain. The Signoria, which was well aware of the jealousy felt by the Turkish authorities for the influence of Rome, was unwilling to do anything displeasing to the Porte, and thus endanger its own commercial interests. It would not even allow the bishop, who, having been born at Zara, was its own subject, to travel to Constantinople with the new Bailo, Paolo Contarini. At last Cedulini succeeded in obtaining a safe-conduct from the Sultan through the intervention of the authorities of Ragusa.

[1] *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, November 28, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., p. 247. For the Greek Congregation see XIX., p. 59, and the *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, 1922, 2.

[3] *Cf.* Corraro's Relazione, 275.

[4] See THEINER, III., 228.

[5] For what follows *cf.* (in addition to MAFFEI, II., 143 *seq.*) GOTTLOB'S excellent article in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 42-72. The *Acta of Visitation, made use of here, are taken from a copy in the library of the Franciscan monastery of SS. Quaranta in Rome. These Acta are also preserved in manuscript in the Communal Library, Ancona.

Armed with this he was able to reach the Turkish capital in the autumn of 1580. The Catholic population welcomed him with joy, but on the other hand he did not meet with the expected support of the European ambassadors. The representative of Rudolph was unquestionably inclined to Protestantism, while the representatives of Spain and Venice held entirely aloof from political motives. Only the French ambassador, Jacques Germigny, who was a zealous Catholic, interested himself on behalf of the Papal envoy, and obtained permission for him to stay for a fixed period in Constantinople.

Cedulini made use of his stay to obtain information by questioning the clergy and laity concerning the state of the Latin Christians in Constantinople, as well as in the provinces. He was thus enabled to give the Holy See a fairly exact account of the population of the Latin Church in Turkey. From this account it is clear that it was especially owing to the lack of priests that the religious life of the Catholics in the Turkish Empire had become very much worse during the last generation. In the Crimean peninsula only in two cities had the inhabitants remained true to their faith ; at Kaffa the Latins had lost all their churches except one ; at Trebizond, and in all the cities on the coast of Asia Minor, where only the foreign merchants had remained Catholics, the Greeks and Armenians had taken possession of the churches. At Brussa the Catholic church had been converted into a mosque. The majority of the Catholics were to be found in the islands of the Archipelago ; at Chios, Paros, Tinos and Naxos there were still bishops in union with Rome. At Santorin (Tira) the whole population, in spite of the inducements of the schismatics, had remained Roman Catholics ; at Andros, on the other hand, the Catholics had had to fly to the mountains on account of the persecution of the Portuguese Jew, José Miquez. At Adrianople there were still many Roman Catholic Hungarian and Bosnians, who, however, had no priest. At Sofia there were 150 Catholic inhabitants, for the most part from Ragusa. There was a large community of the Latin rite at Novibazar, and smaller ones at Varna, Nisch and Rustschuk. In the two last-named places there

were twelve Paulician communities, who celebrated mass according to the Latin rite. Mention is made of the Protestantism which had made its way from Transylvania into Wallachia, Bosnia and Serbia.[1]

Cedulini found a very sad state of affairs in Constantinople, and its suburbs of Pera and Galata, where the Latins still possessed only twelve churches, which were all poor and in a ruinous condition. Very terrible was the state of the Christian prisoners of war in the Turkish prisons, whom Cedulini had been specially ordered to provide for by the Pope.[2]

How necessary the presence of an Apostolic visitor was is best seen from his reports on the state of the clergy in Constantinople, whose patriarch did not live there at all, and was represented by a quite unsuitable vicar. Even among the religious there was a great deal to find fault with. Cedulini made provision for all these things as far as he could, and formed plans for repairing the evils which he found; he especially suggested the establishment of a house of the Jesuits at Constantinople, and in doing this he wished at the same time to offer resistance to the Protestant propaganda, which had recently gained a footing there. He therefore entered into relations with the schismatic patriarch, Jeremias, and undoubtedly also conferred with him on the question of reunion.[3] The patriarch displayed visibly favourable sentiments towards Rome, but the question of the reform of the calendar which was discussed with him in the following year showed how firmly he adhered to the schism. Among the Greek popes unreasoning hatred of the Latins continued unabated.[4]

On April 16th, 1581, before his departure, Cedulini published a series of salutary enactments, which especially enforced the decrees of Trent. In pursuance of his mission he had

[1] See GOTTLOB, *loc. cit.*, 52 *seq.*
[2] See *ibid.*, 56 *seq.*, 62.
[3] See *ibid.*, 67 *seq.*
[4] *Cf. ibid.*, 68, and SCHMID, Kalenderreform, 543 *eq.*

already, in January, 1581, sent the Franciscan, Girolamo Arsengo, to Bulgaria to make a visitation ; he now entrusted the Dominican, Giovita da Brescia, with the visitation of the Crimea. On his way home he visited the Catholic communities, administered confirmation, and exhorted them to persevere in the true faith. He reached Ragusa at the end of May.[1]

The first result of the reports of Cedulini to the Pope was the establishment of a Jesuit house in the Turkish capital. In November, 1583, three fathers and two lay-brothers, armed with letters of recommendation from the Pope to the ambassador of France and the Bailo of Venice, arrived there after a long and perilous journey. The French ambassador interested himself on their behalf with all his powers ; he dispelled the prejudices of the Porte against the envoys of the Pope, and obtained for them permission to reside there permanently. The Jesuits took possession of the church of St. Benedict in Galata.[2] This was the beginning of a mission which later on was to prove of the greatest importance for the Christians in Turkey.

Gregory XIII. by preference also made use of the sons of St. Ignatius in his efforts on behalf of the churches of the oriental rite.

In 1578 two great dignitaries arrived in Rome from the east ; the first was the Armenian archbishop, Nicholas of Naxivan, to whom the Pope gave money and vestments on his departure ;[3] the second was the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch, Ignatius Neemet, who had already been in communication with Julius III.,[4] but later on, yielding to the threats of the Turks, had passed over to Islam. In 1576

[1] See Maffei, II., 147 ; Gottlob in the *Hist. Jahrbuch*, VI., 69 *seq.*, 71.

[2] See Sacchinus, V., 114 ; Theiner, III., 436 ; Maffei, II., 341 *seq.* For the church in Galata see the article in the *Kölnische Volkszeitung*, 1907, no. 37.

[3] See Maffei, I., 319 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XIII., p. 313, n. 3 of this work.

Neemet sent his brother to Rome to pay homage to the Pope,[1] but he obtained nothing. Neemet therefore repaired in person to the Eternal City. He retracted his errors before the Inquisition, and after being given a light penance received absolution. As his return was impossible, he remained in Rome, where Gregory XIII., with his usual generosity, made himself responsible for his maintenance. The Pope hoped by this means to bring about the return of the eastern schismatics.[2]

A third mission from the east which reached Rome in 1578 made an even greater impression. This consisted of two representatives of the Patriarch of the Maronites of Lebanon, who bore the title of Antioch.[3] The Maronites, a Syrian tribe, had been closely united with Rome since the time of Innocent III., and since then had been the most loyal subjects to the Popes of all the easterns. The Popes had interested themselves in their affairs during the XVth and XVIth centuries, as far as was possible in view of their great distance and the difficulties of communication,[4] but had not been able to prevent heretics and infidels from introducing errors and abuses, both as to dogma and ritual, among that people, surrounded as it was by schismatics. A favourable opportunity for remedying these now presented itself. Cardinal Carafa, the Protector of the Maronites, introduced the envoys to the Pope, after they had presented a respectful

[1] See the *Memoriale all'ill. et rev. card. S. Croce per il patriarcha d'Antiochia, in Urb. 832, Vatican Library. *Cf.* LÄMMER, Analecta. 42.

[2] See LE QUIEN, Oriens christianus, II., 1404 *seq.*; BOTERO, Relationi, III., 106; MAFFEI, I., 320 *seq.*

[3] For what follows *cf.* the authentic account given by P. Giovan Bruno *Ragguaglio della missione fatta a Maroniti in Soria nel Libanon, in the Cod. D. 5, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. MAFFEI (I., 322), utilized this report. See also *Orbis Seraph.*, II., 748 *seq.*

[4] See the memoranda of Paul II., Sixtus IV., Leo X., Clement VII., Paul III. and IV., in ANAISSI, Bull, Maronit., Romae, 1911, 19 *seq.*, 22 *seq.*, 25 *seq.*, 32 *seq.*, 53 *seq.*, 57 *seq.*, 64 *seq.*

letter from their patriarch, and paid homage in his name. In his reply Gregory XIII. expressed his joy at the wish of the patriarch to remain in complete unity, but added an exhortation to renounce their errors as to baptism, confirmation and divorce, which were specifically enumerated.[1] The explanations which were offered by the envoys were unsatisfactory, and, as they further asked for the support of the Pope against certain archpriests who persisted in disobedience to the patriarch, Gregory decided to send a special embassy for the clearing up of this affair, and at the same time to combat the errors in question. This was entrusted to the Jesuits, Tommaso Raggio and Giambattista Eliano, who were acquainted with Hebrew and Arabic, and were well versed in oriental religious matters. Cardinal Carafa wrote instructions for them in March, 1578, exhorting them to prudent and cautious action, and further directing their attention to the ecclesiastical conditions of the Georgians, Copts and Jacobites.[2]

The two Jesuits set out for Lebanon in company with the envoys, who were given rich gifts by the Pope.[3] The welcome which they received from the Patriarch of the Maronites left nothing to be desired, but their inquiries into the religious conditions made it clear that intervention on the part of the Holy See was necessary.[4] In order to give the Pope more exact particulars the envoys returned to Rome with the consent of the patriarch;[5] they took with them two young Maronites who were to make their studies there.

The report of the two Jesuits decided the Pope to take

[1] See *ibid.*, 70 *seq.*

[2] This document, hitherto unknown, was first brought to light by RABBATH (Documents, 140 *seq.*).

[3] The letter of recommendation for the envoys addressed to the patriarch in THEINER, II., 440, their faculties in ANAISSI, *loc. cit.*, 74 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See his letter to Gregory XIII. in THEINER, III., 115.

the Maronites under his care in the fullest way. This lonely mountain people suffered from a great lack of good and correct religious books, and to supply this the Pope established a Syriac printing press in Rome. There was printed a catechism, drawn up by the Jesuits and adapted to the special conditions of the Maronites, as well as other things.[1] With these books and a plentiful supply of sacred vestments, which were lacking among the Maronites, as well as large alms and the pallium for the patriarch, two new envoys, Giambattista Eliano and Giovanni Bruno, were sent to Lebanon in the spring of 1580.[2] They were furnished with detailed instructions, both by the General of the Jesuits and the Cardinal Protector, Carafa. The General insisted that the fathers must keep quite aloof from political questions and devote themselves entirely to their religious task.[3] This consisted first in the holding of a synod, at which the new catechism was to be accepted and salutary decrees in conformity with the Council of Trent were to be passed for the restoration of purity of faith, and the improvement of discipline. The synod was held in August, 1580, in the monastery at Quannobin, which occupied a splendid site. This was followed by a careful visitation,[4] during the course of which the patriarch died. His successor was his brother, a good man, who supported the two Jesuits in every way. In this way order was restored everywhere, dogmatic errors were removed, and erroneous customs eradicated. The efforts of the Pope met with grateful recognition from the Maronites; every time his name was mentioned, they rose and removed their turbans from

[1] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580, Vatican Library. On June 9, 1580, Gregory XIII. issued instructions to Cardinal Santori concerning the printing of Arabic literature; see *Audientiae card. Santorii, Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 252; THEINER, III., 233; ANAISSI, 78 *seq.*

[3] See RABBATH, Documents, 145 *seq.*, 148 *seq.*

[4] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* The decrees of the synod in RABBATH, 152 *seq.*

their heads, which with them was the supreme mark of honour.[1]

On account of the difficulties of communication of those times, the two Jesuits could only expect replies and further instructions from Rome after the lapse of several months. They occupied the interval in making a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, where they were cordially welcomed by the Franciscans, the faithful guardians of the Holy Sepulchre, and converted two Nestorians. They then went to Damascus to visit the Maronites who lived there, and to have an interview with the Greek Patriarch of Antioch. Cardinal Santori, the Protector of the Greeks, had advised them to make an attempt to win him over to union with Rome. The patriarch heard with pleasure of the idea of establishing a Greek College in Rome; he was very courteous, but made it clear that he could do nothing in the matter of reunion, without the knowledge of the Greek Patriarch of Constantinople. After great dangers and hardships, and being several times imprisoned by the Mohammedans, the fathers returned to Lebanon. There they found instructions that Father Bruno was to return to Rome to make a report, while Father Eliano was to go to the Copts at Cairo.

Gregory XIII. was highly satisfied with the result of the mission to the Maronites; he confirmed the new patriarch, and granted him the pallium, together with large alms.[2] The patriarch sent a number of young Maronites to Rome, among them his own nephew.[3] At the suggestion of Carafa the Pope established the Maronite College. There, under the eye of the supreme head of the Church, were to be trained good ecclesiastics, who were later on to take back to their

[1] See G. Bruno's *Ragguaglio, *loc. cit.* The Mass vestments which Gregory XIII. had sent to the patriarch of the Maronites were seen in use by Duke Christopher Nicholas Radziwill on the occasion of his visit to Lebanon in 1583; see *Stimmen aus Maria-Lach*, LIII., 215.

[2] See *G. Bruno, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Anaissi, 91.

[3] See *G. Bruno, *loc. cit.*

distant country "the true spirit of St. Peter."[1] Great hopes were built upon the success of this establishment, not only for the Maronites, but also for the other churches of the east.[2]

The success obtained with the Maronites was the occasion of Gregory charging Leonardo Abel, titular bishop of Sidon, a Maltese who had a good knowledge of Arabic, with a mission to the eastern patriarchs in 1583, reunion with whom had already been projected in 1578.[3] Three Jesuits accompanied the bishop: the Italian, Leonardo di S. Angelo, the Spaniard Casa, and the Frenchman Lanzea, who were also well versed in Arabic.[4] Gregory XIII. was well satisfied with the choice made by the General of the Society of Jesus. At their farewell audience he exhorted the fathers to shrink from neither

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 249.

[2] *Hoggi dì, writes G. Bruno after the death of Gregory XIII., persevera questo collegio con speranza che debba seguire notabile aiuto in quella natione et molto honore della chiesa Romana, perchè non si ricorda mai che habbia havuti operarii che havessero gli idiomi arabici et caldei uniti con la lingua italiana et colle scienze di filosofia et teologia potendo essere questi strumenti di trattare la reduttione di molte nationi dell' Oriente che usano gli stessi linguaggi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See *Santori's notes on his audience of October 15, 1578, Papal Secret Archives, *loc. cit.*

[4] *Cf.* (in addition to SACCHINUS, V., 115 *seq.*, and MAFFEI, II., 344 *seq.*) SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 151, 154, and the *notes of P. Leonardo di Santangelo in the Cod. D. 5, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The final report of the Bishop of Sidon (*cf.* MAZZUCHELLI, I., 1, 22; FORCELLA, VIII., 39), dat. April 19, 1587, in BALUZE, Miscell., ed. Mansi, IV., Lucae, 1764, 150 *seq.* A. D'AVRIL has given a French translation of it: Une mission religieuse en Orient au XVI^e^ siècle, Paris, 1866. A new edition of the original would have been of more use. This original exists in many manuscripts of which I noted the following: Berlin, Royal Library, Informat. polit., I.; Mantua, Capilupi Library; Rome, Vatican Library, Urb. 841, p. 392 *seq.*; Vienna, Court Library, 6319, p. 1 *seq.* PICHLER (II., 462) wrongly ascribes to Sixtus V. the sending of the Bishop of Sidon. *Cf.* also *Bessarione*, Ann. 6, Ser. 2, vol. 1, Roma, 1901-2, 205 *seq.*

dangers nor labour in order to convey the true faith to the eastern patriarchs. For the reunion of the east with the Holy See which he so ardently desired, no sacrifice and no pledge on his part would be too great.[1] The embassy left Rome on March 12th, 1583. It was only on April 16th that a ship could be found at Venice, that on which Duke Christopher Nicholas Radziwill was making his journey to Palestine. From Beyrouth the envoys first visited the Maronites in Lebanon, and then went on to Aleppo. It seemed impossible to penetrate as far as the Patriarch of the Jacobites, Ignatius David, who lived at Diarbekir ; the dangers of such a journey were represented to them on every side as being too great. The envoys nevertheless, by means of a trusted messenger, suggested to the patriarch a meeting in a monastery on the west bank of the Euphrates, near Orfa (Edessa). Ignatius David avoided a meeting, but sent his vicar-general. In the course of the negotiations the Bishop of Sidon and Father Leonardo insisted on the necessity of accepting the decrees of the Council of Chalcedon, and rejecting the monophysite errors of Dioscuros.

The vicar-general declared that this was impossible, though he said that he was ready to accept the primacy of the Pope. Further negotiations led to no better result ; during the course of these it came out that the Jacobites had been strengthened in their adherence to their erroneous opinions by the Patriarch Ignatius Neemet, who was at that time enjoying the hospitality of Gregory XIII. in Rome.

The envoys found a disposition to accept reunion with Rome among the Chaldeans of Assyria, and the two patriarchs of the Armenians. The latter were given the presents from the Pope intended for the Patriarch David. The Armenian Patriarch Katschadur, who lived at Sis in Cilicia, promised to send an embassy to Rome to express his submission.[2] His death, however, prevented him from carrying this intention into effect. His successor Azarias, after long discussions,

[1] See the *notes of Leonardo di Santangelo, *loc. cit.*

[2] In addition to the sources quoted *supra*, p. 495, n. 4, see also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 157, 160.*

accepted the profession of faith offered to him, which was signed at the same time by four bishops; the carrying into effect of the reunion, however, was stopped, as Azarias, who had been accused by one of his bishops, had to go to Constantinople to defend himself. "How difficult a thing it is," exclaimed the Bishop of Sidon in his report, "to deal with these eastern patriarchs!" He draws in this report an alarming picture of the lamentable condition of the Armenians, who openly declared that if they could be set free from the tyranny of the Turks they were all ready to become Latins. At Sis the two principal churches were rapidly falling into ruins, as the suspicious vigilance of the Turks would not allow the restoration of those buildings, which stood on a lofty site like a fortress. There were still twelve churches in the city; in some of them the images had to be kept hidden because of the Mohammedans. The patriarch, who had been despoiled of all his revenues by the Turks, lived on alms;[1] he gladly received the subsidy sent by the Pope, and enthusiastically praised the efforts being made by Gregory on behalf of the easterns.[2] How great these were was shown by the establishment in Rome of a college for young Armenians.[2]

At the same time as the Bishop of Sidon, the Jesuit Francesco Sasso had gone, by the command of Gregory XIII., to Egypt, to try and effect the reunion of the Copts with Rome, which had been vainly attempted by Pius IV. The first negotiations had been opened by Father Eliano. Sasso took to the Patriarch of the Copts, John, a letter from Gregory, as well as a hundred chalices for the churches which were entirely destitute. At the end of December, 1583, a synod was held at Cairo, the discussions at which for a time lent strength to the hope that it would be possible to bring back the Copts to ecclesiastical unity.[4]

[1] See BALUZE, *loc. cit.*, 157.

[2] See the *notes of Leonardo di Santangelo, *loc. cit.*

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 249.

[4] See SANTORI, Autobiografia XIII., 157. How the work of Coptic reunion, so hopefully begun, ended in failure is described in the *Litt. annuae*, 1584, p. 343 *seq.* *Cf.* also SACCHINUS, V.,

In the meantime the Bishop of Sidon and Father Leonardo di S. Angelo had been successful in winning back the Chaldean patriarch who had come to Aleppo from his Nestorian errors, and reconciling him to the Church. The negotiations which had been begun by the envoys with the Patriarch of the Melkites at Damascus were interrupted by the threatening attitude of the Turks. The Greek Patriarch of Jerusalem, upon whom the representations of the envoys had made a great impression, would willingly have renounced his schism if he had not been prevented by his entourage.[1]

Besides the ancient world, Gregory XIII. also bestowed the same pastoral care upon the recently discovered lands beyond the Atlantic Ocean. How much had already been done to christianize the vast Spanish possessions in America may best be seen by looking at the imposing edifice of its hierarchy, by the generous arrangement and far-seeing development of which the Popes of the XVIth century had shown themselves to be enlightened guides of the universal Church.[2] The Holy See, by granting to the Kings of Spain the right of patronage, gave to them a fresh and serious incentive for watching over the steady development of the Church in their colonies; above all, Philip II. was deeply

117 *seq.*, 173 *seq.*; PICHLER, II., 515. The energy with which Gregory XIII. continued to work for the union of the Copts is shown from the following entry of Santori on his audience of July 5, 1585: *De Cophti; "di quello che scriveva il P. Giov. Batt. Romano [Eliano] de Cophti et Sinodo: che perseveri il P. Battista a guadagnarli. Del partito che si propone da M. Paolo Mariani, console per il Re christ^mo in Egitto, di far deponere il patriarca de Cophti e far eleggere un altro di quelli, che confessano le verità cattoliche: che facci quello che pare poter fare." Audientiae card. Santorii, Arm. 52 · t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[1] See SACCHINUS, V., 172 *seq.* Moreover, in 1583, the Patriarch of Jerusalem sent twelve youths to be educated at Rome; see WYMANN in the *Zeitschr. für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1919, 116 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* Vols. VI., 163; X., 364; XIII., 290 of this work.

convinced of the importance of well ordered religious conditions for the maintenance of his own sovereignty.[1] The financial difficulties found an excellent solution in the fact that the crown fulfilled its duty of endowing and maintaining the missions, which it had assumed with the concession of the patronage, in the most generous spirit.[2] It was of course impossible to avoid certain weak spots, but at first these were but little in evidence.[3]

In the time of Gregory XIII. the Catholic Church in America had five archbishoprics: San Domingo, Mexico, Guatemala, Santa Fé de Bogotá and Lima in Peru, to which were subject a considerable number of bishoprics.[4] The oldest dioceses were those which had been established in 1513 at San Domingo and Panama;[5] Cuba had its bishopric in 1518, and Mexico in January 1519 at Yucatan (Mérida). Later on the Spaniards deserted Yucatan and only returned thither in 1542; after 1561 there was once more a resident bishop of Mérida.[6] Several dioceses were established under Clement VII.: in 1526 at Puebla (Tlaxcala), in 1530 at Mexico, in 1531 at Nicaragua, Carácas (Venezuela), and Honduras (Comayagua), and in 1534 at Santa Marta.[7] The pontificate of Paul III. formed an epoch in the development of the hierarchy in America, and no less than ten dioceses owed their origin to his pastoral

[1] *Cf.* AVARRAGARAY, La Iglesia en America y la dominación Española, 19 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HUONDER, Deutscher Jesuitenmissionäre des 17 und 18 Jahrhunderts, Freiburg, 1899, 45 and FREYTAG in *Schmidlin's Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, III., 20.

[3] *Cf.* FREYTAG, *loc. cit.*, 18 *seq.*

[4] See *Diocesium Indicarum maris Oceani descriptio iussu Gregorii XIII. facta a Petro de Aguillar Hispalensi, Romae, 1581, February, Vatic. 5505, Vatican Library. The author speaks as one who has had many years' experience of American conditions.

[5] See GAMS, 148; GULIK-EUBEL, III., 203, 286.

[6] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 168, 359; CRIVELLI in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, X., New York, 1911, 268 *seq.*

[7] See Vol. X. of this work, pp. 364 *seq.*

care: Guatemala (1534), Antequera (1535), Michoacan (1536), Cuzco (1537), Chiapa (1539), Lima (Ciudad de los Reyes, 1541), Quito (1546), Popayán (1546), Rio de la Plata (1547) and Guadalajara (1548). In 1546, besides Mexico and Lima,[1] the Farnese Pope made San Domingo an archbishopric, with suffragan sees at Cuba, Porto Rico and Carácas;[2] San Domingo was also made the primatial see over all the dioceses of the Spanish colonies in north and south America, although since 1524 there had been a patriarchate of the West Indies, whose titular resided in Spain.[3] To the archdiocese of Mexico there belonged Vera Paz and the diocese at Manila erected by Gregory XIII. in 1579.[4] La Plata had its own bishop after 1552,[5] Santiago del Chile after 1561, and Tucumán after 1570.[6] The metropolitan see of Lima of 1546 had as its suffragan sees Cuzco, Quito, Panama, Nicaragua and Popayán. The latter was detached in 1564 and placed under the new archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá.[7] The suffragan sees of Guatemala in 1577 were Chiapa, Honduras and Nicaragua.[8]

Gregory XIII. further added to the Catholic hierarchy of the vice-royalty of Peru, which included the whole of Spanish South America. On April 15th, 1577, he constituted the lapsed diocese of Santa Marta and placed it under the archdiocese of Santa Fé de Bogotá. In the same year he also

[1] See Vol. XII. of this work, p. 515. With regard to Guadalajaras *cf.* GAMS, 149.

[2] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 203.

[3] *Cf.* JANN, 109. AVARRAGARAY (*loc. cit.*, 81) emphasises the fact that the West Indian Patriarchate was "un mero titulo, sin autoridad o jurisdicción alguna, como los Obispos in partibus."

[4] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 251, 260; *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX., 597 *seq.* Vera Paz, founded in 1556, lasted only until 1605; see GAMS, 151.

[5] See Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 290.

[6] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 167, 340; MARCELLINO DA CIVEZZA, VII., 2, 96. *Cf.* AVARRAGARAY, *loc. cit.*, 177.

[7] See GULIK-EUBEL, III., 212, 242.

[8] See *P. DE AGUILLAR, *loc. cit.*

formed the new dioceses of Truxillo and Arequipa, and in 1582 that of Buenos Aires.[1]

The greater number of the bishops of Spanish America belonged to the Dominican and Franciscan Orders, which, during the period when the new world became Christian had borne the brunt of the work.[2] They very quickly displayed an extraordinary enthusiasm, patience and perseverance. Whereas the greater number of the laymen aimed at conquest, riches and gain, the disinterested religious sought only to gain souls. Armed with nothing but a crucifix and a breviary, a musical instrument and some toys, they made their way among the most savage peoples, made their language their own, instructed them in the fundamental principles of religion, taught them agriculture and European industries, and thus became the masters, counsellors and friends of the Indians. At the same time with the greatest intrepidity they fought against the hard and cruel yoke under which so many of the Spanish conquerors sought to bring the unhappy natives of America. At the head of these champions of the rights of the Indians as men against a brutal policy of violence stands the zealous Dominican bishop, Bartolomé de Las Casas, who was Bishop of Chiapa from 1543 to 1551.[3] He was worthily followed by Julian Garcés, Bishop of Tlaxcala, who urged Paul III. to issue his celebrated decrees in favour of the poor and oppressed Indians.[4] How deeply rooted was the cruel oppression of the Indians is clearly shown by the fact that the Dominican, Louis Bertrand, after working with burning zeal from 1562 to 1569 for the conversion of New

[1] See Acta consist. in the Records of the *American Cath. Hist. Society*, XI. (1900), 62 *seq.* *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 292; GAMS, 139, 140, 154, 165; STREIT, I., 506.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, pp. 297-305.

[3] See the monographs of FABIÉ (2 vols, Madrid, 1879), BAUMSTARK (Freiburg, 1879), DUTTO (St. Louis, 1902), WALTZ (Bern, 1905) and MAC RUTH (London, 1909). *Cf.* also SCHMIDLIN'S *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, I., 263 *seq.*; III., 13 *seq.*; VI., 266 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* Vol. XII. of this work, p. 519.

Granada, at last left that country in order that it might not appear that he concurred, even in the slightest degree, in the abominations which he could not prevent. But his fellow-religious and companion, Father Luis Vero, in spite of every obstacle, continued the work that he had begun until his death in 1588.[1]

The Franciscans vied with the Dominicans in the work of the missions and the protection of the natives, and but for their courageous intervention the Indians of Mexico would have been destroyed as they were in the Antilles and elsewhere.[2] They were supported by the Archbishop of Mexico, Juan de Zumárraga, of the Franciscan Order, who was one of the most important bishops of the New World;[3] when in 1548 Zumárraga died at the age of eighty, he had a worthy successor in the Dominican Alfonso de Montúfar, who held provincial councils in 1555 and 1565. The third Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, under whom the building of the cathedral, the most beautiful church on American soil, was begun in 1573,[4] held a similar council in 1585.[5] The good fortune of having excellent pastors was shared by Bogotá, where Luis Zapata established a seminary and held a provincial synod in 1582,[6] and Lima, where the first archbishop, Francisco Jeronimo de Loaysa, of the Dominican Order (1540-1575) issued some very wise decrees in two provincial councils. His successor Turibio (1579-1606) won the honourable title of Apostle of Peru.

[1] See B. WILBERFORCE, Life of Saint Louis Bertrand.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIII. of this work, p. 303. See also HOLZAPFEL, 495.

[3] *Cf.* Vols. XII., p. 516; XIII., p. 298 of this work; also B. VERELST, Zumárraga, Rousselaere, 1907.

[4] *Cf. Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst*, N.F., XXVI. (1915), 254. In his *Dioces. Indic. descriptio, P. de Aguillar calls the cathedral of Mexico a work "mirae magnitudinis." It was in course of construction at the time (1581). Vatic. 5505, Vatican Library.

[5] See Concilios provinciales Mexicanos, México, 1769-70; Concilio, III. provincial Mejicano celebrado en Méjico el año 1585, ilustrado con notas del P. B. ARRILLAGA, Méjico, 1857.

[6] *Cf.* GAMS, 140; HOLZAPFEL, 508.

In order to introduce the decrees of the Council of Trent in his vast diocese, Turibio held no less than thirteen diocesan synods and three provincial councils. At the council of 1582 laws were made in defence of the liberties of the Indians, and the religious rights of the negro slaves. The zealous pastor also cared for the natives in other ways: he protected them from violence, watched over their instruction in religion and set up a special press—the first in western South America—at which were printed by his advice a catechism in the Quichua language and other religious books. Turibio turned his attention to every part of his diocese as the father of the poor and the consoler of the sick. The work accomplished by this extraordinary man during the twenty-four years of his episcopate in the reform of the clergy, and the conversion and civilization of his diocese stands alone in the ecclesiastical history of America. On two occasions, amid indescribable difficulties, and in constant peril of his life, he travelled all over his great archdiocese, penetrating the most lofty valleys of the Andes, and to the most remote villages of the Indians, preaching everywhere and making salutary ordinances. He must have administered the sacrament of confirmation to about 800,000 persons. Churches, monasteries, seminaries and charitable institutions everywhere proclaimed, in many different places, and for a long time to come, the glory of this great pastor, whom Benedict XIII. raised to the altars of the Church in 1726.[1]

So vast a territory as the Spanish possessions in America could never have enough labourers. It was therefore a happy thought when the Society of Jesus resolved to preach the religion of the Cross in Mexico, Peru and Chili.[2]

The Jesuits went to Mexico at the request of Philip II. The General, Francis Borgia, sent thither Father Pedro Sanchez with eleven other fathers, and they landed at Vera

[1] *Cf.* NICOSELLI, Vita di S. Toribio Alfonso Magrovesio, Roma, 1726; BÉRENGIER, Vie de St. Turibe, Poitiers, 1872. For the introduction of printing by Turibio see DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 71 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* P. DE AGUILLAR, *Descriptio, Vatican Library.

Cruz in September, 1572. They preached there, and at Puebla de los Angeles with so great success that both those cities wished to retain them. In conformity with the orders of the General, however, they went to the capital, where in 1573 they founded a college, and soon afterwards schools. Colleges sprang up in quick succession at Pazcuaro, Oaxaca, Puebla, Vera Cruz and Tepozotlán.[1] The archbishop and the viceroy both sent reports to the Pope concerning the self-sacrificing labours of the missionaries among Spaniards, natives and negroes. During the years of pestilence in 1575 and 1576 the Jesuits distinguished themselves in common with the other Orders. In order to bring their influence to bear upon the natives, they took pains, as their predecessors, the Dominicans and Franciscans, had done, to learn the difficult Mexican language. The Indians especially extolled the complete disinterestedness of the Jesuits, who refused gifts, gave large alms, and even redeemed those who were imprisoned for debt. The Indians flocked to them from all parts; the sick were often brought from a great distance to the houses of the Jesuits to receive the sacraments. A Sodality of the Blessed Virgin sprang up in Mexico, which was affiliated to that in Rome. In the seaports the Jesuits cared for the spiritual and temporal welfare of the medley of people who congregated in them. The Archbishop of Mexico, Pedro Moya de Contreras, bore splendid testimony in 1582 to their indefatigable labours as pastors and teachers.[2] By the end of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. the Society of Jesus had in Mexico eight houses and 150 religious, of the incredibly great results of whose labours the annals of the Order give interesting particulars.[3]

[1] For what follows, *cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 35, 64, 99, 210, 249; V., 64, 107 *seq.*, 224; ALEGRE († 1788), Hist. de la Compañia de Jesús en Nueva España, I., Méjico, 1841 *seq.*, and ASTRAIN, III., 123 *seq.*

[2] See ASTRAIN, III., 148 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Litt. ann.* 1581, p. 135, 1584, p. 305, 1585, p. 179 *seq.*; ASTRAIN, IV., 388 *seq.*

The Jesuit mission in Peru began as early as 1568.[1] Here too they first directed their attention to the new capital Lima, and the ancient "city of the sun" Cuzco. Without neglecting the Spaniards, they especially devoted themselves to the native population. The church of the college at Cuzco was divided into two parts, one for the Spaniards and one for the Indians. The rector of the college at Cuzco, Juan de Zuñiga (died 1577) penetrated as far as the wildest parts of the Andes. In order to work effectively in the territory it was necessary, as far as possible, to have a knowledge of the numerous Indian dialects. The first Jesuit missionaries therefore devoted themselves with all zeal to learning these difficult dialects. The Dominican, Domingo de Santo Tomás, had compiled the first grammar in the Quichua language.[2] The Jesuit, Alonso Barzana seemed to possess a miraculous gift of tongues.[3] Having arrived in Peru in 1569, he stayed first at Lima, and then in upper Peru, the modern Bolivia, where he learned the Puquina tongue, and then followed the conquerors into the eastern valleys of the Andes, where he again acquired the Indian dialects, so as to be able to preach to the people there in their own language. Later on Barzana published a grammar, a lexicon, and a book for confession and prayers in five Indian dialects. This work has won for him an honourable name among students of the Quichua language.[4] The largest work on Quichua was composed by Father Diego Gonzales Holguin, who went to Peru in 1570, and lived for many years at the Jesuit college at Juli, on the banks of Lake Titicaca, the sacred waters of the Peruvians. There, where are to be found the gigantic ruins of the celebrated Temple of the Sun, he acquired so profound a knowledge of the language that in 1575

[1] For what follows, *cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 35 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*, 100 *seq.*, 132, 134, 171, 210, 250; V., 66, 108; also the *Litt. ann.* 1582, p. 273 *seqq.*, 1584, p. 286 *seq.*; ASTRAIN, III., 151 *seq.*; IV., 506 *seq.*

[2] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 70. *Cf.* L. PAZ, La Universidad de la Capital de los Charcas, Sucre, 1914, 49 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 68.

[4] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 72 *seq.*

the viceroy appointed him interpreter in chief for the Quichua, Puquina and Aymará languages, as well as defender and advocate of the Indians. At the end of his laborious life Holguin published a grammar and vocabulary of the Quichua tongue, which to-day is still of great value.[1]

At Juli the Jesuits set up a printing press, the productions of which are much more accurate and better produced than the printed Peruvian works of the second half of the XIXth century.[2] There were published also the works of Diego Gonzales Holguin, an excellent vocabulary, a grammar, and the Life of Our Saviour in the language of the Aymará, who formed the greater part of the population of the southern states. The Jesuit, Diego de Torres Rubio, who went to Peru in 1577, and taught Quichua and the kindred dialects at the college of Chuquisacha, succeeded in mastering the finest distinctions of the native language. The bishops of Peru entrusted him with the correction and new edition of the catechism, the publication of which was decided upon by the provincial council of Lima in 1584. The works of Rubio and Holguin still form the basis for all study of the Peruvian dialects.[3]

It was not only the linguistic attainments of the Jesuit missionaries that produced good results in Peru, for other branches of learning owed much to them as well. The principal proof of this was the celebrated *Historia natural y moral de las Indias* by José de Acosta, who went to Peru in 1571, and became provincial when scarcely thirty-five years of age. In the course of the long and difficult journeys which he made as superior, he acquired that great historical and linguistic knowledge which makes his work one of the most important authorities on Peru. Published first in Latin, the *Historia* was afterwards translated into Spanish, French, German,

[1] See *ibid.*, 73 *seq.*

[2] According to TSCHUDI, Organismus der Khetsua-Sprache, Leipzig, 1884, 73.

[3] See DAHLMANN, Sprachkunde, 73 *seq.*

English and Dutch. Blas Valera, who was descended from the Incas on his mother's side, and became a Jesuit in 1568, won considerable fame by his collection of the traditions and fables, as well as by his history of the Empire of the Incas. His history, which was written in Latin, has unhappily only been partially preserved; the fragments that remain concerning the religion, customs, institutions and language, and on the products and medicinal plants of Peru, which Garcilasso de la Vega made use of for his history of that country, give some idea of Valera's work.[1]

José de Acosta, who worked for fifteen years in Peru, attained a special importance by his work on the conversion of the Indians, published in 1584. This work, which is alike perfect in its matter and its form, is the first attempt at making a complete and coherent theory of the missions, and one that gives us in a classic form the method so profitably followed by the Society of Jesus. Acosta expressly declares himself against the view that the savages, by their unbelief, or else, as some theologians held at that time, by their sins against nature, had to be overcome by war. To him the ideal seems to be the preaching of the Gospel without any military aid, but as this was rendered impracticable by the savagery of the barbarians, another way must be adopted in dealing with this new human race, a middle course, by which the missionaries would be accompanied by soldiers for their protection. To those who undertook the care of the souls of the Indians, who, as far as morals and religion were concerned, left much to be desired, he insistently recommends purity of life, humility, piety, kindness and gentleness. Baptism must not be administered too soon, nor without careful preparation, nor, on the other hand, must the natives be kept back from communion; on the contrary, their zealous protector does not hesitate to pronounce in favour of the admission of the Indians to the priesthood; it was only the provincial councils of Lima (1582) and Mexico which for the first time allowed

[1] *Cf.* WINSOR, *History of America*, I., Boston, 1885, 262 *seq.*; DAHLMANN, *loc. cit.*, 67 *seq.*

the conferring of orders upon the Indians.[1] This was probably done by the advice of the Holy See. Pius V. had already given the widest powers to the bishops for the formation of a plentiful supply of priests for America; Gregory XIII. added to these, and allowed that the sons of invalid marriages, whether Creoles or Mestizos, might be ordained and receive benefices, provided that the conditions of the canon law were complied with in other respects. The hopes of the native clergy were also encouraged by the educational activities of the Jesuits.[2]

How greatly the Jesuit missions in Peru flourished in the time of Gregory XIII., in spite of the difficulties placed in their way by the viceroy, Francisco de Toledo,[3] may be seen from the fact that in 1582 the Order possessed in that country five colleges and two houses, with 133 religious, fifty of whom were thoroughly conversant with the language of the natives. The inhabitants clung with great affection to their masters and counsellors, who also zealously cared for the unfortunate labourers in the silver mines.[4]

The Franciscans vied with the Jesuits, and the lay-brother, Matteo di Junilla, especially did much meritorious work; he went from place to place in the province of Cajamarca, and with the help of the children whom he had instructed, won an extraordinary influence over the natives.[5] In Chili the Franciscan, Antonio di S. Miguel, converted countless Indians, who followed him about with childlike love. This good man

[1] See SCHMIDLIN'S excellent article: Katholische Missionstheoretiker des 16 und 17 Jahrhunderts, in *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, I., 219 *seq.*, and HUONDER, Einheimische Klerus, 19 *seq.*, 24 *seq.*, 26 *seq.*

[2] See HUONDER, *loc. cit.*, 31 *seq.*, 33.

[3] He was recalled in 1580; *cf.* ASTRAIN, III., 168 *seq.* where will also be found detailed particulars of the proceedings instituted by the Inquisition (very rightly) against the unworthy P. Luis Lopez; *cf.* MEDINA, Historia de la Inquisición en Lima, I., 99 *seq.*

[4] See *Litt. ann.* 1582, p. 273 *seq.*

[5] See HOLZAPFEL, 511.

did not hesitate to confront the Spanish government with the injustice that was being done to the natives.[1]

The difficulties with which the Jesuits had to contend in Brazil were so great that some of them despaired of their work as missionaries and joined the Carthusians, a step, however, which was forbidden by Gregory XIII.[2] The majority, however, persevered, though the avarice and harshness of the Portuguese colonists often threatened to destroy that which had been built up with such great labour. The harvest, one of the reports states, is a rich one, but the difficulties are incredible.[3]

In Brazil too the Jesuits sought to organize the natives and gather them together in villages (aldeas) where they could accustom themselves to a well-ordered life and be prepared for the reception of Christianity. Very often, and in the most surprising way, they succeeded in making moral and pious Christians of these savages. Baptism was only administered after long trial, as the inconstancy of the Indians was well known. How great was the fear that the natives felt of the tyranny of the colonists was seen in 1575 when, at the bare news that the Portuguese were coming, the Indians who had been gathered together by the Jesuits in various places along the Rio Real, began to scatter. It was only with great difficulty that later on some of them were induced to return.[4]

In 1577 and 1581 wide tracts of Brazil were visited by infectious disease. It made a great impression among the Indians when the Jesuits in this time of need showed them a kindness that was marked by great self-sacrifice, and shrank from no danger of infection in order to console the sick, both spiritually and temporally. Many of them were converted. In the latter year the Society of Jesus

[1] See *ibid.*, 513.

[2] See SACCHINUS, IV., 200 *seq.*

[3] *Cf. Litt. ann.* 1583, p. 201 *seq.*, 1584, p. 140 *seq.*, 1585, p. 136 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SACCHINUS, IV., 61 *seq.*, 97 *seq.*, 131 *seq.*

had in Brazil two colleges and five houses, containing 140 inmates.[1]

Of the many splendid missionaries who laboured in Brazil the most distinguished was José de Anchieta, who from the time of his arrival in 1553 until his death in 1597, devoted all his energies to the work of the missions, so as to be given the honourable name of the Apostle of Brazil.[2] The greatest praise was accorded to his zeal for souls even on the part of Protestants. "Bare-footed, with a crucifix, and a rosary round his neck, with staff and breviary in hand, his shoulders weighed down with the burden of the requirements for his altar, this missionary penetrated the forests, swam across the streams, climbed the most rugged mountain districts, was lost in the deserts, faced the wild beasts, and overcame all these dangers and labours in order to win souls."[3]

By means of the reports which Anchieta sent to the General of his Order, he also did good service for the history and study of Brazil.[4] His grammar of the Tupi language has been declared by philologists of our own times to be of extraordinary scientific value.[5] Even as provincial Anchieta continued his apostolic journeys, and when he died in 1597 he was venerated as a saint.

Gregory XIII. fully appreciated the services rendered by the Jesuits in the missions, as to which the annual reports

[1] See *ibid.*, IV., 208 *seq.*; V., 63 *seq.*, 223 *seq.* The Discalced Carmelites had been working in Brazil since 1580; see De Macedo, O Brasil religioso (1920), 89 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* his biography written by Balthasar Anchieta in Latin, Cologne, 1617. It also appeared in Portuguese and Spanish, see *Freib. Kirchenlex.*, I.[2], 806. In more recent times we have the Vida do P. Jose de Anchieta pelo P. Pedro Rodrigues in the *Annaes da Bibl. nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XXIX. (1909), 181-287.

[3] Southey, *History of Brazil*, London, 1810, 310 *seq.* *Cf.* also J. Ribeiro, *History do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, 1900.

[4] See Informaçoes e fragmentos do P. J. Anchieta (1584-6) public por Capistrano de Abren, Rio de Janeiro, 1886.

[5] See Dahlmann, Sprachkunde, 82 *seq.*

of the Society give exact details.[1] Whenever an opportunity occurred he praised the fathers, and sought to help them in every way.[2] When in 1580 the Portuguese colonies came, together with Portugal itself, under the Spanish crown, it would seem that he foresaw the unfortunate consequences of that event upon the missions; he therefore begged Philip II. to extend the same protection to the Society of Jesus as the Kings of Portugal had done.[3] Of great importance was the decision by means of which Gregory interfered on behalf of the unity of the missions in Japan, by restricting, in a decree of January 28th, 1585, that field to the Jesuits alone.[4] Several Orders were no longer to work at the same time in the same mission field. The Pope expressed the same thing by his attitude of delay with regard to the wish of the Capuchins to take part in the missions to the pagans.[5]

In his diplomatic negotiations with Philip II. Gregory XIII. always kept the missions in view. He never wearied of urging the king to send good priests to the colonies.[6] His plan

[1] For particulars of the *Annuae litterae Soc. Iesu* which appeared each year in Rome from 1581 onwards, *cf.* LÖHER'S essay in the Reports of the meetings of the Munich Academy, II. 167, and more especially DUHR, I., 674 *seq.* The high esteem in which these reports were held in the Curia, is clear from *Odescalchi's memorandum dat. Rome, July 21, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Additional special reports also appeared notably on Japan. A very complete collection of these reports, taken originally from the Jesuit settlement in Rome, is to be found in the Archives of the Spanish Embassy, Rome.

[2] This attitude of the Pope is specially marked in the briefs given in THEINER, II., 249; III., 118.

[3] See *ibid.*, III., 362 *seq.*

[4] See *Synopsis*, 139 *seq.* An explanation and defence of this much abused decree is given by DELPLACE, II., 17 *seq.* *Cf. supra*, p. 472.

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160 *seq.* The first use made of the Capuchins by Gregory XIII. was in 1584 when he sent two of them to Algiers to ransom captive Christians; see ROCCO DA CESINALE, I., 504 *seq.*

[6] See MAFFEI, II., 68.

01 appointing a special nuncio for the ecclesiastical requirements of the Spanish possessions in America was shipwrecked by the resistance of the King of Spain,[1] who, instead of a titular patriarch of the West Indies, aimed at the appointment of a true patriarch, and thus at the preponderance of his own influence.[2]

What an active part the Pope, who was profoundly convinced of the universal mission of the Church, took in all questions that concerned the missions, is specially shown by the notes made by Cardinal Santori of his audiences,[3] as well as by other reports. The Pope listened, says Cesare Speciani, with indescribable pleasure to the reports of the missionaries, and gave them good advice upon their work.[4] Speciani also bears witness, and the Venetian ambassador Corraro bears this out,[5] that Cardinal Santori, if it was a case of help for the missions, never appealed in vain to the generosity of Gregory XIII.[6]

[1] *Cf.* LÄMMER, Zur Kirchengeschichte, 70. Philip II. openly declared his intention of making the American clergy, as far as possible, dependent upon the State, and he himself took many precautions to prevent false doctrine from penetrating into the colonies; see Leonardo Donato's *Relazione* of 1573, in ALBÈRI, I., 6, 462.

[2] *Cf.* Philip II.'s instructions to Zuñiga of September 9, 1572, in AVARRAGARAY, La Iglesia en America, 119 *seq.*

[3] See *Audientiae card. Santorii a 1572-85, Arm. 52, t. 17 and 18, numerous passages (Papal Secret Archives).

[4] See C. SPECIANI, *Considerationi, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] Relazione di G. Corraro, 276.

[6] See *SPECIANI, *loc. cit.*; *cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161.

CHAPTER XIII

The Papal States.—Brigandage.—The Pope's Care for Rome.

The spread of Christianity in the pagan world, and the maintenance of the Church in the countries of Europe beyond the Alps, endangered as they were by the religious changes, as well as the struggle against the Turks, laid many heavy financial burdens upon the occupant of the Holy See. There was further the need of continuing the traditional patronage in matters of art and learning, as well as the extraordinarily strong spirit of generosity of Gregory XIII. As the supply of money from the Christian nations to Rome had become very much reduced, and at times had almost entirely ceased, the revenue was not sufficient for the ever increasing requirements. Several plans were formed for meeting this situation,[1] but it was very difficult to find a suitable remedy, as Gregory XIII. was unwilling to burden his subjects with new levies. Moreover, he was by no means favourably disposed towards the method of raising money hitherto in use, by the sale of rents and offices.[2]

How much open to objection and how harmful this system was may be seen from the fact that the customs of Rome in 1576, although it had received the considerable sum of 133,000 scudi, was only able, in consequence of defalcations, to pay over to the Apostolic Camera 13,000 scudi. Some sources of revenue, such as those which came from the taxes on corn,

[1] Some of these suggestions in Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] *Cf.* Cocquelines on Maffei, II., 456. The Pope wished to abolish the Monte Pio altogether, but had to content himself with a reduction of it; see Moroni, XL., 250.

meat and wine, did not bring in any considerable sum, as the Monti had no other resources than these.

From the various provincial treasuries which had at the same time to provide for the needs of their own districts, nothing came at all; on the contrary, there was often a demand for help. In 1576 the expenditure upon the celebrated alum mines of Tolfa was so great as to exceed the revenues by 2000 scudi.[1] If the report of Paolo Tiepolo is to be believed, in that year the outgoings had reached the sum of 530,000 scudi, or half the whole of the revenues, which came to 1,100,000 scudi. After taking away the alienations, the 100,000 scudi for stipends, and 270,000 scudi for military expenses and the nunciatures, there remained to the Apostolic Camera, according to Tiepolo, a clear annual revenue of 200,000 scudi,[2] or, according to another estimate, 281,966 scudi.[3] Such a sum was not sufficient for the extraordinary expenses, such as the subsidy to the Emperor and the Kings of Poland and France.

The treasurer-general during the first years of Gregory XIII. was his compatriot, Tomaso Gigli; at the end of 1576 he was succeeded by Lodovico Taverna, who was in his turn succeeded in 1581 by Rodolfo Bonfiglioli, who was also a Bolognese.[4] This experienced man acquired a very great influence over

[1] See RANKE, Päpste, I.[9], 271. *Cf.* *Entrata d. rev. Cam. Apost. sotto il pontificato di Gregorio XIII. fatta nell' a. 1576-7 in Cod. 219 of the Library, Gotha. This summary is also to be found in many other libraries, including that of Upsala (Ms. Celsius, H. 315, 318) though the figures often differ considerably.

[2] See P. TIEPOLO, 210. *Cf.* Cocquelines on MAFFEI, I.,, 451 RANKE (*loc. cit.*) considers Tiepolo to be reliable throughout, but HÖFLER does not think so; see *Annali d. religione*, IV. (1837)1411.

[3] See the document in MÜNTZ, Les Arts, III., 1, Paris, 882, 62-3. According to a summary in the Cod. Pio, 73, p. 368 *seq.* of the Papal Secret Archives, 315,060 scudi remained the to Chamber.

[4] *Cf.* MORONI, LXXIV, 291; MARTINORI, 66. Bonfiglioli's epitaph in FORCELLA, IX., 525.

the Pope in financial matters.[1] By his advice, Gregory XIII., who had already since 1573 acquired a number of fiefs by devolution or purchase,[2] decided upon strong fiscal measures by means of which he could easily obtain large sums of money. A strict examination of all title deeds was ordered, and this yielded surprising results. It was found that many holders of fiefs or castles of great value had not paid the tribute for a long time; in the case of others it was proved that they had, in defiance of all law, entered into possession in succession to a family that was extinct, but which alone had had the right to hold it, having in the first place entered into possession merely as holders of a mortgage, and with the obligation of restoring it when the family to whom it belonged had died out. With the precision of an experienced jurist, Gregory XIII inquired into the cases in dispute in the light of authentic documents, and gave orders to the Apostolic Camera to take proceedings in strict accordance with the law. The properties in question were either to be confiscated or redeemed, and those who refused to submit were to be brought to trial.[3] It was not only the Roman barons who were seriously affected by this restoration of feudal rights: such were the Orsini, Colonna, Cesarini, Sforza, Savelli, and many others of the nobility in other parts of the Papal States; even pious institutions, such as the wealthy hospital of S. Spirito in Rome,

[1] See *Taverna's lists in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, App. 27.

[2] On this subject *cf.* in addition to MAFFEI, I., 105, 313, also Bernerio's report dat. Rome, December 12, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* A. TIEPOLO, 264 *seq.*; G. CORRARO, 276; MAFFEI, I., 375; II., 73, 222 *seq.*; REUMONT, III., 1, 569; BROSCH, I., 254 *seq.* Interesting details are given in the *Dispatches of the Venetian ambassadors in the State Archives, Venice, and in the *Avvisi di Roma of January 28, 1579; May 9, 1580; July 8, 14, 15, 22, August 5, 19, 1581; Urb. 1047, pp. 36, 157; 1048, p. 144; 1049, pp. 255, 271, 274, 279, 309, 333, Vatican Library. RANKE (Päpste, I.[9], 279 *seq.*) makes a one-sided and incomplete use of the Venetian dispatches; see BROSCH, *loc. cit.*

were not spared, if their title deeds were found to be faulty.[1] This enactment, by means of which the revenues of the Apostolic Camera had risen to 94,000 ducats by 1578,[2] was regulated and enforced by a special bull, dated June 1st, 1580, concerning the rights of the Camera, especially against those who did not pay their tribute on the Feast of St. Peter and St. Paul.[3]

One of the first to be hit was Cardinal Mark Sittich, who had to give up one of the castles bought from the heirs of Cardinal Madruzzo, because the tribute for it had not been paid for several years. It did not avail Mark Sittich anything, says Giovanni Corraro, that he was a Cardinal, nor that Gregory owed him special gratitude on account of his behaviour at the conclave. In matters of this kind the Pope was inflexible; he indignantly said that he did no one any wrong in demanding what was his own.[4] The confiscations of fiefs in 1581 were very numerous. When the Apostolic Camera took possession of Palestrina in July, Giulio Colonna went to Rome and threw himself at the Pope's feet, begging him with tears to be merciful to his family. Gregory replied

[1] See the report of G. Corraro in Brosch, I., 255, n. 2.

[2] See A. Tiepolo, 265.

[3] Bull Rom., VIII., 336 *seq.* Theiner, Codex dipl. dom. temp., III., 544 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 547 a list of the forfeited fees.

[4] G. Corraro, 276. Pius V.'s Bull of 1567, which forbade the sub-letting of fiefs that belonged to the Holy See, was confirmed by Gregory XIII. in 1572 (Bull. Rom., VIII., 11 *seq.*) once more confirmed in 1581 and made binding even on the Cardinals. *Cf.* (in addition to Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 367) the *Acta consist of January 23 and 30, 1581, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. See also *Odescalchi's report of February 18, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 18, 22 and March 18, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 69, 83, 131, Vatican Library. In the consistory of April 3, 1581, *" S. D. N. declaravit gubernia dominii Ecclesiae rev. dom. cardinalibus post bullam Pii V. ' de non infeudandis ' concessa intelliga per triennium et in posterum non posse retineri nisi per triennium." Acta consist *loc. cit.* *Cf.* Maffei, II., 225.

that justice must be allowed to take its course. A short time afterwards it was said that six chests of documents had been taken from the Vatican Library to the Castle of St. Angelo containing deeds concerning Papal investitures, on the strength of which very many persons, who had no idea of any such thing, would be required to surrender their property.[1] In August the Pope removed from the archives of the Lateran Basilica certain documents which were of importance for his policy of confiscation.[2] Giovanni Corraro states that Gregory himself examined the processes, before they were sent on to the Camera.[3]

The greater number of those who were hit submitted, though resistance was not wanting. In August 1581 Orazio Savelli threatened to join the bandits.[4] The discontent at length went so far that in December, 1581, Gregory XIII. restricted the proceedings of the Camera.[5] It was not, however, abandoned, as may be seen from certain enactments of the year 1583.[6] The Curia entirely supported the Pope's plan. This Pope, said Cardinal Galli, is called "the vigilant," but he only wishes to watch over and recover what is his own.[7] According to the testimony of the same Cardinal

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of July 14, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 271 Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 5, 1581, *ibid.* 307.

[3] G. CORRARO, 276.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of August 19, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 333, *loc. cit.*

[5] See the report of L. Donato of December 2, 1581, in BROSCH, I., 255, n. 3.

[6] See MAFFEI, II., 360. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of January 29, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 45b, Vatican Library. See also *Odescalchi's report of August 6, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See *the report of the Venetian ambassador of October 21, 1581, State Archives, Venice, utilised by RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 280. In allusion to the vigilance of Gregory XIII., one of his medals shows the dragon of his arms bearing the inscription: "Vigilat." Ghislieri also says in the *Relatione (quoted on p. 518, n. 4) that the "recuperatione" redounds to the "immortal sua gloria" of Gregory XIII. *Cf.* also BORATYŃSKI, Caligarii Epist., 609.

more than fifty castles were reclaimed in all, which brought in to the Apostolic Camera several thousand scudi annually.[1]

Special difficulty was found in the confiscation of fiefs which had been proved to have lapsed or to be illegal in the Romagna, which for a long time past had been in the hands of small landowners, and the scene of bitter party feuds.[2] Gregory XIII. therefore only employed men of experience there.[3] One such, the Roman, Giovanni Pietro Ghislieri, who had been appointed president of the Romagna in 1578, had presented to the Pope a detailed report of the condition of his province, which affords us much interesting information.[4]

[1] See Galli's *Memorie in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The state of the finances after the death of Gregory XIII. is described in an *Avviso di Roma of April 17, 1585: The "Deputati" found "in Castello in cassa 400^{m} scudi" and "nel cassettino del Papa 500 sc. soli, ma buona et bella quantità di gioie, et da 14^{m} sc. in mano delli suoi più intimi Cam^{ri}, et si fà conto che quella santa sede ha speso un milion d' oro in fabriche et dato 900^{m} sc. d' elemosine senza i milioni spesi in Avignon et in guardarsi quà, prestati et donati a'Principi, et per estinguere i cavalierati del Giglio, di Loreto et di S. Giorgio, et spese in mantenere altre grandissime spese necessarie et non necessarie." Urb. 1053, p. 164^{b}, Vatican Library.

[2] For the confiscation of Longiano near Rimini see *Anecdota, litt.*, III., 330 *seq.*

[3] First Sega who came into conflict with the barons (see MAFFEI, I., 102), and after him Lattanzio who was forced to take energetic measures against the deeds of violence committed by the Rasponi in Ravenna (see *ibid.*, 221 *seq.*; MUTINELLI, I., 221; *cf.* also MORONI, LVI., 234).

[4] The *Relatione di Romagna di M^{r} Giov. Pietro Ghislieri a Papa Gregorio was first utilized by RANKE (Päpste I.^{8}, 254 *seq.*, 281 *seq.*) from a manuscript of the Altieri Library which was afterwards partially destroyed. From TONDUZZI, Historie di Faenza, 673 *seq.*, Ranke took the fact that Ghislieri came to the Romagna in 1578. The important point is that he remained there until the end of 1579, for the *Relatione* belongs to this period. The rich contents of the *Relatione* caused it to be multiplied in many manuscripts. I have noted the following*: (1) Florence,

Ghislieri treats first of ecclesiastical conditions. The archdiocese of Ravenna, which had been held since 1578 by Cristoforo Boncompagni, had a revenue, according to him, of 9000 scudi a year. The celebrated abbeys of the city were still more wealthy; the Benedictines of S. Vitale had an annual revenue of more than 12,000 scudi, and the Canons of the Lateran at Santa Maria in Porto more than 18,000 scudi. There were also at Ravenna eight other houses of men and women. The ecclesiastical province of Ravenna included eight dioceses: Forlì, Rimini, Imola, Cesena, Cervia, Bertinoro, Faenza and Sarsina. The numerous Papal feudatories almost all had their fiefs in the mountainous districts of the province, which contained about 50,000 inhabitants. Ghislieri estimated the population of the territory directly subject to the Holy See at 160,000. The principal cities, besides Ravenna, were Rimini, Cesena, Forlì, Faenza and Imola; there were also many smaller towns. A great number of these had been recovered by Gregory XIII., either because they had lapsed or by way of purchase; such were Bertinoro, Forlimpopoli, Solarolo, Savignano, San Mauro, Montefiore, Mondaino and Pian di Meleto.

The territory directly subject to the Holy See yielded such plentiful produce in kind and in other ways that it was able to carry on an active export trade with Urbino, Bologna and Venice. Wine was produced in great quantities throughout the Romagna, and except for that from Ravenna and Cervia,

National Library, Cod. Capponi. (2) Frankfurt o/m, Municipal Library, Cod. signed in 4° III., 14. (3) Munich, State Library, *Ital.* 56, pp. 130-66. (4) Prague, Notitz Library, Ms d. 17, t. VII., pp. 2-90. (5) Rome, Vatican Library, Urb. 831, pp. 83-126; Papal Secret Archives, Var. polit., 159, n. 13. (6) Venice, St. Mark's Library, It. V., 62. Additional information is given in a very instructive *Descrittione (or Relatione) della Romagna in the Cod. XIV.b.-3 of the Altieri Library, Rome. It was written later, about 1615. Letters of G. P. Ghislieri, of the years 1569-82, while he held office in the Romagna, in Perugia, Camerino and Rome in the Cod. C. VI., 9 and 10 of the Seminary Library, Foligno.

was of excellent quality. Especially did the wines of Cesena, Rimini and Bertinoro, and the estates of the feudatories fetch high prices in Venice. In some places other products had a great reputation, as the hemp of Cesena and Imola, and the woad of Forli, Bertinoro and Forlimpopoli, which served for blue and green dyes, and the oil of Rimini. The cattle were more than were required, the sea yielded fish of various kinds, while ostriches were reared at Rimini, Porto Cesenatico and Cervia. Nor was game lacking, especially in the celebrated pine woods near Ravenna, and would be even more abundant if there were any prohibition of the chase. The revenues from salt at Cervia were very profitable. On account of the natural richness of the territory the people of the Romagna did not devote themselves at all to industries, with the single exception of the manufacture of majolica at Faenza. Ghislieri tried to introduce the dyeing of wool at Forlì and Fano. The revenues of the province were as much as 122,899 scudi, and the expenditure 9321.[1] Unfortunately, this territory, which was so rich in natural resources, had no good natural port.

The government of the Romagna was in the hands of a president, who presented his reports on all more important matters to the Pope and the college of prelates (Consulta) associated with Cardinal Filippo Boncompagni. The president had a guard of his own, formed of Swiss. He ranked above the feudatories, and even took precedence over the bishops, as he represented the person of the Pope. He had special representatives for criminal and civil trials. To the president were made all the reports of the lesser officials, the chief of whom were the governors of the individual cities, who were appointed by Papal briet. The members of the magistracy

[1] Out of the "entrate," Ghislieri apportions 44,000 to the "sussidio triennale," and to the "sali" 20,500 scudi. The salary of the president amounted to 1,200 scudi, "che sono di moneta 1380." The "governatori" of the six "città principali" received annually 828, and the "guardia" of the "presidente" 1176 scudi. "Per cavalcate et riparationi delle fortezze" accounts for 1,090 Scudi. Urb. 831, p. 123[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library.

were elected by the citizens themselves from among their own number. At Ravenna they were called *savii*, at Rimini *consoli*, at Faenza and Cervia *anziani*, at Cesena and Forlì *conservatori*, at Imola *gonfalonieri* or *consiglieri*, and at Bertinori both *consoli* and *anziani*. Their council meetings wree held in the presence ot the governor. The judge of the city was chosen from among the citizens. It was only at Imola and Cesena that a local man had not been appointed to that office, because at the private discussion one of the citizens had not thought the candidate to possess the necessary impartiality.

Ghislieri bears witness that the population of the Romagna were on the whole entirely devoted to the Holy See, as they were able to appreciate the mildness of the Papal rule.[1] Even though the constant disputes of the Romagnoli did not make the government easy, yet on the whole, Ghislieri says, it was easier to guide the people in their disunion, than if they had been united against the authority of the state.[2] The parties still styled themselves by the old names of Guelph and Ghibelline, although their interests had taken quite a different direction from what they had been formerly. Ghislieri gives detailed information in the case of each city as to the way in which the ancient families were divided. At Ravenna the Rasponi were opposed to the Leonardi, at Rimini the Ricciardini to the Ingoli, at Cesena the Venturelli to the Dandini, at Forlì the Numai to the Serughi, at Faenza the Calderoni to the Naldi, at Imola the Viani to the Sassatelli; the Viani declared themselves for the Ghibellines and the

[1] *Questi popoli di Romagna sono molto devoti in generale della Sede Apostolica conoscendo molto bene la dolcezza di questo governo et massime di V.S^{tà}, della quale confessano d'esser governati come figlinoli diletti et con molta prudenza, pietà et amore. Urb. 831, p. 105^{b}, Vatican Library.

[2] *Io sto in dubbio se a ragione d'utile per il governo sia bene che questi contadini et forse altri si mantengono in qualche discordia essendosi visto per esperienza che sicome il popolo disunito facilmente si domina così difficilmente si regge quando è troppo unito, *loc. cit.*, 111.

Sassatelli for the Guelphs.[1] Each of these families had their own following, and as in the rest of Italy the French and Spanish parties[2] were distinguished by a small badge on their hats. Similar parties were to be found among the feudatories; to the Ghibellines there belonged the Marchese Montebelli and Alberto Pio di Carpi, and to the Guelphs the Malatesta, Lampeschi, Sassatelli and Isei. The division also extended to the peasantry, some of whom at Rimini, Cesena and Forlì drove the Signoria out of the city in the time of Pius V. There existed a friendly patriarchal relationship between the barons and their tenants.[3]

Even in the time of Paul III., with the permission and favour of the Papal government, first at Forlì in 1539, and later on at Fano, Rimini, Imola, Cesena and Faenza, the middle classes among the citizens had formed themselves into associations, the so-called "peacemakers," the members of which bound themselves under oath to maintain order and security. They had the right to take up arms against the promoters of disturbances.[4] Unfortunately, these associations had fallen into decay in the time of Gregory XIII.; and were all the less able to assist the government when they had received into their ranks incapable and suspect persons. Ghislieri, who fully realized their importance, endeavoured to reconstitute them, especially at Ravenna.[1] His hopes, however, of their revival were as little realized as was his trust in diminution of the party feuds. On the contrary, the latter increased to an alarming extent during the last years of Gregory XIII. On many occasions the parties took the administration of justice into their own hands,

[1] See *ibid.*, 109 *seq.* The names given by Ranke (Päpste, I.[8], 281) are partially incorrect.

[2] See MONTAIGNE, II., 154. *Cf.* also GUALTERIUS in the *Archivio stor. Ital.*, App. I., 347.

[3] See Ghislieri's *Relatione, Urb. 831, p. 105[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RANKE, I.[8], 255 *seq.*

[4] To supplement the insufficient data of RANKE, I., 256 *seq.*, *cf.* especially MORONI, XXV., 279 *seq.*

[5] See his *Relatione, Urb. 831, p. 105[b], Vatican Library.

they broke into the prisons in order to set free their own friends, but at the same time sought out their enemies there, and it was not uncommon on the following day to find their heads hung up by the fountains.[1]

To these political party feuds was added brigandage, a national scourge, from which the Romagna had to a certain extent been free in the time of Ghislieri.[2] Later on, however, it too became subject to the evil, which infected not only the Papal States, but the whole of Italy, and often took the form of a guerilla warfare. With the end of the wars the country districts found themselves overrun by discharged soldiers, who were joined by the dubious elements of the country people, and by others from the towns who were attracted by the prospect of a life of freedom, and the hope of rich booty. They were divided into highwaymen, who committed thefts and pillage on a small scale, outlaws who had been banished on account of some crime, and lastly brigands in the strict sense, who were formed into bands, commanded by a chief, and who offered their services for sale, as once had been done by the condottieri. The greatest feudatories and the aristocracy of the cities made use of their services without any scruple in order to carry on their petty feuds.[3]

Pius V. had already made war upon the bandits,[4] a task which was rendered extraordinarily difficult in the Papal States by the natural configuration of the country. The many impenetrable mountain districts, as well as the deserted undulating plain of the Roman Campagna, with its rocky little hills of tufa, its underground passages, and its many caves and precipices, afforded excellent hiding places. The forest too of the Campagna was very extensive, as were also the districts covered with thickets. Only some one who has passed through one of these thickets, with its tangled under-

[1] See the Ms. "Sixtus V. P.M.," Altieri Library, in RANKE, I., 282.

[2] *" Il paese assai purgato di banditi et altri homini di mala vita." Ghislieri's Relatione, *loc. cit.*, 116.

[3] See REUMONT, III., 2, 571. HÜBNER, I., 275 *seq.*

[4] See Vol. XVII., p. 101 *seq.* of this work.

growth, and its ivy-clad tree trunks, can form any idea of the difficulties which the mysterious impenetrability of such a place put in the way of pursuit. In a memorial which was presented to the Pope, in addition to other measures, for the most part military, the destruction of the thickets in the Campagna is urged, especially of the Campo Morto.[1] Gregory gave orders for this to be done, with the further purpose of encouraging the cultivation of corn in the neighbourhood of Rome.[2] A fateful consequence of this was that the noble landowners, who enjoyed the widest powers, at once offered shelter to the bandits, and allowed them to organize themselves into regular bands. Between the two there sprang into existence a kind of mutual assurance; the shelter which the barons gave the bandits in their castles, ensured complete impunity to the evildoers, while on the other hands the barons were able to summon their protégés to Rome whenever they were involved in disputes with the government.[3]

Like his predecessor, Gregory XIII. had very much at heart the maintenance of peace and security in his states, and during the first years of his pontificate he met with undeniable success in this respect. Especially valuable in this direction was a decree of the Pope issued on September 24th, 1573, which abolished the pretended immunities of the foreign ambassadors, the Cardinals, and the great nobles of Rome, which had led to many flagrant abuses, and in many

[1] See the *Memorandum on the "estirpatione de' banditi, in the Cod. Barb. LVI., 29, p. 93, Vatican Library.

[2] The passage dealing with this, and quoted by RANKE (Päpste, III.[8], 171), was long ago printed in *Li Tesori della corte Romana*, Brusselle, 1672, 109. It has often been asserted (*cf.* T. M. LANCISII Diss. de nativis deqne adventitiis Romani coeli qualitatibus, 19; KEYSZLER, Reisen, I., 625) that Gregory XIII. thereby contributed to the spread of malaria; but this has been justly contested. See TOMASSETTI, Campagna, I., 170, and—independently of him—also HIRSCH, Handbuch der hist.-geogr. Pathologie, I.[2], Stuttgart, 1881, 207, n. 2.

[3] See HÜBNER, *loc. cit.*

cases had frustrated the course of justice.[1] In December we have reports of the success attained in hunting out the bandits sheltered by Paolo Giordano Orsini and the French ambassador.[2] No less important were the severe edicts of 1573 and 1574 against the carrying of weapons of offence.[3] The general security was improved, not only in Rome, but also in the neighbourhood. Assassinations only occurred in isolated cases, especially at Velletri and Ardea, where the country remained favourable for the bandits down to quite recent times.[4] But the state of affairs changed for the worse when later on the severity of the aged Pope began to be relaxed. At the beginning of 1575 it was found that the ambassadors and Cardinals were once more availing themselves of their immunities, and the sheltering of the bandits had once again to be threatened with penalties.[5] After the end of 1576 many murders were committed both in Rome and in the provinces, so that in June and November, 1578, the strict prohibition of carrying arms in the Papal States

[1] See THEINER, I., 202 *seq.* *Cf.* *Bernerio's report of October 3, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 19, 1573, *ibid.*

[3] In addition to *Bernerio's report of July 4, 1573 (State Archives, Vienna); see also the *Avviso di Roma of July 4 and September 26, 1573, and of August 14, 1574, Urb. 1043, p. 259, 309, 1044, p. 225, Vatican Library.

[4] "Questi giorni sono comparsi nella Campagna di Roma molti furbi assassini che si crede che siano di quei soldati Italiani ultimamente licentiati in Calabria, li quali hanno cominciato a porse nella strada et assassinare et venendo il S^r^ Card^li^ di Vercelli da Ardea a pigliare un poco d' aere gli fecero una bella paura, et al mio casale m' hanno fatto molto danno," says Odescalchi in a *memorandum dated the last day of February, 1573. He also *reports, on February 23, 1575, the murder of two Capuchins by robbers near Velletri, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The robbing of the Venetian courier near Prima Porta is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1574; see Avvisi-Caetani, 70.

[5] See *Cusano's report of February 12, 1575, State Archives, Vienna.

had to be renewed.[1] The appearance of brigands in the Campagna Marittima, in the Marches, and in the mountains of Camerino led to the taking of further steps. The brigand chief, Marcello Tibalduccio, who was notorious for the cruelties he had committed in the Marches, was arrested in 1578; the head of another, Marianaccio of Camerino, was brought to Rome, and sixteen noble highwaymen were sent to the galleys.[2] Alfonso Piccolomini, Duke of Montemarciano, especially gave trouble. Quarrels with the Baglioni, and disputes with the pontifical authorities had driven this scion of a celebrated family to take to a life of brigandage.[3] His castle of Montemarciano, near Ancona, became the principal place of refuge for the disturbers of the peace in the Marches. He paid no attention to all warnings from Rome, so that no other course was left to the Pope but to destroy the castle of Montemarciano.[4] Piccolomini who was a feudatory, not only of the Pope, but also of Florence, had already withdrawn into Tuscany. His bands of brigands, who were organized on military lines, and overran the district in small companies and to the beat of the drum, like the free companies of the XIVth century, were the terror of central Italy. Their favourite refuge was in the forests of Montemarciano and of S. Vito, for which reason Gregory XIII. caused them to be destroyed.[5]

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 19 and May 18, 1577, and that of November 29, 1578, Urb. 1045, p. 227^b, 291, 408, Vatican Library. See also *Odescalchi's report of June 21, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the murder of the son of Pietro Corso on the Campo Vaccino by eight French noblemen "per risse antiche," see *Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1576, Urb. 1044, p. 187, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 1, July 14 and 30, August 16, 1578, Urb. 1046, pp. 2^b, 157^b, 170, 279, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the monograph of L. GROTTANELLI: Alfonso Piccolomini, Firenze, 1892.

[4] See MAFFEI, I., 373 *seq.*

[5] *"Il Papa risoluto affato di snidare li banditi della Marca ha fatto tagliare la selva di Monte Marciano et quella di Monte S. Vito, che erano li principali ridotti che havessero, non havendo

At the beginning of 1579 the Pope himself mitigated the restriction of bearing arms, and granted to Cardinal Farnese and others the right to a personal guard armed with arquebuses.[1] The prohibition of immunities issued in 1573 had by that time been so far forgotten that the retinue of Cardinal Medici rescued a bandit from the hands of the police by appealing to the right of sanctuary.[2] The Pope continually sent troops against the brigands who made their appearance here and there, and also entered into an agreement with the government of Naples.[3] But in July the Papal troops had hardly returned from their expedition when a brigand chief named Catena appeared outside the Porta Salaria.[4] Very soon many bandits were discovered in Rome itself, and on one occasion thirty were arrested in an inn.[5] The zeal of Romolo Valenti, who had been appointed governor of the Campagna, was successful in capturing five brigand chiefs in August, but at once new ones sprang up in their place like the hydra's heads.[6] In October the Pope had to send a special commissary against the bandits who were making havoc in the neighbourhood of Capranica,[7] and at the end of the year he found himself obliged to get together troops against the brigands who were devastating the Marches and the Romagna.[8]

In Rome the delinquents could always find refuge in the palaces of the nobles, and even of certain Cardinals, who

quelle communità con lo stridere c'han fatto per il danno, che ne ricevono, potuto haverne gratia da S.S^{tà}." Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 437^{b}, Vatican Library.

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1579, *ibid.*, 1047, p. 14.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 21, 1579, *ibid.*, 24.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 70 *seq.* *Cf.* also THEINER, III., 119.

[4] It was considered unsafe to visit the suburban vineyards. *Avviso di Roma of July 22, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 235^{b}, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of July 29, 1579, *ibid.*, 254.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of August 12, 1579, *ibid.*, 276.

[7] See *Odescalchi's report of October 6, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 71.

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of December 23, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 396 (*cf.* 376) Vatican Library.

protected them from the police.[1] Cardinal Este, too, who was so powerful on account of his close union with France, repeatedly protected his evil-doing followers from the punishment they deserved. In June, 1580, when a fresh incident had occurred, and the Cardinal's followers had assaulted the Papal police officials, Gregory XIII. lost patience; he summoned Este before him, and a violent altercation ensued, the consequence of which was that Este was banished from the Papal States.[2] At a consistory on June 15th, 1580, the Pope complained that some of the Cardinals were giving shelter in their palaces to criminals, and reminded them of the penalties entailed by such an act;[3] at the end of June certain offences on the part of the servants of Cardinal Mark Sittich in the matter of resistance to the police, were severely punished,[4] yet at the end of June Gregory decided to revoke the sentence of banishment pronounced against Cardinal Este! This was done in consequence of the pressure brought to bear by the ambassador of France.[5] This leniency towards the great only served to encourage the lesser offenders, and it is not surprising that it proved impossible to master the national plague of brigandage.

After various expeditions of troops against the bandits in the Papal States during the spring of 1580 had proved of

[1] *Cf.* SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367.

[2] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., App. 27, *the notes made by Mattei, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. See also Lettres de Cath. de Médicis, VIII., 224, and BELTRAMI, Roma, 32 *seqq.*, 36 *seq.*

[3] See *Acta consist. in the Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 176, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of June 26, 1580, *ibid.*, 187b.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of July 30, 1580, *ibid.*, 221. *Cf.* Sporeno's *Report to Archduke Ferdinand, of October 15, 1580, in the Government Archives, Innsbruck. Este's return took place a year later. The Pope received him cordially and the Curia greeted him with respect; see (in addition to HERRE, 263) the Avvisi di Roma of June 24 and July 8, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 237, 351, Vatican Library.

little use,[1] Gregory attempted to attain his purpose by means of severe enactments. All barons or cities who gave shelter to or encouraged the bandits were threatened with the penalties of high treason.[2] Cardinal Alessandro Sforza, who was appointed legate for the whole of the Papal States, with the exception of Bologna, on July 5th, 1580, was given such full powers for the destruction of brigandage, that he was no longer spoken of as legate-general, but as vice-Pope.[3] The legation of Bologna was entrusted to Cardinal Cesi,[4] with the same wide powers; he was to punish the disorders and murders that the quarrelsome aristocracy of the city had

[1] See (in addition to MAFFEI, II., 156) *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, February 20, 1580 (Troops against the bandits of the Marches and Umbria), March 12 (Troops against Petrino), April 16 (Bailiffs against the bandits of the Campagna and great care of the Pope), Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of April 23, 1580 (about the bandits near Spoleto), Urb. 1048, p. 90, Vatican Library.

[2] Bull of July 11, 1580, Bull. Rom., VIII., 355 *seq.* The decree had already been announced in an *Avviso di Roma of April 2, 1580 (Urb. 1048, p. 67, Vatican Library). Writing about this decree on July 23, 1580, Odescalchi says: *"il che ha messo gran terrore a questi signori et baroni di terra di Roma." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of July 9, 1580, which also reports that, on the previous Monday, 30 bandits from Trastevere had attacked the Bargello with his "sbirri" (Urb. 1048, p. 203, Vatican Library). *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of July 9, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; *Memorandum of Aless. de' Médici, of July 9, 1580, State Archives, Florence, and the *Memorandum of L. Donato, of July 16, 1580, State Archives, Venice, to which is attached the *Brief for Sforza, dat. Rome, July 11, 1580, from which RANKE (Päpste, I.[8], 283), and BROSCH (I., 257 *seq.*) have taken certain passages. For the appointment of Sforza see *Acta consist. of July 11, 1580, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. See also the brief in THEINER, III., 224.

[4] *Lettere di diversi negozii in tempo di P. Gregorio XIII. per la legatione di Bologna scritte al card. de Cesi, legato di quella città (mostly letters of Cardinal S. Sisto [F. Boncompagni] of 1580) State Library, Berlin, Inf. polit., XIX., 2 *seq.*

to its charge.[1] Sforza left Rome on July 14th.[2] He had previously written to all the governors to send him lists of all

[1] See *Acta consist. of July 4, 1580, Vatican Library; *Avvisi di Roma of July 8 and 9, 1580, in Sporeno's reports in the Government Archives, Innsbruck; BELTRAMI, Roma, 39; *Avviso di Roma of July 9, 1580, Urb. 1049, p. 201, Vatican Library. *Cf. ibid.*, 368, 382, 390, the *Avvisi of November 9, 19 and 26, dealing with excesses in Bologna which greatly exercised the mind of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* *Odescalchi's report of November 5, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). In spite of these upheavals and others that had preceded them (*cf.* MAFFEI, I., 223) conditions in Bologna took a decided turn for the better (see MALVASIA, Felsina, I., 90). Gregory XIII. favoured the town with many privileges (in 1578 he sent the Golden Rose to the cathedral; see *Avviso of March 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 88, Vatican Library). On December 10, 1582, the bishopric of Bologna was raised to an archbishopric; see Bull. Rom., VIII., 432; *cf.* also FANTUZZI, IV., 284. But the factions in Bologna did not come to an end. Disputes about the form of government even went so far as to bring about the departure of the Bolognese envoy from Rome in 1584; see *Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 306, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* an *Avviso di Roma of August 4, 1584: The Pope wished to have no more envoys from Bologna in Rome; the state of public feeling in Bologna was very excited, women went about wearing feathers "alla Guelfa et alla Ghibellina." Interesting, as showing the activity of the legate, are his *Memoranda of 1580-1 in Vatic. 6711, Vatican Library. The disputes over the water supply between Bologna and Ferrara (*cf.* FANTUZZI, IV., 285) led to the sending of Cardinal Guastavillani; *letters on the subject from September, 1582, to July, 1583, in Barb., XLVIII., 147, p. 72 *seq.*, 127 *seq.*, 173 *seq.* (Vatican Library); *ibid.*, 87 *seq.* *Memoriale di Filippo Succi al duca di Ferrara mentre era il card. Guastavillani legato; 99 *seq.* *Viaggio che si fece per visitare i luoghi pe' quali doveva condorsi il reno dal card. Guastavillano e dal duca di Ferrara. A *Discorso della differenza tra i Bolognesi e Ferraresi circa le acque &c., dedicated to Cardinal Guastavillani, in the Cod. Ital. 190, p. 95 *seq.* of the State Library, Munich. A *Discorso de D. Scipione di Castro, treating of the same subject and dedicated to Gregory XIII. in the Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the description of the departure given by Odescalchi in his *report of July 16, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

the bandits in their territories, pointing out their usual place of residence.[1] The Cardinal, who was accompanied by 500 armed men, went first to Spoleto, where he executed 54 bandits and confiscated property to the value of 30,000 scudi. The notorious Pietro Leoncillo of Spoleto, named Petrino, had unfortunately made his escape.[2] The punitive expedition then went on by way of Orvieto to Perugia, where the legate confiscated the property of the Marchese di Serbello, and put an end to various feuds by peaceful means.[3] He then proceeded to the Marches, and lastly to the Romagna, where he succeeded in capturing one of the most dangerous of the bandits, the above-mentioned Catena.[4] Count Jacopo di Montevecchio, who among other things had murdered his wife, was executed.[5] At Ravenna the legate settled many disputes; he was supported by the Duke of Urbino and the government of Venice.[6]

[1] *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 206, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 3, September 3, 10, 17, October 12, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 223, 276[b], 293, 298, 338, Vatican Library. Concerning Petrino *cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 21, and CAMPELLO, Il castello di Campello, Roma, 1889, 288 *seq.*, 294 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of September 24, 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 312, 327, *ibid.*, 224[b]. *Descrittione dell' apparato fatto in Orvieto pel entrata ivi del card. Sforza, Vatican Library.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of October 1, 12, 19, November 23, 30, and December 7, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 319, 338, 348, 387, 396, 406 *seq.*, Vatican Library; *Avviso of December 10, 1580, Government Library, Innsbruck. Catena (*cf.* MAFFEI, II., 216) was executed on January 11, 1581 (see MONTAIGNE, I., 231); he was 30 years old, had been a robber for twelve years, and had committed 54 murders. *Cf.* also *Avviso of January 11, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 10 *loc. cit.*, and the interesting *reports of Odescalchi of October 1, 22, November 5, 26, 1580; January 7, 14, 22, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See MAFFEI, II., 160.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 17, October 19, November 23, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 251, 351, 387, Vatican Library, and MAFFEI, II., 156. *Cf.* also P. SPRETI, Entrata dell' ill. card Sforza legato in Ravenna alli 6 Novembre, 1580, Ravenna, 1580 (a very rare work).

In November, 1580, it seemed that peace and order had been restored for the most part in the Papal States,[1] but only too soon it was obvious how very superficial the results attained had been. The evil was favoured by the social conditions of the state, as well as by the popular idea and the character of the inhabitants. Faced by Gregory XIII.'s policy of confiscation, many of the barons now availed themselves, only more openly, of the bandits as ready allies.[2] This alarmed the Pope, and Sforza was warned to take no further action against those who had harboured the bandits, but only against those who should do so in future.[3] The legate, who longed to be set free from his difficult task,[4] was unable to prevent the bandits from again making their appearance in the Marches in the spring of 1581.[5] The Grand Duke of Tuscany refused extradition in the case of criminals of this class.[6] The legate was spared further disappointments, for he died on May 20th, 1581, in all probability from poison.[7]

The bandits thereupon raised their heads with still greater insolence. The Swiss, Sebastian Werro, who set out from Rome to Loreto on May 27th, 1581, had hardly completed

[1] *" Il stato eccles^co restarà in gran quiete per qualch' anni et tanto più che [Sforza] ha guasto talmente il nido a banditi che non la rifaranno per un pezzo." Avviso di Roma of November 16, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 376, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* MUTINELLI, I., 129.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of January 7, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 3^b, Vatican Library.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of March 18, 1581, *ibid.*, 131.

[5] " S'è inteso che nella Marca li banditi havevano cominciato a farsi sentire et che per ciò i popoli erano tutti in arme." *Odescalchi's report of April 29, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See Avvisi-Caetani, 107.

[7] In addition to the report of G. Corraro quoted by BROSCH (I., 257, n. 2) see also the *Avviso di Roma of May 20, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 183, Vatican Library, *Odescalchi's memoranda of May 13 and 20, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Sporeno's *reports of May 6 and 13, 1581, Government Archives, Innsbruck. Sforza's tomb with his effigy in S. Maria Maggiore ; see FORCELLA, XI., 42.

his first day's journey, before he became terror-stricken at the cruelties of the bandits, of which he heard stories in the inns on the way ; at Foligno he met the garrison of that place, which was returning from an expedition against the bandits.[1] At the end of May, 1581, news reached Rome that the dreaded Alfonso Piccolomini was threatening the Marches. At Montalboddo, near Sinigaglia, this monster had his enemies' throats cut in the presence of their mothers and wives, while his followers danced and sang ribald songs.[2] The troops which were sent by the Pope against Piccolomini under the command of Latino Orsini refused to fight against the bandits, and foreigners had to be enlisted.[3]

But the principal reason why it was impossible to obtain any definite success was the fact that Piccolomini had safe places of refuge in Gubbio and Pitigliano. From these strongholds he made his raids into the Papal States, where he was joined by some of the malcontent nobles. Piccolomini had allowed his beard and hair to grow, and seemed to have no other aim in life but to attack his enemies, foremost among whom he counted Latino Orsini and Giacomo Boncompagni, who had been entrusted by Gregory XIII. with the protection of the Papal States. The services which were rendered to him by private individuals were rewarded in princely style ; at the beginning of July he destroyed a mill which Latino Orsini had built near Corneto, and which was valued at 6000 scudi. In the last week of July he threatened the alum mines of Tolfa, and at the beginning of August, at the head of 200 well-armed men, made the district between Ponte Molle and Prima Porta unsafe. The Pope took special measures for the safety of Rome.[4] He was all the more alarmed in that an

[1] See the *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum Seb. Verronis, Ms. in the University Library, Fribourg (Switzerland).

[2] See MAFFEI, II., 212 ; GROTTANELLI, A. Piccolomini, 45 *seq.*, 53. In RANKE (Päpste I.[8], 282) the name of the place has been disfigured into "Monte-abboddo."

[3] This interesting fact is given by Bernerio in his *report of June 3, 1581, State Archives, Vienna.

[4] See the report of L. Donato in MUTINELLI, I., 127 *seq.*

attack on the Vatican, on the pretext of taking action against the feudatories, threatened his own person. The Pope's attendants therefore doubled the guards, and had the Belvedere patrolled at night; at the gates of the city, everyone coming in or going out was stopped to have his business inquired into.[1] Gregory had the chagrin of learning that Piccolomini had robbed a Papal courier of 7000 scudi.[2]

It was only possible to remedy the abuse if the Pope's neighbours, the Duke of Urbino and the Grand Duke of Tuscany, were to refuse shelter in their states to the bandit chief. Gregory XIII. therefore addressed himself to both of them. Urbino was prepared to co-operate with him, but not so Francesco de' Medici, whose relations with the Holy See were always strained.[3] The evasive reply of Medici made it clear that he was unwilling to take any action against Piccolomini, who had powerful friends in Siena.[4] Instead, he gave the Pope the humiliating advice to come to a peaceful agreement with the bandit chief.[5]

The impunity of Piccolomini led other adventurers into making similar raids, and many sought to imitate him in their effrontery, savagery and cunning; such were Ramberto Malatesta, Giovanni Valenti, who assumed the title of "King

[1] See Lettres de P. de Foix, 98, 100 *seq.*; the *Avvisi di Roma of August 5, 12, 16, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 307, 319b, 324, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of August 19, 1581, *ibid.*, 331.

[3] *Cf.* Segharizzi, Relaz d. ambasc. Veneti, III., 2 (1916), 22.

[4] *Cf.* Mutinelli, I., 129; Lettres de P. de Foix, 95 *seq.*, *cf.* 123; Maffei, II., 212 *seq.*; Balan, VI., 607. The Pope also complained repeatedly of Urbino, but the latter disclaimed all responsibility. The *Avviso di Roma of May 26, 1582, reports complaints made in consistory by Gregory XIII. about Florence and Urbino; and the duke has added with his own hand, in the margin, the words: *"Questo m'indusse andar da Farnese et è bugia espressa quanto a Urbino." Urb. 1050, p. 178, Vatican Library.

[5] See the reports in Grottanelli, 56 *seqq.*

of the Maremma," Pietro Leoncillo of Spoleto known as " the wild man," and the " priest of Guercino."[1]

For a long time Gregory was reluctant to follow the advice of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, and enter into negotiations with Piccolomini. But the misfortunes of his troops in the war against the bandits, which involved great expenditure and the danger of a serious misunderstanding with Tuscany, while the fear lest Piccolomini should take a bloody revenge upon Giacomo Boncompagni[2] left him no alternative, so that Gregory XIII. found himself forced to take this extraordinary step, which in the end was also recommended by Cardinal Galli.[3] An agreement was arrived at, by which Piccolomini withdrew to Florence in June, 1582, where he lived like a great noble, honoured by the court of the Medici.[4] On March 30th in the following year, to everybody's amazement, he made his appearance in Rome, and took up his abode with the Florentine Cardinal Ferdinando de' Medici, on the Pincio. When his pardon had been proclaimed in a pontifical brief he left the city on May 19th, and returned to Florence.[5]

The temporary disappearance of Piccolomini by no means put an end to brigandage in the Papal States, which continued in spite of all the enactments of the Pope. During the whole of the second half of 1582 the Romans were disturbed by the

[1] See MUTINELLI, I., 131; GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 12. For Guercino *cf.* MAFFEI, II., 356 *seq.*; HÜBNER, I., 235. Odescalchi describes the death of P. Leoncillo in his report of February 17, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Donato's report in RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 284.

[3] See his *Memorie in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See GROTTANELLI, 67. That Piccolomini selected Florence for his dwelling place is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 212, Vatican Library.

[5] For Piccolomini's stay in Rome with which he was by no means satisfied, see the *Avvisi di Roma of March 30, April 2 and 23, May 21, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 148[b], 151, 187, 218, 226[b], Vatican Library (*cf.* GNOLI, *loc. cit.*, 166 *seq.*), and *Donato's reports (State Archives, Venice) utilized by Ranke, I.[8], 284. Ranke's assertion that the confessors at the Lateran had broken the seal of confession is not proved.

appearance of brigands in the immediate neighbourhood.[1] Even the safety of the city itself was seriously threatened. Many of the nobles who seemed to think themselves above the law were in secret agreement with the bandits, and encounters between the retainers of the barons and the police were as common as were robberies, duels and murders.[2] An especially horrible crime was committed in the night between April 16th and 17th, 1581; the nephew of Cardinal Montalto, Francesco Peretti, the husband of Vittoria Accoramboni, who was celebrated for her dazzling beauty, was killed in the garden of Sforza[3] by two hired "bravi." Three days after the crime the young widow retired with her mother to the palace of Paolo Giordano Orsini, Duke of Bracciano. The assassins had been recognized as persons who were in close relations with Giordano Orsini, but no one dared to take any steps against the powerful and hot-tempered duke. Vittoria, who must at any rate have been privy to the murder, was arrested, and only recovered her liberty on the promise that she would not marry the duke. In spite of this she allowed herself to be induced to marry her lover in 1584 at Bracciano.[4]

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 8, September 15, December 11, 22, 24, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 283, 337, 470, 489, 496, *loc. cit.*

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of July 21, 28, August 11, 18, December 22, 1582, Urb. 1050, pp. 258, 271, 302, 307[1], 489, *loc. cit.* Notwithstanding all penalties, more "furberie et latrocinii" than ever took place in Rome *reports Odescalchi on January 15, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. Decree against murderers and bandits in the Bull. Rom., VIII., 355 *seq.*, 503 *seq.*; *ibid.*, 399 *seq.* new decree against duelling.

[3] Later the Palazzo Barberini was built on this spot.

[4] *Cf.* the detailed description by Gnoli, V. Accoramboni, 74 *seq.*, 85, 131 *seq.*, 178 *seqq.* The correct date here given contradicts Litta, who gives it as June 27, 1583. This mistake was repeated by Reumont, III., 577. Gnoli's correct date is confirmed by *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, April 22, 1581 (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). Gnoli did not know of the existence of this report. See also *Bernerio's memorandum of April 22, 1581, which gives the date as April 18. State Archives, Vienna.

A no less evil reputation was enjoyed by Lodovico Orsini, who gave shelter to the bandits in his palace. Without paying any attention to the immunity which he claimed, in the evening of April 26th, 1583, the chief of the police, Gian Battista della Pace, forced his way with his officers into the palace to arrest two bandits, who had wrought havoc with fire and sword in the mountainous district of Norcia. When they were on the point of taking them away the police were resisted by Raimondo, the brother of Lodovico, Sillo Savelli, Ottavio de' Rustici, Pietro Gaetani, Emilio Capizucchi and other nobles. An altercation ensued, followed by a fight, in which Raimondo Orsini, Silla Savelli and Ottavio de' Rustici lost their lives.[1] Lodovico Orsini swore to be avenged for his dead brother. All the nobility, led by Paolo Giordano and Lodovico Orsini, prepared for retaliation, while the masses of the people who were devoted to them raised an alarming riot. Giacomo Boncompagni made vain efforts to calm the excited mobs. A contemporary says that it was just as though the Holy See were vacant, or the enemy in the city, as during the sack of 1527.[2] The chief of the police took to flight before the threatened attitude of the mob, while his officers hid themselves. Even the aged governor of the city, Vincenzo Portico, sought safety in the Vatican. Gregory XIII. had the gates of his palace closed, and prepared his artillery. In view of the unrestrained anger of the people, the general confusion, and the danger threatened by the bandits in the city, he at last felt that he must change his policy; he appointed a new governor of the city, and

[1] For the tumult of April 26, 1583, which GROTTANELLI (p. 71) wrongly ascribes to August 26, see the sources utilized by GNOLI (*loc. cit.*, 152 *seq.*) of which the most important is Donato's memorandum of April 30, 1583 (in MUTINELLI, I., 140). See also SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 155, the *report of April 26, 1583, in Var. polit., 159, n. 158, Papal Secret Archives, and the detailed *report of Odescalchi of April 30, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of April 30, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 197, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 358.

issued an order for the arrest of Pace and his bailiffs. Whenever the people discovered these unhappy men, they killed them in the most cruel way. Pace was brought before the judge by the conservatori and executed! On account of the feebleness of the government the conservatori had given orders to the caporioni to assume the guardianship of the city.[1] The Pope gathered troops and doubled the guard of his palace; it was said that he had summoned 2000 Swiss. If this should be the case, says a contemporary, those who abuse the gentleness and kindness and leniency of Gregory XIII. will have reason to repent.[2]

After such occurrences as this, it is not surprising that the Pope was unable to master the plague of brigandage. On June 25th, 1583, the Mantuan ambassador reports that the danger in the environs of Rome was so great that no one dared to go outside the gates.[3] In July 700 men had to be sent against the bandits, who had set fire to the crops at Piperno. In August four bandits of Frascati were beheaded, together with a brigand chief who with his own hand had committed 65 murders. Giulio Ongarese, who had been appointed commissary for the whole of the Papal States, issued an edict against the bandits; whoever sheltered one of them was to be punished, whereas anyone who killed or handed one over to justice was to be rewarded.[4] Further enactments followed.[5] By October this had led to a restoration

[1] *Cf.* Gnoli, *loc. cit.*, 156 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of June 4, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 239, Vatican Library. For the revenge that Lod. Orsini took in September, 1583, when he caused Vincenzo Vitelli, Giacomo Boncompagni's representative, to be murdered, see the report in Mutinelli, I., 147 *seq.*

[3] See *Odescalchi's report of June 25, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 157.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of July 20, August 6, 20, 27, 31, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 307, 324, 343, 357, 350, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 157 *seq.*, 160; see also Sporeno's *reports of June 2 and July 23, 1583, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[5] *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 161.

of order.[1] In January, 1584, they succeeded in defeating the band of the notorious "priest of Guercino," and wounding the leader,[2] but in April it was again learned that assassins were carrying on their misdeeds in the neighbourhood of Rome.[3] A special congregation of Cardinals was appointed to devise a remedy.[4] Military expeditions were carried out during the summer,[5] and it was believed that the Papal States were at last almost entirely freed from the bandits. But even this was only an apparent success.[6] "The bandits," wrote the Venetian ambassador, Lorenzo Priuli, on February 23rd, 1585, "are now more numerous than ever; they go about in large companies, and if this goes on it will require an army to disperse them."[7]

The failure of every attempt on the part of Gregory XIII. to put an end to brigandage in the Papal States, and the insecurity of Rome must not be put down only to the gentle

[1] See Sporeno's reports of October 15 and 22, 1583, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 18, Vatican Library. For the impudent behaviour of Guercino shortly afterwards, *cf.* the report of January 16, 1584, in MUTINELLI. I., 154 *seq.*

[3] See *Odescalchi's report of April 7, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* BELTRAMI, Roma, 46.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 7 and 11, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 127, 132, Vatican Library.

[5] See Sporeno's *reports of May 26 and June 9, 1584, Government Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] *Odescalchi's report of December 7, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] See Priuli's reports in BROSCH, I., 259 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of February 2, 1585, reports that special precautions had been taken for Saturday, as the "Prete da Guercino" was believed to be in Rome under a disguise. The *Avvisi di Roma of February 9 and 23 report many details concerning the bandit scourge in the Papal States. According to an *Avviso of March 20, the robbers affixed "bandi" in Velletri which demanded, with threats, the withdrawal of the troops! Urb. 1053, pp. 61, 64, 76, 97, 126, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also BELTRAMI, Roma, 51, 52

character of the Pope, and his readiness to pardon ;[1] the causes of the evil were so deeply rooted in the political situation and in social conditions that even the terrible severity of his successor was only able to crush the bandits for a time.[2]

In order to form a just judgment it is necessary to bear in mind the fact that, not only the States of the Church, but the whole of Italy suffered from the scourge of brigandage. A similar state of affairs prevailed, in spite of the strict Spanish government, in the Kingdom of Naples, and also in the Grand Duchy of Tuscany.[3] Even in the territory of the Republic of Venice, justly celebrated for its political organization, brigandage had taken such a hold that even the southern Tyrol was seriously threatened. In 1579, the Venetian bandit, Count Ottavio Avogadro, was able to make a formal raid with 100 men from Verona, upon Arco, by way of the Lake of Garda, and then retire once more into Venetian territory and harass the Duchy of Ferrara. Avogadro, like Piccolomini, was reckoned one of the most terrible and dangerous of the Italian bandits ; as the latter had done in Rome, so he too, in 1585, made his appearance at the court of the Archduke Ferdinand of the Tyrol.[4]

[1] *Cf* the Vita Sixti V ipsius manu emendata in RANKE, Päpste, III.[8], 72* The description of conditions given by Gualterius in the *Arch. stor. Ital.* App. I., 315 *seq.*, is certainly rhetorically exaggerated, though the state of things towards the end of Gregory XIII.'s reign was undoubtedly very bad indeed ; *cf.* BALAN, VI., 617 *seq.* A candid account of the state of affairs in Rome and in the provinces was furnished to the Pope by a Roman parish priest : *Caeli Speti parochi S. Mariae in publicolis de urbe ad Gregorium P.M. XIII. de veritate dicenda, Vatic. 5514, pp. 44-51, Vatican Library.

[2] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 91 *seq.* *Cf.* our conclusions in the next volume.

[3] See ALBÈRI, II., 5, 469 *seq.* ; HÜBNER, I., 231 *seq.* ; REUMONT, Toskana, I., 302 *seq.*

[4] See SYLVIAN, II., 327 *seq.* ; EGGER, Gesch. Tirols, II., 233 ; HIRN., I., 505, 508 *seq.* *Cf. Forschungen und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte Tirols und Vorarlbergs*, XII. (1915) 42 *seq.* Avogadro

By way of explanation why brigandage, the inveterate evil of the time, made itself especially felt in the Papal States, the Venetian, Giovanni Corraro, gives two special reasons in his report for 1581; one he finds in the natural character of Gregory XIII., who, at heart more inclined to gentleness than to severity, discovered too late how dangerous a thing it is for a sovereign to change from severity to gentleness; the other he sees in the peculiar conditions of the Papal States. He remarks that severity was nowhere so called for as there, where there were nothing but parties, and men were, so to say, born with arms in their hands, while the frequent change of rulers, and the number of the Cardinals and influential nobles easily led men to expect pardon.[1]

To this middle course between severity and indulgence, which was satisfactory to the greater number of men, Corraro also attributes the remarkable increase in the population of Rome, which had grown from scarcely 90,000 to 140,000.[2] The number of new houses, which were occupied the moment they were finished, was so great as to cause amazement to anyone who had not seen the city, even for a short time. If this progress had continued, the capital of the Popes would have increased, in size and beauty, both rapidly and in an extraordinary way. It was characteristic that, in spite of this, the pontificate of Gregory XIII. had already lasted too long for the liking of the officials of the Curia, who hoped to gain some advantage from each change of government.[3] Yet they, no less than the rest of the Romans had every reason to be grateful to Gregory XIII.

is expressly classed with Piccolomini as the worst of the bandits in the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] CORRARO, 277.

[2] REUMONT (III., 2, 791) doubts the accuracy of Corraro's figures, but they are confirmed by a *memorandum of Camillo Capilupi dat. March 28, 1573, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua (see Appendix, No. 1), and by the Avviso di Roma in BELTRAMI, Roma, 28.

[3] If things went according to their wishes, says Corraro (*loc. cit.*), there would be a new Pope at least every five years.

No one in Rome could complain of the burden of the taxes; no fresh burdens were imposed during the thirteen years of the pontificate of Gregory XIII.;[1] of the old ones, he had already, in the first years of his reign, taken off the duty upon pork introduced by Pius V. to meet the expenses of the war against the Turks,[2] and later on the tax on flour which had existed since the time of Julius III.[3] The Pope took thought for the provision of Rome with victuals in every way, especially during the Holy Year.[4] For a long time men were reminded of this by the great reserves of grain which he had gathered in the Baths of Diocletian.[5] In order to provide for Rome he also on several occasions issued prohibitions of the export of grain from the Papal States.[6] A decree of May 1st, 1578, renewed the penalties against the barons who interfered with the transport of grain to the Roman market. So as to prevent the usurious dealings of speculators, every citizen was forbidden to buy more grain than such as was necessary for the annual need of his family.[7] In the Campagna Marittima the Pope tried to extend the ground under cultivation by the destruction of the woods;[8] the draining of the marshes near Ravenna served the same purpose.[9] If in spite of this the Papal States had to suffer

[1] Galli emphasizes this in his *Memorie (Boncompagni Archives, Rome).

[2] See the Constitution of February 1, 1573, in the Collez. delle disposiz. su li più antichi censimenti dello Stato pontif., I., Roma, 1845, 67 *seq.* MAFFEI, I., 251 (1576) must be corrected accordingly.

[3] See MAFFEI, II., 362; MORONI, XX., 159.

[4] *Cf.* Studi e documenti, XIII., 313; BENIGNI, 39 *seq.*

[5] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 21; FORCELLA, XIII., 174; NICOLAI, III., 89; LANCIANI, IV., 80. CIAPPI (p. 9) also mentions granaries in Porto.

[6] See Bull. Rom., VIII., 140 *seq.*, 195 *seq.*; MAFFEI, I., 373; RANKE, Päpste, I.[8], 279.

[7] See BENIGNI, 39. *Cf.* DECUPIS, Per gli usi civici nell' agro Romano, Roma, 1906, 23.

[8] *Cf. supra.*, p. 524.

[9] On this subject see MAFFEI, II., 74; BENIGNI, 42, as well as the statements of Ghislieri in his *Relatione di Romagna, Urb.

for a time during the years of scarcity in 1579, 1582 and 1583, this was not the fault of the Pope; on the contrary he did all in his power to mitigate the distress.[1] In 1583 he himself expended 40,000 scudi.[2] Besides this he endeavoured to ensure that the people should have not only plenty of bread but also good bread, and severely punished those who adulterated this important item of food;[3] he repeatedly granted privileges to the baking industry.[4] In 1581, when the neighbourhood of Rome, and especially Viterbo, was invaded by swarms of locusts, he gave 20,000 scudi for their destruction.[5]

Gregory XIII. interested himself in a quite special way in preserving Rome and the Papal States from the plague, which affected many parts of Italy in the years 1575, 1576 and 1579. He ordered the making of penitential processions, in which he himself took part, and also made use of all the precautions then known against the spread of the contagion.[6] All the

831, p. 120[b] *seq.*, Vatican Library. A *Projetto del disseccamento delle paludi Pontine which was submitted to Gregory XIII. in the Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of August 26 and 29, September 2 and 5, 1579, Urb. 1047, pp. 295, 297, 301[b], 306, Vatican Library, and *Acta consist. of August 17, 1579, Consistorial Archives of the Vatican. For 1582 *seq.* see MAFFEI, II., 300. The "carestia" of 1583, which ravaged the whole of Italy, is dealt with in *Odescalchi's reports of February 12, 20, March 26 and April 23, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See Cocquelines on MAFFEI, II., 461.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 318[b], Vatican Library.

[4] See MAFFEI, II., 226.

[5] See *ibid.*, II., 225 *seq.*; *cf.* I., 251.

[6] To complete the accounts given in MAFFEI, I., 256, II., 69, 461 *seq.*, *cf.* CATENA, Lettere, 321; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 361, 365. See especially the *Avvisi di Roma of July 13, 1575 (on account of the Sicilian plague, guards increased at Civitavecchia, Ostia and Ripa-Grande), 1576, June 20 (energetic precautionary measures), July 21 and October 20 (processions); 1578, April 12 (precautionary measures); 1579, September 26

greater was his joy when Rome remained free from the pestilence. During the hot summer of 1580 a dangerous form of influenza broke out in the city, which affected a great part of the population. During those days Gregory devoted himself to the care for the sick; he sent alms and medicine to the poor, and prohibited any increase in the price of food, which certain merchants were inclined to make.[1]

and 30, November 11, 25 and 29, December 12 and 16 (precautionary measures and processions); Urb. 1044, p. 516; 1045, pp. 119, 130, 165; 1046, p. 106; 1047, pp. 323, 329, 380, 383, 387, 390, Vatican Library. See also the *reports of Aless. de' Medici of July 16 and October 28, 1575, State Archives, Florence. For 1576 *cf.* also the Mantuan *report of June 24 in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *letters of Dr. Andreas Fabricius to Albert V. of Bavaria, dat. Rome, July 13 and 21, 1576, State Archives, Munich. A *Bando et ordine da osservarsi per il presente sospetto della peste, of November 15, 1579, in the *Editti*, V., 61, p. 30, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* also A. Sarti, Bandi emanati dai legati pontif. in Bologna nel sec. XVI., Rocca S. Casciano, 1914, 22 *seq.*, 24. The following very rare works may be mentioned here: 1, Mich. Mercati, Instruttione sopra la peste, nella quale si contengono i più eletti et approvati rimedii, Roma, 1576 (dedicated to Jacopo Boncompagni); 2, Libro del conoscere la pestilenza, di M. Giov. Batt. Susio, Mantua, 1576 (a copy in the Senckenberg Library at Frankfurt o./m.); 3, Cause et rimedii della peste. Raccolti da Marco Gonzaga, Firenze, 1577; 4, B. Pisanelli, Discorso sopra la peste, delle cause, effetti, remedii, Roma, 1577; 5, Litaniae et preces iussu S.D.N. Gregorii P. XIII. in omnibus ecclesiis dicendae ad implorandum divinum auxilium pro avertenda a populo christiano pestilentia, Romae, 1576, and Florentiae, 1577. A *Bull of Indulgence of Gregory XIII., " univ. Christifidelibus morbo contagioso in civit. Venet. ant locis ei subiectis laborantibus," dat. July 7, 1576, in the State Archives, Venice, Bolle. See also the inscription in Forcella, IV., 83.

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 13, 17, 20, and September 3, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 241, 251, 255, 276, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's reports of August 3, 20, 27, and September 3, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Maffei, II., 156 *seq.*; Marini, Archiatri, I., 453; Tomassetti, Campagna, I., 216.

The city of Rome also owed to Gregory XIII. a temporary relief from the scourge of mendicants and vagabonds.[1] He was also seriously preoccupied with the maintenance of good morals in his capital, which was visited by so many foreigners. In contrast to the great severity of Pius V., the effects of his mildness made themselves felt from the beginning of his pontificate.[2] But Gregory soon realized that in this matter he would have to follow in the footsteps of his predecessor ;[3] above all he had to direct his attention, as Pius V. had done,

[1] In 1575 plans were made for collecting all the countless vagabonds and beggars of Rome into one hospice (see *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1575, Urb. 1044, pp. 424[b], 429[b], Vatican Library). At the beginning of 1581 the scheme was actually carried through ; see *Avviso di Roma of January 15, 1581, Coll. Favre, 62, p. 103 *seq.*, Municipal Library, Geneva, and the *Avvisi di Roma of February 22, March 4 and 8, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 83, 101, 105, Vatican Library ; *cf.* Mucantius, *Diarium of February 13 and 28, 1581, Papal Secret Archives, and *Odescalchi's report of May 6, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. And thus the city seemed completely cleansed of this plague (see CORRARO, 275). But the abandoned monastery of S. Sisto in the Via Appia, which had been chosen for the hospice (*cf.* PIAZZA, 56 *seq.* ; MORICHINI, II., 7 *seq.*) proved itself unsuitable on account of the malaria with which the place was infected ; and so the Pope thought of acquiring the "isoletta vicino a Ponte Sisto" ; see *Avviso di Roma of December 16, 1581, *loc. cit.*, 446. The plan which was mooted later, of erecting a new building near the hospital of the Convalescenti never came to anything ; see the *reports of February 3 and September 30, 1582, in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In February, 1583, the hospice at S. Sisto had to be given up ; see *Avviso di Roma of February 26, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 95, *loc. cit.* The plague of beggars and vagabonds (*cf.* HÜBNER, I., 89) was, at that time, universal ; and in Germany it was much worse than in Italy ; see JANSSEN-PASTOR, VIII. [13-14], 301-77.

[2] See *Cusano's report of December 18, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf. Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1858, 690. That many officials made bad use of Papal property is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of December 1, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 452, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* the more detailed particulars in the Appendix, No. 2.

to the abuses connected with the manuscript news-sheets (*avvisi*).[1]

In accordance with his own strict ideas, Gregory XIII. did not care about the Carnival. During that time he remained for the most part at his villa of Mondragone,[2] and exhorted the Cardinals as well to keep away from any such amusements.[3] On the Sunday of the Carnival he visited the Seven Churches of Rome.[4] He would very gladly have abolished altogether the unrestrained, and in many ways cruel, orgies of Carnival Tuesday. This, however, was not possible in view of the

[1] On September 6, 1572, was published the "constitutio contra famigeratores nuncupatos mercantes eorumque scripta recipientes et famosos libellos scribentes et mittentes" (Bull. Rom., VIII., 12 *seq.*; *cf.* *Cusano's report of September 20, 1572, State Archives, Vienna). For particulars of this Constitutio, see *Hist.-polit. Blätter*, XXXVII., 574 *seq.*; CIAMPI, Innocenzo, X., p. 254 *seq.*; GNOLI, V. Accoramboni, 38; note. At an earlier date a writer who had spread slanderous reports about the cause of Pius V.'s death, had been whipped out of the city; see *Arco's report of July 26, 1572, State Archives, Vienna. How the regulation, which produced little result, was carried into effect is reported in the *Avvisi, especially those of November 11, 1581, January 20, February 13, May 12, 1582, Urb. 1049, p. 428[b], 1050, pp. 21, 50[b], Vatican Library. In the last of these the originators are branded as calumniators. *Cf.* also Sporeno's *report to Archduke Ferdinand, of September 30, 1581, Government Archives, Innsbruck, and Donato's despatches of October 13, 1581, in BROSCH, I., 272, n. 1. The unscrupulous "mercanti," described by the envoy of Savoy as "razza d'huomini più tosto da forca che da galera," have found a defender in PICCA: I martiri del giornalismo nella Roma papale, Roma, 1912, a partisan work which should be read in conjunction with *Riv. stor.*, 1913, 6 *seq.* A biting "Pasquinata fatta da qualche Lutherano" caused Gregory XIII. to offer a reward of 1,000 scudi for the discovery of the author; see *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 264, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of February 8, 1578, and February 6, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 227.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report of February 20, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

attachment of many of the Romans to their ancient customs.[1] Gregory XIII. therefore endeavoured, like his predecessor, to cut the Carnival as short as possible.[2] In 1580 he availed himself of the plague,[3] in 1583 of the scarcity, and in 1584 of the disturbed state of the city, to prohibit all masquerades.[4] Montaigne, who saw them, describes the Carnival celebrations which were allowed in 1581, as moderate.[5]

During the time that preceded it, as well as during the Carnival itself, Roman society had loved from the earliest times to amuse itself with theatrical performances and other entertainments.[6] When Gregory learned in 1574 that one of those immoral comedies which had been fashionable in the time of the Renaissance had been performed, he took severe

[1] A decline in the Carnival fever, most probably a direct result of the Catholic Reformation, is established moreover by A. Zibramonte in his *report of January 17, 1573, according to which the carnival passed off "assai freddamente, non inclinando più che tanto questa città a simili piaceri." On February 20, 1574, C. Capilupi writes: *"Il carnevale si fa freddissimo." Also in 1577 and 1578, mention is made of "carnevale magrissimo"; see *Odescalchi's memoranda of February 19, 1577, and February 15, 1578. A good carnival is *reported by Odescalchi on January 28 and February 4, 1581, and also on March 3, 1582. All these documents in the Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the *report of P. Tiepolo of February 28, 1573, in MUTINELLI, I., 108, and CLEMENTI, 248 *seq.* On January 14, 1576, Pompeo Strozzi *reports that the carnival was only allowed for the time after S. Antonio (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also in the App. 16 of Vol. XIX. the *report of Mucantius of February, 1581, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] *"Hoc anno bravia quae curri publice solebant applicata fuerunt cathecumenis et larvae interdictae, cum instante pestis periculo potius orandum esset ad placandam iram Dei," writes MUCANTIUS, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of February 6, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See *Odescalchi's reports of February 20, 1583, January 28 and February 4, 1584, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also CLEMENTI, 268 *seq.*

[5] MONTAIGNE, I., 247-8.

[6] *Cf.* CLEMENTI, 258 *seq.*, 271 *seq.*

action; the actors were punished with imprisonment, and the ecclesiastical dignitaries who had been present at the performance, including several Cardinals, were sternly rebuked.[1] At the consistory of January 27th, 1574, the Pope declared that the presence of the Cardinals, even at edifying and religious representations, was in his opinion unbecoming, and incompatible with their dignity; at the same time he expressed a wish that for the future ecclesiastical representations should not be given in the colleges and seminaries, because such things distracted the pupils from the study of serious things.[2] In spite of this, the Jesuits received permission in 1574 to have two religious plays acted by their pupils, one of which successfully presented the story of King Achab, and the other the Last Judgment.[3] In 1582 the pupils of the Collegio Capranica performed a play at the palace of Cardinal Medici, and in the same year several other theatrical performances were allowed.[4] On the other hand, many actors who came to Rome in 1576 were forbidden to present their performance. Paolo Giordano Orsini, who in the same year asked permission for the Romans to hold masquerades, received from the Pope the reply that they should rather be thinking of military preparations, so as to defend Christendom against the heretics and the Turks.[5]

Like his predecessor, Gregory XIII. turned his attention

[1] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 30, 1574, State Archives, Vienna, and SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 223 *seq.*

[2] See SANTORI, *loc. cit.*, 224.

[3] In addition to the memorandum of P. Tiepolo in MUTINELLI, I., 108 *seq.*, see also the *report of C. Capilupi, dat. February 20, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The *Avviso, quoted in n. 1, estimates the cost of the "apparato" to have been more than 1,000 scudi. See also Soldati's work quoted Vol. XIX., p. 251, n. 1 of this work.

[4] See *Odescalchi's report of March 3, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[5] See (Appendix, No. 3) the *report of P. Strozzi, dat. January 28, 1576, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

to the difficult problem of the regulation of the Tiber,[1] and at the same time discussed the improvement of the military forces of the Papal States.[2]

The efforts made by the Pope to improve the harbours of Fiumicino, Civitavecchia and Ancona are worthy of record. At Fiumicino the undertaking met with insurmountable difficulties, but was successful at Civitavecchia, which now became more than ever the principal port of the Papal States.[3]

[1] After an overflow of the Tiber in April, 1575, which caused great damage, especially to the Castle of S. Angelo (see *Odescalchi's report of April 23, 1575, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua) a special congregation of Cardinals was assembled for the purpose of considering the question of solving the problem by regulating the course of the river; see SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260, BELTRAMI, Roma, 8, *Odescalchi's memorandum of April 30, 1575, *loc. cit.*, and the rare work, dedicated to Gregory XIII.: Discorso di Luca Peto intorno alla cagione d. eccessiva inondatione del Tevere et modo in parte di soccorrervi, Roma, 1573, in Instr. Misc. 4586, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] *Proposals of Possevino concerning the foundation of a "Seminario militare" in the Cod. D. 5, of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. Cod. Capponi, XXV., 137 *seq.*, contains *Avvertimenti per correggere gli abusi della christiana milizia. Dat. Roma del mese di Maggio, 1574, National Library, Florence. A *Discorso sopra la militia del stato eccles^co et la forma di ridurla simile all' antica Romana fatto l'a.° 1582 in Urb. 852, p. 200 *seq.*, Vatican Library. Cod. F. 59 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, contains (inter alia) a *Istruzione per la milizia a piede scritta in tempo di Gregorio XIII., and *Istruzioni militari a Giacomo Boncompagni, generale di S. Chiesa dell 'a.° 1574. *Ibid.* Cod. D., 5: Giulio Franchini, *Memorie per il ristabilimento delle milizie nello stato eccles^co nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII. For military conditions under Gregory XIII., *cf. Quellen und Forschungen des Preussischen Instituts*, VI., 97.

[3] To correct the obscure passage in MAFFEI, I., 376, *cf.* KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 84. C. Capilupi *reports, on February 14, 1573, that the Pope is going to Civitavecchia, "per vedere quel porto il quale alcuni ingegneri offeriscono di voler con mediocre spesa nettare et rendere sicuro a naviganti di navigalie grosse." On February 21 *Capilupi tells how, in spite of the bad

Considerations connected with the war against the Turks had much to do with the attempt to make Ancona into a great port. Gregory XIII. expended considerable sums on these works,[1] but never saw their completion. At Civitavecchia,[2] as well as at Ancona[3] the defence works were also repaired.

weather, the Pope undertook the journey to Civitavecchia; and he expresses the hope that the port would attract all the commerce "di Ponente con Italia," which would be greatly to the advantage of Rome and would bring in a yearly sum of 100,000 scudi to the Apostolic Camera (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also *Cod. D. 9 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *"N.S^re è stato a Porto per vedere il porto antico di Claudio et dare ordine che si rinovi secundo alcuni disegni dati a S.S^tà." Odescalchi on March 2, 1577. He adds a doubt as to whether sufficient money would be available (Gonzaga Archives, Mantua). *Cf.* also KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*

[1] See the *account books of the Camera Apost. for the years 1572-85, State Archives, Rome. In addition to MAFFEI, I., 376, see also KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 84 *seq.* For the impetus given to trade by improvements to the harbour of Ancona, see MAFFEI, II., 73.

[2] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 310 *seq.* Gregory XIII. repeatedly visited Civitavecchia at the beginning of 1573 for the sake of his health "et per veder in che termine si ritrova la fortezza" (*Cusano's report of January 23, 1573, State Archives, Vienna). An *Avviso di Roma of November 20, 1574, reports the setting aside of 12,000 scudi for the fortification of Civitavecchia, and another *Avviso announces the entrusting of these works to M. A. Colonna, Urb. 1044, pp. 295, 319, Vatican Library. On the occasion of a visit to Civitavecchia in January, 1577, further fortifications were decided upon; see *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 227, *loc. cit.* *Cf.* also CALISSE, 428 *seq.*, and *Avvertimenti per la fortificazione di Civitavecchia dati nel pontificato di Gregorio XIII. in the Cod. D. 5 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] Cusano *reports on November 6, 1574: Ancona is being fortified against the Turks, wells for drinking water are being sunk and windmills built, "per esser il luogo importantissimo," State Archives, Vienna. Numerous *payments in the years 1573-6 in the Vatic. 6697, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also Appendix No. 33 in

A tower that was erected near Terracina for the protection of the coasts bears the arms and the name of the Pope, with the date 1584.[1] In order to connect Loreto with Rome, Gregory XIII., who had made rich gifts to that sanctuary,[2] constructed the Via Boncompagni, as it is called in contemporary accounts, to serve as a highway; this was all the more necessary, as pilgrimages to the sanctuary of Loreto had greatly increased with the revival of religious life. Contemporaries speak with justifiable wonder of that road which led across the mountains, and especially of the solidity of the bridges of stone which were constructed by the Pope's orders. The Pope also constructed new bridges near Acquapendente and Forlì.[3] Lastly, the reform of the municipal statutes of Rome is connected with the name of

Vol. XIX., and RAVIOLI, Notizie sui lavori di architettura militare colla relazione fatta nel 1575 sulle fortificazioni di Ancona, Roma, 1870-1. For the *Relatio of O. Gaetani in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, *cf.* Appendix, 27, Vol. XIX. The same archives contain, in the Cod. F. 39, a *" Parere sulla fortificazione di Castelfranco, fortezza della legazione di Bologna," and a second *" Parere " condemning this fortification as " dannosa allo stato ecclesiastico." The Pope has written a remark in his own hand on this codex. The arms of Gregory XIII. which still remain on the Rocca di Nettuno point to works of restoration having been undertaken at that spot.

[1] See GUGLIELMOTTI, Fortificazioni, 448.

[2] An *Avviso di Roma of November 26, 1583, reports " Dicesi che il Papa faccia fare tutti gli ornamenti che vanno per fornir una cappella d'argento per offerirli di sua propria mano all' altare della s. Casa di Loreto." Urb. 1051, p. 493, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of April 4, 1584, *ibid.* 1052, p. 118. See also *infra*, p. 628.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 21; MONTAIGNE, I., 209; II., 64 *seq.*, 67, 69 *seq.*, 75; G. ERNSTINGER's Reisbuch (Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins, 135), Tübingen, 1877, 84; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 86; ORBAAN, Documenti sul Barocco in Roma, Rome, 1920, 400. The care that the Pope bestowed on the road to Loreto is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of October 23, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 635[b], Vatican Library.

Gregory XIII.[1] What he did for the beautifying and the development of building in his capital is all the more deserving of special notice, as this side of his pontificate has fallen into an undeserved oblivion by reason of the brilliant splendour of the magnificent activity of his successor.

A happy chance has preserved for us a description of the Rome of Gregory XIII., which throws a strong light upon the state of the Eternal City before Sixtus V. imprinted upon it the marks of his vigorous personality. Its author is no other than the French philosopher, Michel de Montaigne. The chapters which he devotes to Rome in his diary of his travels in Italy in 1580 and 1581, which is of the greatest importance for the history of culture, are justly celebrated, even though they are little more than a sketch.[2]

[1] Statuta almae Urbis Romae auctoritate Gregorii P. XIII. a Senatu Populoque Rom. reformata et edita, Romae, 1580. *Cf.* Brosch, I., 265; La Mantia, Storia delle legislaz. Ital. I., Roma, 1884, 198 *seq.*, and especially Rodocanachi, Institutions, 284 *seq.*, 286 *seq.* For the personal share in the matter taken by Gregory XIII., *cf.* Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 365. With regard to the decrees of the statutes which fixed the value of the currency, see Garampi, Sul valore, 310 *seq.* An *Avviso di Roma of June 10, 1581, declares that the prohibition of the foreign "quatrini" marked the beginning of a reform of the currency. Urb. 1049, p. 211, Vatican Library. *Ibid.* 1044, p. 201[b], an *Avviso di Roma of August 21, 1574, concerning the confiscation of the "quatrini scambati" by the Sbirri. *Cf.* also Martinori, 36 *seq.*

[2] Montaigne's journal de voyage, not originally intended for publication, was printed in 1774 by de Querlon. As early as 1777 a German translation had appeared which, however, is just as inaccurate as the original French version. A good critical edition was brought out by Lautrey (Paris, 1906). An elaborate Italian edition was produced by A. d'Ancona entitled: L'Italia alla fine del sec. XIV, 2. ediz. Città di Castello, 1895. *Cf.* also Dumesnil, Voyageurs français en Italie, Paris, 1865, 17 *seq.*; Reumont, III., 2, 792 *seq.*, and Geschichte Toskanas, I., 611; Friedländer in the *Deutsche Rundschau* 1876, 237 *seq.*; *Rev. crit.* 1889, 386 *seq.*; J. Fraikin in the periodical *Cosmos*, II. (1900); Bourilly in the

Montaigne was one of those travellers[1] who were imbued with the spirit of classical culture, and who, in the city of the Tiber, sought before all things the remains and records of antiquity. There can be no doubt that the disappointment of the Frenchman was very great, for, as he says, he found nothing but the grave of ancient Rome. He had set his hopes too high. As a matter of fact a great deal of the ancient buildings, especially of the Baths of Diocletian and Constantine, was at that time still preserved, which later on fell a victim to the destroyer. This is clear from the publications of another Frenchman, Etienne Du Pérac, the skilled draughtsman and engraver.

Du Pérac had come as a young man to Rome, and had

Rev. d'hist. mod., VIII. (1907); *Le Correspondant*, 280 (1920), 708 *seq.*; G. VALLETTE, Reflets de Rome. Rome vue par les écrivains de Montaigne à Goethe, Paris, 1909; RODOCANACHI, Les voyageurs français à Rome, in *Studi Storici*, XIX., 1 (1910), 5 *seq.*; D'ANCONA, Viaggiatori e avventurieri: Montaigne &c., Firenze, 1911; SCHINDELE in the periodicals *Das Bayerland*, 1907-08, 352 *seq.*, and *Die Kultur*, XIII., Vienna, 1912, 146 *seq.* Another Frenchman, Nicolas Audebert, of Orléans, came to Rome in the autumn of 1576, and wrote *a description of his travels, which is preserved in the Lansdowne MSS., 720, of the British Museum in London. From this work MÜNTZ (Antiquités de Rome, Paris, 1886, 72-128) has borrowed the description of the walls of Rome. It would be a good thing if further portions of Audebert's work were to be brought to light. *Cf.* NOLHAC in the *Rev. archéol.*, III., 10 (1887), 315 *seq.* [Engl. transl. with Introd. and notes by E. J. TRECHMANN, London, 1929 (Edit. note).]

[1] Montaigne arrived in Rome on November 30, 1580, and remained there until April 19, 1581, in order, on that date, to start on a pilgrimage to Loreto. On October 1, 1581, he returned to Rome, but had to leave again on the 15th owing to the fact that, in the meantime he had been elected Mayor of Bordeaux. Montaigne's first halting place was the Albergo dell' Orso; see *Rev. crit.*, 1883, II., 459 *seq.*; *cf.* the picture of this inn, which is still standing, in PASTOR, Rom. 33. Another inn, much frequented at that time, was "The Sword"; see S. KIECHEL, Reisen (*Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins*, 86), Tübingen, 1866, 165.

devoted himself diligently to the study of Roman antiquities. The result was a series of works of the greatest importance. His plan of ancient Rome, published in 1574, and dedicated to Charles IX. of France, is an attempt at reconstruction undertaken with great imagination, in accordance with the work of Pirro Ligorio, published in 1565. All the more valuable are his sketches of the buildings of ancient Rome, which appeared in the following year and were dedicated to Giacomo Boncompagni. This was followed by his most important work, with his great plan of the whole of Rome,[1] by which he rivals Mario Cartaro of Viterbo.[2] Even a casual inspection of this plan, which was published in 1577 by Antoine Lafréry, and especially of his complicated groups of the buildings round the church of St. Peter's, shows the importance of this work, while a more careful study shows it to be the most exact and detailed plan of the whole XVIth century. The houses, palaces and churches are shown therein, not schematically, but with great exactness, and with a plastic individuality. No other plan of the time is so characteristic, exact and accurate, not only in its general lines, but also in its details. Its value is greatly added to by the fact that it was made in 1577, and therefore before the great changes brought about by Sixtus V., which destroyed so much. In the plan of Du Pérac-Lafréry we get an idea of the Eternal City in that most splendid epoch of its history, which together with the well-known plan of Bufalini of 1551 makes possible an exact reconstruction of Rome in the Renaissance period, since Du Pérac did not intend in this work of his to place before the spectator ancient Rome, but the new city. With the help of his annotations the topography of the city may

[1] See Ehrle, Roma primo di Sisto V. La pianta di Roma Du Pérac-Lafréry del 1577, Roma, 1908; *cf.* also Bartoli, Cento vedute di Roma antica, Firenze, 1911; Hülsen, Saggio d. lett. d. piante di Roma, 1915, 60 *seq.*, 66 *seq.*; *Gött. Gel. Anz.*, 1921, No. 1; Collect, L. Olschki oblata (1921), 121 *seqq.* See also Ashby, Topographical Study in Rome in 1581. A series of views with a fragmentary text by Et. du Pérac, edited by T.A., London, 1916.

[2] *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, XXI., 535 *seq.*

be completed in the most remarkable way; the site of some churches, which recent students have not been able to determine in their special works on the Roman churches, may easily be settled with the help of this plan.

The enthusiasm of Montaigne for the ruins of Roman times was so great that he compared the buildings of the new "bastard Rome" attached to the ancient monuments, to the nests of rooks and sparrows upon the roofs and walls of the churches destroyed by the French Huguenots. Like other observers, he too marvelled at the fact that quite two-thirds of the district enclosed by the Aurelian Wall contained no buildings. He estimated the whole area, as far as its size was concerned, as being as large as Paris with all its suburbs, but as far as the number of its houses was concerned, Rome was only a third of that size; on the other hand, however, it far surpassed the French capital in the number and size of its public squares and the beauty of its buildings.

In the Vatican, Montaigne was specially attracted by the Library, whose treasures he carefully examined and described in detail. He was no less interested in the antiquities of the Belvedere, of which he specially mentions the Laocöon and Antinoüs, and at the Capitol the bronze she-wolf and the youth extracting the thorn. Among the works of modern sculpture he praises the Moses of Michelangelo and the statue of Justice by Guglielmo della Porta on the tomb of Paul III. in St. Peter's. He also visited some private collections, for example, that in the house of the Fusconi, and that in the Palazzo Cesarini, where, besides the antiquities, he was attracted by the portraits of beautiful Roman women.

The unfavourable judgment passed by Montaigne on the Roman churches, which seemed to him to be less beautiful than those in most of the cities of Italy, is surprising. On the whole, he thought, the churches of the Italians, like those of the Germans, could not be compared with those of the French. Above all, Montaigne complains of the absence of pictures and statues in the churches of Rome. This can be better understood if we remember that the greater number of the pictures, statues and reliefs, which can be seen to-day

in such great numbers, owe their origin to the XVIIth century. At that time the Church, in her new life and her triumph over her enemies, was surrounding herself with all the splendour of the baroque style. It must also be remembered that the new church of St. Peter's was not yet finished. There Montaigne only makes mention of the trophies from the Huguenot wars, and the new chapel of St. Gregory. He is silent about the splendour of the ancient basilicas, as he is about the wonderful frescoes of the Sistine Chapel and the Stanze. On the other hand he mentions the modern paintings in the Sala Regia! He himself admits, however, that he had no opportunity of penetrating more deeply into the wonders of Rome, and that he only saw the exterior of the city as it was shown to ordinary travellers. He did not lack diversions; "for melancholy and chagrin I had no occasion, either within the house or outside. So this is a pleasant place to live in, and I may conclude therefrom how much I should have liked it, if I had enjoyed Rome more intimately."

Side by side with the antiquities, Montaigne devotes special attention to the vignas and villas, the beauty of which he could not but feel, endowed as he was with a great love of nature. It was there that he realized for the first time what advantage art can take of a site that is not flat, but is made up of hills. "They know how to utilize," he says, "the varied configuration of the ground with consummate art, and produce effects which are quite unattainable in our more level sites." He mentions as the most beautiful gardens those of Cardinal Este on the Quirinal, Farnese on the Palatine, Orsini, Sforza, and Medici, the gardens of the Villa of Julius III, the Villa Madama, and lastly the vigna of Cardinal Riario in the Trastevere, and that of Cardinal Cesi outside the Porta del Popolo.[1] All these splendid properties were open to all in the absence of their owners.

[1] More detailed particulars of the villas and vignas of Rome will be found later, collected together under Paul V. The Vatican garden at the time of Gregory XIII. is described as follows in G. ERNSTINGER'S Reisbuch: "Neben difem palaft ift ain herrlicher garten bon mancherlay baumen, frembden, weyern und wasser.

Montaigne, that close observer of human events, had a far better understanding of the life and manners of Rome than of her works of art. In this respect he missed nothing that was characteristic. With great variety he gives in turn accounts of sermons and disputations, of exorcisms and barbarous executions, of carnivals and courtesans, whom the Popes vainly sought to suppress in the capital city of the world. He himself visited some of the most celebrated of these representatives of the *demi-monde*, who made men pay for their conversation as much as for their favours; some of them, says Montaigne, are of very great beauty, but the beauty of the other Roman women is not so great as it is reputed to be.

How little the Romans have changed is shown by the remark of Montaigne that their principal amusement consisted in walking endlessly about the streets, looking at the ladies who show themselves at the windows. There were streets which were specially dedicated to this "corso." All persons of rank used carriages, some of which had an opening at the top, so as to be able to look up more easily, for which reason a preacher had compared them to a telescope.

As a man of the world, Montaigne remarks the difference between French and Roman cooking. He praises the climate of the Eternal City as being as pleasant as it is healthy. He naturally makes mention of the fever, from which the wealthy seek to escape, by their doctor's advice, by changing their residence at the different seasons of the year. He is naturally little pleased by the general want of security.

The religion of the Roman people, with the exception of the upper classes and the court, seems to Montaigne to be less good than that of the French. But against this must be set what he has to say in his detailed description of Holy

werdhen geziert, barunter ain orgl von bier regifteren, bom wasser getriben; der boden ben diser orgl ift koll flainer rörlain, welche (fo man will) alle wasser in die höhe fprizen, wie auch die bilder, fo an wenden herumb stehen, welches wasser man bei 20 welsche meil dahin gelait. Alda ist auch ain dickher wald bon lorberbaumen." *Bibl. des Stuttg. Lit. Vereins*, Tübingen, 1877, 97.

Week. At the exposition of the Veil of St. Veronica and the other great relics in St. Peter's on Holy Thursday, the masses of the people fell on their knees, begging for mercy, most of them with tears in their eyes. "Each time, at this exposition, which is repeated every day at intervals," Montaigne relates, "the church and atrium are filled by a densely packed crowd of men and women. It is beautiful in these days to see the religious enthusiasm of so many people. There are more than a hundred confraternities, to which almost all the nobility belong; some are also open to foreigners. For the most part these confraternities perform their religious exercises on vigils; on Holy Thursday they go in procession, in habits of linen, each of a different colour, and generally with their faces veiled. I have seen nothing more remarkable or more beautiful than the extraordinary crowd of persons who take part in the functions of Holy Thursday. By day-break a great number had already gone to St. Peter's, and at night-fall it seemed as though the whole city was on fire, because all the members of the confraternities were on their way to St. Peter's, each with a lighted torch in his hand. At least twelve thousand of these torches passed me. From eight to midnight the street was crowded, but perfect order was maintained, because, although the confraternities came from different places, there were neither gaps nor confusion. Each company had its company of musicians, and all were singing. Between the files there walked a number of penitents who struck themselves with knotted cords. I counted at least 500 with their shoulders wounded to blood. These people must have suffered a great deal, but this did not appear, either in their behaviour or their gait, or in the looks of those who had their faces uncovered, among whom there were many quite young men, and even boys of twelve.[1]

Montaigne sums up the impression made upon him by Rome as follows: "One sees nothing but nobles and courtiers, and everywhere there are palaces and gardens. There is no

[1] The splendour of the Sepulchres in Holy Week is described by the envoy of Savoy in BELTRAMI, Roma, 29 *seq.*

street given over to commerce which can be compared even with those in our smaller cities, no Rue de la Harpe or Rue de St. Denis. I felt that I was always in the Rue de Seine or on the Quai des Augustins. The appearance of the streets is the same on Sundays as on week-days. During Lent, when every day there is a "station" in some church, one sees nothing but coaches, prelates and ladies. One thing that makes Rome stand out is that it is the most cosmopolitan city in the world. National characterics count for little or nothing; the society taken altogether is a mixture of strangers of every kind, and everyone is at home there. The sovereign of Rome embraces all Christendom and makes laws for all. At his court it matters nothing whence men come. At Venice the independence of the government and commercial interests attract many foreigners, but there they are in the house of a stranger, whereas here they are in their own, for they depend upon their office and their dignity. Venice has a coming and going of foreigners which is as great or greater, but they reside there much less. The Roman people do not stare when they see French or Spanish or Teuton dress, and some of the beggars ask for alms in our own language."

Venice and Paris, which in those days were generally looked upon as international cities, were certainly left far behind by Rome in that respect; Rome was the international city in the fullest sense of the word, the common fatherland of all.

CHAPTER XIV.

Gregory XIII. and Art.—New Churches and Buildings.

Although Gregory XIII., who before all things was a jurist by training, had no profound understanding of art, he nevertheless generously encouraged it.[1] The reasons that led him to do so may be seen from a remark of his, characteristic of his noblemindedness, and of the whole period of Catholic

[1] The **Mandati* of Gregory XIII., up to the last two years 1583-5, are all preserved in eleven volumes of the State Archives, Rome. They record all the payments that the Pope caused to be made directly through the general treasurer, and they give an exact account of all the artists and craftsmen directly employed by His Holiness. In later pontificates, the series known as the *Registri delle fabbriche* was of much more importance from the point of view of Art; but in the time of Gregory XIII. it was only in a very rudimentary condition, and the State Archives contain only one single volume of it dealing with the years 1583-5, and that one volume has been compiled in a very unsystematic fashion. A more important role in the *Cameralia* of Gregory XIII. is played by the complete and faultlessly preserved **Registri della Tesoreria segreta* which mention some artists such as Vasari, Lorenzo Sabbatini, Mascherino, Frederigo Zuccaro and Muziano while the names of others are conspicuous by their absence. Bertolotti has made use of this series, but his information is incomplete and unreliable. The Papal Secret Archives contain only very few *Cameralia* for Gregory XIII. A volume entitled *Diversa Cameralia* 1573-9 contains really nothing but copies from the Mandati. Since 1920 all the account books of the State Archives have been returned to the Papal Secret Archives. In addition to the published works of Ciappi and Baglione, I was in a position to make use of two more hitherto unknown *records of Gregory XIII.'s artistic activities which I found in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. They are the **Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche di Gregorio* XIII., and an *Inventory of the artists paid by him. On account of their great importance, I give them in the Appendix, No. 11. *Cf.* App. 29, Vol. XIX., as well as *Musotti's Inventory in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

restoration: "even to build is a form of almsgiving."[1] He placed the superintendence of all his building activities, even that of the fortifications, in the hands of Cardinal Filippo Guastavillani.[2]

A considerable number of artists from all parts of Italy were employed by the Pope. Among the architects a prominent place was held by Giacomo Vignola, who was a Bolognese, and therefore acquainted with Gregory XIII.[3] After his early death the first place was taken by the Roman, Giacomo della Porta. Strongly influenced by Michelangelo and Vignola, and himself extraordinarily prolific, this master marks the transition in architecture from the cinquecento to the seicento. He attained to the age of sixty-five years. Little, however, is known about his life, and neither the year of his birth nor of his death has yet been fixed with certainty.[4] All the more clearly therefore do the many works with which he enriched both sacred and profane architecture speak for him. It was he who gave to the churches and the façades of the palaces, the definite stamp of the baroque style.[5]

Giacomo della Porta was followed by Martino Lunghi the elder, who was a Lombard,[6] the Bolognese Ottavio Nonni, named Mascherino, who had first worked as a painter,[7] and

[1] See CORRARO, Relazione, 274; BAGLIONE, 4; WEISSBACH, 8.

[2] See *Bernerio's report dat. Rome, December 12, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[3] *Cf.* the interesting report of the Ferrarese envoy of June, 1572, *Arch. stor. dell' Arte*, II., 254.

[4] *Cf.* G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 82 *seq.*

[5] See WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 2 ed. by H. Willich, Munich, 1907-8.

[6] "Architetto papale" since December 1573; see BERTOLOTTI, Art. Lomb., I., 68.

[7] The true name of this artist has only been recently established; see *Arch. Rom.*, I., 122 *seq.* His portrait and his posthumous drawings in the Accademia di S. Luca (see R. OJETTI in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca*, Ann. 1912, 657; 1913-4, 85 *seq.*). On June 5, 1580, "Ottavio Mascarino pittore" received "25 scudi 'per soventione dell sua infirmita'". Tesor. segr., 1579-80, Papal Secret Archives.

Giovanni Fontana. The aged Bartolomeo Ammanati also worked once more in Rome; the Pope had the monument to his ancestor Giovanni Boncompagni in the Camposanto at Pisa carried out by him.[1]

The number of painters employed by Gregory XIII. is extraordinarily large, the best known being Giorgio Vasari, Federico Zuccaro and Girolamo Muziano. Vasari was only in Rome from 1572 to 1573, Zuccaro from 1579 to 1581, and again after the end of October, 1583,[2] while Muziano worked there uninterruptedly throughout the pontificate of Gregory XIII. He as well as Zuccaro was closely connected with the artistic academy of St. Luke founded by Gregory XIII.

Ever since the Middle Ages there had been in Rome an association of artists of every kind, who had chosen the Evangelist St. Luke for their patron, and celebrated his feast in the little church of St. Luke near St. Mary Major's.[3] This association, which especially devoted its services to the social and religious needs of its members, and to which Sixtus IV. had given new statutes in 1478,[4] had fallen into decay. According to the suggestion of Muziano, this was now to develop a new life as an academy, and was to include architects

[1] See BAGLIONE, 27; LITTA, Boncompagni, Table I. *Cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II.[10], 592; THIEME, I., 414. See also *Icon sepulchri seu mausolei quod Gregorius XIII. A[0], 1574, erigendum curavit Pisis maiori suo Io. Boncompagni, Cod. D. 8, of Boncompagni Archives at Rome.

[2] Zuccaro was summoned to Rome in November, 1579; see THEINER, III., 678. *Cf. Repert. f. Kunstwissenschaft*, XXXVII., 29. For his banishment from 1581 to 1583 see RONCHINI in the *Atti e Mem. p. la prov. Moden.*, V. (1870), 2 *seq.*; *Arch. stor. Ital.* 3, Series, XXV., 506 *seq.*; GUHL, Künstlerbriefe, II., Berlin, 1880, 31; VOSS, II., 460 *seq.* Zuccaro died in 1609; see A. BENEDETTI, F. Zuccaro, in the *Rassegna contemp.*, Roma, 1908, No. 5, p. 301 *seq.*

[3] See RODOCANACHI, Corporations, II., 301 *seq.*; HOOGEWERFF, Nederl. Schilders, Utrecht, 1912, 136 *seq.*, and Bescheiden in Italië, II., 's Gravenhage, 1913, 1. For the church *cf.* ARMELLINI, 314.

[4] See Vol. IV. of this work, p. 463.

as well as painters and sculptors.[1] A brief of Gregory XIII. of October 13th, 1577, gave the necessary consent, and granted it the right to acquire property, both moveable and immoveable, as well as to draw up the statutes, which were to serve as the rule of the institute.[2] These statutes, however, were only settled after the death of Muziano, by Federico Zuccaro.[3]

With Muziano and Zuccaro there were associated a number of painters, almost all of whom were born in the middle of the cinquecento. Such were Niccolò dalle Pomarancie, Cristoforo Roncalli, Marco da Faenza, Raffaellino da Reggio, Paris Nogari, Antonio Tempesta, etc. They are spoken of in general as the Manieristi; they actually formed a special group influenced by Federico Zuccaro, whose own style was influenced, not only by Michelangelo, but also by others, especially the Venetian masters.[4] All these, like Zuccaro himself, were above all decorative artists. The same applied to the Bolognese, Lorenzo Sabbatini (died 1572)[5] who was honoured by Gregory XIII. with numerous commissions,

[1] *Cf.* HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden, 3 *seq.*

[2] See MISSIRINI, Mem. d. Rom. Accad. di S. Luca, Roma, 1823, 20 *seq.*, and HOOGEWERFF, Bescheiden 4-5 which gives the correct date.

[3] See MISSIRINI, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* SOBOTKA in Thieme's Künstlerlexicon, VI., 309, and Voss, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, I. and II. passim.

[5] For Sabbatini, usually known as Lorenzino da Bologna, *cf.* BAGLIONE, 17, and Voss, II., 550 *seq.* MALVASIA's assertion (Felsina, I., 231) taken from PLATNER (II., 1, 293) and STEINMANN (II., 515), that Gregory wished to have Michelangelo's Last Judgment destroyed and replaced by a painting by Sabbatini lacks independent confirmation as far as I can discover. Malvasia is certainly an unreliable authority; *cf.* THIEME, I., 172. That there was certainly no exaggerated rigorism with regard to unsuitable pictures in churches in the Rome of Gregory XIII., is clear from Ammanati's letter of August 22, 1582 (GUHL, I., 309 *seq.*) and also from the treatise on reform written between 1576 and 1584, in which the "Vicario del Papa" is called upon to take measures against "imagini lascive" in the churches; see DÖLLINGER, Beiträge, III., 240.

and the Sicilian, Tomaso Laureti, who was summoned from Bologna to Rome. The most important of the painters employed by Gregory XIII. was undoubtedly Girolamo Muziano, who was born at Acquafredda near Brescia, and who has only recently become the object of real appreciation. Muziano was highly esteemed by Gregory XIII., and his work extended to many of the churches in Rome. Among his altar pieces are several works of the first rank. His splendid picture of the Stigmata of St. Francis in the church of the Capuchins is most effective by reason of the ecstatic and supernatural expression of the saint's countenance. In his "Preaching of St. Jerome," painted for the chapel of Gregory XIII. in St. Peter's, and now in S. Maria degli Angeli, one marvels at the inspired harmony of the grave and beautiful landscape, the glory of the saint and the monks who are devoutedly grouped at his feet.[1] Among foreign artists, outstanding figures were the celebrated landscape painters, Paul and Matthieu Bril, who came from Antwerp to Rome in the time of Gregory XIII.[2] Among the sculptors employed by the Pope were Pierpaolo Olivieri and Prospero Antichi, named Il Bresciano.

The artistic programme of Gregory XIII. consisted principally in the restoration of churches and the completion of the works begun by Pius IV. Gregory set before himself, both in Rome and in the Papal States, a close conformity with the building work of that Pope. After the decline of artistic life under Pius V., there now began a new and great activity. The consolidation of the status of the Papacy at once reacted in favour of the arts, and a new tendency showed itself on all sides. In the seventh year of

[1] *Cf.* Baglione, 46 *seq.*; G. Cantalamessa in *Bullett. d'arte del Minist. d. pubbl. istruzione*, 1910, 205 *seq.*, and especially Voss, II., 559 *seq.*, 562 *seq.* Muziano's epitaph in Bonanni, Numismata templi Vaticani, 90, mentions April 27, 1593, as the date of his death; Forcella (XI., 55) gives 1592, which is probably more correct.

[2] See A. Mayer, Das Leben des M. und P. Brill, Leipzig, 1910. *Cf. L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 12.

Gregory's pontificate, in the autumn of 1578, the Mantuan ambassador in Rome was able to report that the artistic testament of Pius IV. had now been substantially carried into effect, and that now one would see new enterprises taken in hand.[1]

One of the principal cares of the Pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had been the completion of the church of St. Peter's, which was already looked upon as the most beautiful ornament of Rome, and one of the wonders of the world.[2] The approaching completion of this international cathedral in the midst of the storms raised by the division in the faith, was to zealous Catholics a visible sign of the divine protection which watches over the Holy See.[3] As Giacomo Vignola had died on July 7th, 1573,[4] at the recommendation of Tomaso de' Cavalieri,[5] his pupil, Giacomo della Porta, was appointed his successor as director of the gigantic edifice.[6] The Pope set to work, with good results, to obtain the necessary means.[7] The greatest activity prevailed in the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, and therewith a more definite character and a deeper technical understanding of its architecture made

[1] See (Appendix, No. 6) *Odescalchi's report of October 25, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See the words of Baronius in the Acta SS. 9 Maii (Paris, 1866), 371.

[3] *Cf.* the remarks of Dr. Rabus in the description of his *journey to Rome in the year 1575, Cod. germ., 1280, p. 59, of the State Library, Munich.

[4] Vignola was interred in the Pantheon close to Raphael's vault. In BERTOLOTTI, Art. Moden., 29, a document dat. December 12, 1572, in which Vignola describes himself as "architetto della fabrica di S. Pietro."

[5] See RONCHINI in the *Atti Mod.*, VII. (1878), 25.

[6] See the *Abstracts of accounts in the Cod. H-II., 22, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf. Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement, p. 52. See also RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*

[7] See the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by G. FERRERI, Papal Secret Archives (*cf.* Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.). To the *letter of Philip II. addressed to his ambassador Juan de Zuñiga and dated Madrid, February 24, 1593, is attached the following, *"Nota de denari

themselves felt.[1] As the work went on interesting tombs and antiquities were constantly discovered.[2] At that time no one as yet thought of keeping an accurate record of these discoveries. A reckless destruction of the remains of bygone days, both Christian and pagan, was the order of the day. Thus in 1574, in the Chapel of St. Petronilla, they broke up and used for the paving of the basilica the ancient sarcophagus of the saint, which had been discovered a hundred years before, and had been brought by Paul I. in 757 from the cemetery of St. Domitilla, and which had long remained neglected in the vicinity.[3]

venuti de Napoli per servitio della fabrica di S. Pietro di Roma in diece anni : "

l'a°	1577	duc.	2350.67
,,	1578	,,	6222.62
,,	1579	,,	5091.32
,,	1580	,,	6486.00
,,	1581	,,	9999.92
,,	1582	,,	4346.12
,,	1583	,,	5098.11
,,	1584	,,	6256.00
,,	1585	,,	11965.19
,,	1586	,,	7137.92
		duc.	64953.87

Archives of the Spanish Embassy in Rome. In 1579 the following were "Deputati" of the "Fabrica": Horatius Burghesius, Fabius Blondus (patr. Hierosolym.), Barth. Ferratinus (episc. Amer.) and Alex. Justus; see the document of March 18, 1579, in the Privilegia fabricae basil. princ. apost., Romae, 1559, among the printed works of the Barberini Library (TTT, II., 16).

[1] See KALLAB in the *Jahrbuch der kunsthist. Sammlungen des österr. Kaiserhauses*, XXVI., 276.

[2] In addition to the statements of LANCIANI (IV., 52 *seq.*, 54 *seq.*), *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of January 22, 1575 (Tomb of John Maceslaus), Urb. 1044, p. 340, and the *Avvisi di Roma of August 6 and 10, 1580 (Vatican Library) in the Appendix No. 7. See also CERRATI, T. Alpharani de basil. Vatic. liber, p. 151 *seq.* 167.

[3] See *Bullett. di archeol. crist.*, 1879, 12. *Cf.* ARMELLINI, 507.

A report of June, 1584, states that the building of the church of St. Peter's was growing in every way, and that the Pope had expressed the wish to Cardinal Farnese to make a gift of 100,000 ducats as soon as the vaulting of the dome was reached.[1] It was hoped that Gregory would live to see the completion of the gigantic undertaking.[2] The drum of the great cupola had already been finished for several years;[3] it seemed, however, that no one dared to tackle the difficult task of completing the dome. The Pope turned his attention to this matter in an ever increasing degree, as well as to the chapel on the north side of the nave which was afterwards called the Gregorian Chapel after him. The designs for this sanctuary, which is quite improperly called a chapel, and which in reality forms a large church, were made by Giacomo della Porta.[4] Although the work was begun in 1572, the consecration could not take place until February 12th, 1578.[5] On this occasion the picture of the Madonna del Soccorso, which had previously been removed from the oratory of Leo I. in the time of Julius II., was translated to the Gregorian Chapel.[6]

An inscription,[7] as well as the account books,[8] show that the work on the Gregorian Chapel was continued even after

[1] *Il Papa, che vede i fianchi alzarsi et le sponde sorgere da tutti i lati della machina dell' edificio di S. Pietro, ha promesso al card. Farnese sopra cio che quanto prima si darà principio a chiudere il cuppulone della chiesa di donare 100000 scudi per tal conto. Avviso di Roma, dat. June 2, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 214b, Vatican Library.

[2] See the *Vita Gregorii XIII., by G. FERRERI, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.

[3] In Mario Kartaro's plan of 1575 (HÜLSEN, Saggio, 62) St. Peters already appears with its drum. *Cf.* ROCCHI, tav. XIII.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 76.

[5] See LANCIANI, IV., 54.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of February 22, 1578, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* BONANNI, Numismata templi Vaticani, 74; CERRATI, *loc. cit.*, 91.

[7] "Hieronymus Mutianus Brixianus A.D. 1579." LANCIANI, IV., 55.

[8] See *Tesor. segr. 1579-80, Papal Secret Archives. The

its consecration. The Pope gave everything possible for its decoration. Rich marbles of every kind, sumptuous capitals, and precious antique columns were made over to it. Although in the spring of 1579 it was thought that the Gregorian Chapel would soon be finished,[1] this was by no means the case. The interest of the Pope in the work was always very great; on March 7th, 1579, he visited the chapel and spent two whole hours there.[2] In the spring of the following year he went nearly every day to the sanctuary, which was then at last approaching completion.[3] The marble decoration, which was in great part taken from ancient buildings,[4] was enhanced by the fine stucco work, richly picked out with gold, and by the precious mosaics in the ceiling. The designs for the latter were made by Girolamo Muziano, who also superintended the carrying out of the work by expert mosaic workers summoned from Venice.[5] These represented the Virgin Mary surrounded

premature death of the Art historian Kallab prevented him from carrying out his intention of publishing these accounts in their entirety. They were to have appeared in a larger work, planned by Professor Dvorak and myself, on the encouragement given to Art by the Popes of the 16th and 17th cetnuries.

[1] *La cappella Gregoriana sarà in breve tempo vaghissima, superba e miraculosa. Avviso di Roma of February 7, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 44[b], Vatican Library.

[2] *Avviso di Roma of March 7, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 76.

[3] *N.S non resta d' andar quasi giornalmente a visitare la sua cappella Gregoriana, la quale è oltre modo bella et quasi finita (Avviso di Roma of February 17, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 21, Vatican Library). The final item of July 23, 1580, for the stucco work of the Cappella Gregoriana in BERTOLOTTI, Art. Suizzeri, Bellinzona 1886, 22. See also the inscriptions in FORCELLA, VI., 84.

[4] See LANCIANI, IV., 55 *seq.* *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, VI., 485 *seq.*; RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 37 *seq.* Gregory XIII. even had ancient marbles brought to Rome from the cathedral of Anagni; see A. DE MAGISTRIS, Istoria d' Anagni, Roma, 1749, 69.

[5] On May 10, 1578, Galli instructed the nuncio at Venice to send to Rome *4 huomini intenditissimi et più eccellenti che sia possibile nelle cose di mosaico. Nunziat. di Venezia, 1578, Papal Secret Archives.

by angels, St. Gregory the Great, St. Jerome, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Basil. Baglione was of opinion that no more beautiful mosaics had been made since the days of antiquity.[1] Muziano also executed two oil paintings for the chapel. One of these represents St. Jerome among his hermits in a landscape after the painting by the Netherlander, Paul Bril,[2] the other the Mass of St. Basil after that of Cesare del Nebbia.[3] Later on the Duke of Sora left to it a picture of St. Gregory Nazianzen painted by Muziano.[4] The principal altar had a sumptuous adornment of four antique columns, two of African marble, and two of verde antique, with eight cherubs and four gilt bronze altar candlesticks, made by Bastiano Torrigiani, a compatriot of Gregory XIII.[5] A marble relief by the Florentine Taddeo Landini, which was placed above one of the doors of the chapel, represents the Saviour washing the feet of the apostles.[6] This work of art, for which, so as to give it a better light, a new window was constructed, caused the greatest admiration among contemporaries. They were of opinion that no such work had been done since the time of Michelangelo.[7]

Gregory XIII. had a special veneration for St. Gregory Nazianzen, the eloquent champion of the Blessed Trinity, whose life he caused to be written by the learned Baronius.[8] The body of the saint had been preserved in the church of the

[1] BAGLIONE, 48.

[2] *Cf. supra.*, p. 564.

[3] See BAGLIONE, 48; *cf.* BELTRAMI, 36.

[4] See, in the Appendix, No. 11, the *memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[5] See BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bolognesi, 77. These bronzes of Torrigiani have vanished since the reconstruction of the Cappella Gregoriana at the beginning of the 17th century; see SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 269.

[6] Later transferred to the Cappella Paolina of the Quirinal; see BAGLIONE, 60.

[7] *" Questa storia è tenuta delle belle cose di scultura che siano state fatte dopo Michelangelo," writes C. Capilupi on August 28, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[8] See Acta SS., 9 Maii, 371.

Benedictine monastery of S. Maria in Campo Marzo. As early as 1578, urged thereto by a remark of Achille Stazio, the Pope had planned a more worthy place for these relics, by removing them to the Gregorian Chapel.[1] Two years later Gregory put this idea into effect, after having compensated the monks of S. Maria in Campo Marzo with an arm of the saint, and a large sum of money. The translation was made the occasion of a great religious festival. A special congregation of Cardinals drew up the ceremonial which was to be used on this occasion. In order to impart yet greater joyfulness to the day, the Pope gave orders for the granting of indulgences, a reduction in the price of bread, and the liberation of all who were imprisoned for debts of less than twenty scudi, satisfying the creditors out of his private purse.[2] The translation was fixed for June 11th, 1580. By way of preparation, on June 5th, by the Pope's command, a celebrated orator, the Franciscan Francesco Panigarola, preached in St. Peter's on the great Greek saint.[3]

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of March 15, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 80, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Acta SS., 9 Maii, 455. The agitation instigated by A. Stazio is described by Mucantius in his *Diarium where will also be found a poem by Stazio. Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of April 27, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 97^{b}; *cf. ibid.*, pp. 145, 157, 160^{b}, 165, the *Avvisi of May 28, June 4 and 11, 1580, Vatican Library. The *Ordo quem rev. domini iudicarunt si S.D.N. videbitur servandum in transferendo corpore S. Gregorii Nazianzeni etc., in the *Diarium of Fr. Mucantius, Papal Secret Archives, and in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See Mucantius, Diarium, in Acta SS., Maii, II., 454 *seq.*; G. B. Rastelli, Descriz. d. pompa e dell' apparato fatto in Roma per la tralazione del corpo di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, Perugia 1580, and R. Turner, Panegyrici sermones duo de S. Gregorio Nazianzeno, Ingolstadii, 1583. *Cf.* also Kneller in the *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie*, XLII. (1918), 442 *seq.* where will be found detailed particulars of the epigrams which were composed at the time. Theiner (Annales, III., 235) wrongly gives the date as July 5. Mucantius, who describes Panigarola as "eximius et nostra aetate facile princeps omnium concionatorum," gives a

When the morning of June 11th arrived, all business was suspended, and in the streets where the procession was to pass awnings were drawn across to afford protection against the rays of the sun, the houses were adorned with branches of foliage, garlands, tapestries, inscriptions and pictures. Thirty-one confraternities with 3964 brethren, 1796 religious representing twenty Orders, and 932 priests, all with lighted candles in their hands, took part in the procession,[1] which started from the Benedictines at Campo Marzo, and went by way of the Via della Scrofa, the Piazza Apollinare, the Via dell' Anima, the Piazza Pasquino, and thence along the Via Papale through the Borgo to St. Peter's. The mortal remains of St. Gregory Nazianzen, in a casket adorned with silver and white damask, were carried by the Canons of St. Peter's, and accompanied by the students of the Greek College. There followed Bishop Bartolomeo Ferratino, Prefect of the Fabbrica of St. Peter's, and Giacomo Boncompagni, recently made Duke of Sora, with the Senator, the Prior of the Conservators and a number of nobles. The cortège ended with the Swiss Guard and a company of light cavalry. When the procession drew near the Bridge of St. Angelo it was greeted with a salvo from

Latin translation of the sermon which was preached in Italian. This translation is also in the Vatic. 6159 and in the Barb. XXX., 76, Vatican Library; the Italian text in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] The celebrations in connexion with the translation are fully described in the Diarium of Mucantius (see BONANNI, Numismata templi Vaticani, 74; Acta SS., 9 Maii, 455 *seq.*) in GRIMALDI in the *Barb. 2733, p. 364[b] *seq.*, and in the *Avvisi di Roma of January 11, 18 and 28, 1580 (Urb. 1048, pp. 164, 172, 176, Vatican Library). *Cf.* also the Sommario della descrizione della processione et traslatione del corpo di S. Gregorio Naz. di M. Fortunio Lelio in the Cod. Barb., XXX., 76, p. 34 *seq.*, Vatican Library (for the most part printed in the periodical *Buonarotti*, 1868, 41 *seq.*), the *Relazione of Sebast. Torello in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, the report in BELTRAMI, 36, and the *report of Bishop Odescalchi of May 21, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also TURNER, *loc. cit.*, 1 *seq.*

the cannon of the Castle. In the meantime the Pope had vested in his pontifical dress, and assembled the Cardinals and prelates in the Sala dei Paramenti. Accompanied by them he went to the steps of St. Peter's, where he left the *sedia gestatoria*, and after taking off his mitre venerated the relics. He then joined the procession on foot, the casket being carried by bishops to the Gregorian Chapel. There they were placed before the high altar, and vespers were sung. The function, which a still well-preserved fresco in the Loggia della Bologna on the third floor of the Vatican has perpetuated,[1] lasted more than five hours. On the following Sunday, June 12th, the Pope celebrated mass at the altar consecrated by Cardinal Santori, and placed the relics in a sarcophagus of green marble, which he himself closed.

"The Gregorian Chapel," says a contemporary report, "is so richly and artistically adorned with gold, marbles and mosaics, that there is nothing like it in the world."[2]

According to the account of the Venetian ambassador, the sums that Gregory XIII. expended from his private purse exceeded 80,000 ducats.[3] Poems[4] and descriptions in

[1] Picture of the fresco (which is also most important as throwing light on the conditions of the dwelling houses of the period) in the article by C. Ricci in the *Lettura*, 1903, April; detailed description in the periodical *Buonarotti*, 1868, 47 *seq.*

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 172, Vatican Library. *Cf.* Santori, Autobiografia, XII., 367, and (in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX.) the *notes of Musotti, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The inscription on the shrine in Ciaconius, IV., 10. See also Beltrami, 28.

[3] See the report of Giov. Corraro of May 20, 1580, in Mutinelli, I., 126. Mucantius gives the same number in his *Diarium (Papal Secret Archives). The **Necrologium* in the Archives of St. Peters says 85,000. The much higher figures in the *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580 (*loc. cit.*) and elsewhere (see Lanciani, IV., 55) are exaggerated.

[4] Laurent. Frizolius, Sacellum Gregorianum, Romae, 1581 (dedicated to Gregory XIII.), also in Turner, *loc. cit.*, 67 *seq.* A poem *"In Aram Gregorianam" in the Vatic. 7192, p. 251 *seq.*, Vatican Library.

prose[1] were devoted to the new sanctuary. The Pope endowed the chapel lavishly with vestments, chalices, candelabra and an organ, and founded four chaplaincies for its service.[2] Michel de Montaigne, when he visited the Gregorian Chapel in 1581 saw affixed to the walls a large number of votive offerings, one of which related to the battle of Moncontour.[3] It was said that Gregory XIII. had designated this chapel for his own burial and that of his relatives.[4] The sanctuary was completely finished in February, 1583.

At that time it was often said that other chapels in St. Peter's as well were to be decorated in a like manner.[5] In the May of the following year 25,000 scudi were set aside for one of these.[6] Long before this the Pope had restored the

[1] Asc. Valentinus, Sacelli Gregoriani descriptio, Florentiae, 1583, and Sebast. Torello, *Descrizione della Cappella Gregoriana nella basilica Vaticana, in the Cod. D. 13 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome, and in the Cod. 150, p. 36 *seq.* of the Alessandrina Library, Rome. *Cf.* Cerrati, T. Alphani de basil. Vatic. liber, p. 91 *seq.*, where mention is made of another description in manuscript by Giacomo Romano, in the Cod. B. IV., 10, of the Casanatense Library, Rome. *Cf.* also the *Vita Gregorii XIII. by G. Ferreri, Papal Secret Archives (see Appendix, No. 25, Vol. XIX.). Concerning a medallion with a picture of the chapel see Venuti, 140.

[2] See Ciappi, 6. Concerning the organ see Beltrami, 38; Forcella, VI., 85; Barbier, II., 483. The organ bearing the inscription "A° 1582" is at present in the Blessed Sacrament chapel at St. Peter's.

[3] Montaigne, II., 16.

[4] Second *Avviso di Roma of June 18, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 176, Vatican Library. An *Avviso di Roma of December 17, 1575, reports that Gregory XIII. had ordered Cardinal Guastavillani "che faccia fare la sepoltura di S.S^{ta} in S. Pietro all' incontro di quella di Paolo III. riuscita bellissima." Urb. 1044, p. 644, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of February 12, 1583, *ibid.*, 1051, p. 68.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, *ibid.*, 1052, p. 207. For the building of the new chapels *cf.* the accounts in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement pp. 128, 130 *seq.*, 133.

pavement of the tomb of the Apostles, and had had twelve silver lamps made for that sacred spot, as well as six silver statues of the apostles to be added to the seven already there.[1] He also gave precious vestments, six beautiful candelabra and a valuable cross to the treasury of the church of St. Peter's.[2]

Gregory XIII. cared in like manner for the other churches of the Eternal City. The approach of the jubilee gave him an occasion for ordering much restoration work,[3] and the Cardinals too were urged to undertake this in the case of their titular churches.[4] The reports of the following years speak of restoration works in the churches of S. Maria Egiziaca,[5] S. Stefano Rotondo,[6] S. Apollonia,[7] S. Bartolomeo,[8] and the Pantheon.[9]

[1] See CIAPPI, 6, and the accounts of 1575 in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXVII., Supplement p. 63. Concerning the statues of the apostles the *Diarium of Fr. Mucantius on May 17, 1578, reports: "In altari fuerunt additae statuae argenteae apostolorum VII ultra VI quae apponi solent, quas S.D.N. nuper conflari et construi fecit, ut complerent numerum XIII apostolorum et certe fuerunt ab aurificibus pulchrae compositae et fabricatae." Papal Secret Archives.

[2] This present, with the arms of Gregory XIII., is still preserved in the treasury of St. Peter's. *Cf.* the **Necrologium* in the Archives of St. Peter's. According to the *Avviso di Roma of June 9, 1582, Cardinal Farnese at that time presented to St. Peter's a cross and two "bellisimi candelieri" worth 18,000 scudi. They took four years in the making, and when they were placed on the altar for the first time on Whit Sunday, they aroused general admiration. Urb. 1050, p. 201, Vatican Library.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 285, Vatican Library. *Cf.* MAFFEI, I., 107.

[4] See SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 254 *seq.*

[5] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 365.

[6] Proved by the arms of Gregory XIII. near a door with the date 1580. See FORCELLA, VIII., 210.

[7] *Cf.* (in the Appendix, No. 11) the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[8] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160.

[9] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

At the Lateran basilica Gregory erected a tabernacle for the Blessed Sacrament, adorned with precious marbles and stucco work, which he went to inspect in the autumn of 1575. He also made gifts of vestments to the basilica, and the adjoining chapel of the *Sancta Sanctorum;* at the same time he restored the baptistry of S. Giovanni in Fonte, and adorned it with pictures and other decorations.[1] By his orders pictures were also painted in the church of St. Paul's outside the Walls, but the principal work there consisted of the balustrade of precious marble surrounding the tomb of the Apostle of the Gentiles.[2] The portico erected by Eugenius III. at St. Mary Major's, which was falling into ruin, was entirely restored in 1575 by Martino Lunghi.[3] In 1582 this church was given new bells,[4] and in the following year the splendid ceiling constructed by Alexander VI., which had sunk, was raised again.[5] The beautiful ceiling of S. Maria in Aracoeli, which was begun by Pius V. to commemorate the naval victory over the Turks at Lepanto, was completed by Gregory and

[1] See CIAPPI, 7 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VIII., 39; Musotti's *notes (Boncompagni Archives, Rome) in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX. *Cf.* LAUER, Latran, 318 *seq.* The *Avviso di Roma of October 2, 1575, reports: The Pope rode on Thursday to the Lateran, "ove vidde quel bello tabernacolo che vi fa fabricare con gran spesa et artificio." Urb. 1044, p. 557, Vatican Library.

[2] See CIAPPI, 8.

[3] See the inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 22, and FORCELLA, XI., 45. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 64; BIASIOTTI, La basilica Esquilina, Roma, 1911, 25.

[4] *Lunedi furono condotte a S. Maria Maggiore le nuove campane per il campanile fatto nuovamente in quella chiesa, che la prima è di 12,000 pesi et l' altra di 10,000 bellissime. Urb. 1050, p. 24[b], Vatican Library.

[5] See *Odescalchi's report dat. Rome, March 19, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. In 1584 Cardinal Guastavillani received, in exchange for the Casale di Salone, the palace built by Nicholas IV. near Saint Mary Major, which palace he wished to restore and beautify. *Avviso di Roma of March 10, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 87, Vatican Library.

adorned with his arms.[1] The rebuilding of the church, which was carried out at the same time, almost entirely destroyed its medieval character.[2] To some extent the same was the case with the works undertaken in 1581 at S. Sabina.[3]

Gregory XIII. made rich gifts to two great churches belonging to religious bodies which were then approaching completion, and which rivalled each other in their sumptuous character: the Gesù belonging to the Jesuits, and the Chiesa Nuova of the Oratorians.

Even in the time of Julius III. the Jesuits had had in view the building of a dignified church in the capital of the Catholic world, and no less a man than Michelangelo had occupied himself with this scheme, intending to devote himself gratuitously to the work.[4] If this work was not carried into effect as was first intended, this was principally due to the lack of funds, as well as to the difficulties made by the owners of the site intended for it; when the difficulty was removed by the magnificent generosity of Cardinal Alessandro Farnese, Michelangelo was already dead. The great master's successor at St. Peter's, Giacomo Vignola, who was in the service of the Farnese, was then given the task of building the church of the Jesuits in Rome. The first stone was laid on June 26th,

[1] *Cf.* CASIMIRO, Aracoeli, Roma, 1736, 34; FORCELLA, I., 189; VETTER, Aracoeli, Roma, 1886, 83; *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 464; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 198; O. CAROSELLI, Il soffito d. chiesa di S. Maria in Aracoaeli, Roma, 1922, 22-7. The *Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1580, reports. Yesterday the Pope rode to Araceli, "per vedere il soffitto fatto di novo in quella chiesa, che e di maravigliosa bellezza." Urb. 1048, p. 206, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 733.

[3] The *Avviso di Roma of August 5, 1581, reports: On Sunday Cardinal Savelli went, by the Pope's orders, to S. Sabina, "per far levare quelle traverse con alcune capelle che sono in mezzo la detta chiesa fatte da Papa Honorio IV. per abellire e nettare la detta chiesa a spesa di S.S^{tà}." Urb. 1049, p. 309^{b}, Vatican Library.

[4] See the memoranda of June, 1544, in the *Mon. Ignat.*, 1. Series VII., 100, 103, 136, 257.

1568.[1] An important part was taken in deciding the form of this church both by Cardinal Farnese, and the General of the Order, Francis Borgia. It was due to them that the church has not three naves, but only one with chapels at both sides and a vaulted roof.[2] The site of the Gesù, in the Rione della Pigna, was a very fine one. Close by was the palace of St. Mark's, where the Pope often resided, and the Capitol was not far off. Two small churches, S. Maria della Strada and S. Andrea, as well as private houses, had to be destroyed in order to make room for the new building. By the plans which Vignola at once proceeded to make, he created the church of the baroque style.[3] He omitted the lateral naves, and replaced them by closed chapels, communicating with each other. In this way the lofty central nave could be made much wider, the lateral spaces being kept quite subordinate. No visitor can fail to be impressed by this splendid, wide and lofty building. Very admirable too is the clever way in which the gracefully rising dome is connected with the rest. Vignola intended to make the decoration of the interior, which later on became very excessive, quite severe and simple.

For the façade a competition was held in 1570, in which, besides Vignola, the Perugian Galeazzo Alessi took part; Alessi's design, however, could not be carried out because of the too great expense.[4]

On July 7th, 1573, Vignola died, when the church had reached the principal cornice. His successor was a certain "Maestro Giovanni," of whom we have no particulars, but who completed the principal portion of the church by 1575.[5]

[1] See RONCHINI in the *Atti Moden.*, VII., 21.

[2] See the memorandum in WILLICH, Vignola, Strassburg, 1906, 136, and particulars given by KARRER, Der heilige Franz von Borja, Freiburg, 1921, 340 *seq.*

[3] See KRAUS-SAUER, 657. *Cf.* GURLITT, 54; WÖLFFLIN, Renaissance und Barock, 8; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 7 *seq.*

[4] See RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*, 21 *seq.*

[5] Hence the inscription on the façade: "Alex. Card. Farnesius . . . fec. 1575."

An anonymous Jesuit father succeeded him,[1] who assisted Giacomo della Porta to such good effect that the façade, which was finished in 1577,[2] was attributed to him.[3] The latter, with its relatively small features, is less well proportioned to the majestic interior than the design of Vignola, which has the characteristic features seen in the façade of S. Maria dell' Orto in the Trastevere.[4] Giacomo della Porta must have also made the high altar which is adorned with precious columns, and the round chapels on either side, dedicated to Our Lady and St. Francis of Assisi.[5]

The completion of the church of the Jesuits was still delayed for several years, even though Cardinal Farnese had, at the end of 1572, added to the considerable sums which he had already expended in order to hasten the work.[6] It was only at the end of 1578 that the building[7] had advanced so far as to make it possible to hold in it the obsequies of the King of Portugal who had fallen in war against the Moors.[8] The Papal Master of Ceremonies, Mucantius, expresses himself in terms of the highest admiration "for this marvellous and sumptuous temple of God, which has sprung from the never sufficiently to be praised generosity of Cardinal Farnese, and which may be compared to the buildings of antiquity."[9] In the following year fresh and costly works became necessary

[1] Probably Giovanni Matteo; see WILLICH, *loc. cit.*, 136.

[2] *Cf.* (in the Appendix No. 5) the important *Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1577, Vatican Library.

[3] See RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*, 23 *seq.*

[4] *Cf.* GURLITT, 55 *seq.*, 58; WÖLFFLIN, *loc. cit.*, 77 *seq.*; BRINCKMANN, *loc. cit.*, 28 *seq.*; G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 23 *seq.*

[5] See BAGLIONE, 77.

[6] See Avviso di Roma of December 21, 1572, in BELTRAMI, 5.

[7] For the stages of construction see RONCHINI, *loc. cit.*; WILLICH, *loc. cit.*, 135 *seq.*; G. GIOVANNONI, *loc. cit.*, 84.

[8] *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 357.

[9] See MUCANTIUS, *Diarium of December 11, 1578: "ecclesia nova sacerdotum Soc. Iesu prope S. Marcum nuper fundamentis erecta impensa nunquam satis laudanda rev.^d. Alex. card.

on account of the insufficiency of the foundations,[1] but the generosity of Farnese did not fail either now or later on,[2] while the Pope also made a large contribution in 1580.[3] In this way the Gesù became one of the most outstanding religious buildings of the period of Catholic restoration, the grand character of which it reflects.[4]

In June, 1582, the "cupola made in the form of half a ball, resting upon a graceful drum, round within and octagonal without"[5] was completed. Cardinal Farnese expended 3000 scudi on covering it with lead.[6] In the following year the Pope gave the Jesuits the relics of SS. Abundius and Abundantius, which had been found in SS. Cosmas and Damian. On September 15th they were solemnly translated in procession, and no less than 800 of the pupils of the Jesuits were to be seen in the ranks.[7] When Cardinal Santori consecrated the beautiful church to the Holy Name of Jesus on November

Farnesii S.R.E. vicecancellarii, mirum et sumptuosum aedificium atque artificio cum antiquis comparanda." Papal Secret Archives.

[1] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of November 29, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 383, Vatican Library.

[2] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of May 13, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 164, and of February 25, 1581, *ibid.*, 1049, p. 87.

[3] *Brief of August 13, 1580, quoted in the **Memorie* in the Fondo Gesuit. 290 of the Vittorio Emanuele Library, Rome.

[4] *Cf.* the conclusions of P. MISCIATELLI in the periodical *Vita d' Arte*, 1913, 141 *seq.*

[5] See GURLITT, 55.

[6] *Il sig. card. Farnese ha fatto sborsare ultimamente alli padri del Giesu 3000 scudi per coprire la cupola di piombo della chiesa nova che è gia finita di fabricare a tutte spese di S.S^ria Ill. la quale serà una delle belle chiese di Roma. Odescalchi's report of August 4, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[7] In addition to the *Diarium Pauli Alaleonis (Barb. lat. 2814), *cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of September 17, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 387, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's report of September 17, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

25th, 1584, the relics were placed under the high altar.[1] In his last years the Pope honoured the Gesù on the Feast of the Assumption, by assisting at the functions. On that occasion in 1584 he admired the costly and artistic tabernacle which had been given by Cardinal Farnese.[2] On the façade of the Gesù, upon which Giacomo della Porta was at work from 1576 to 1584,[3] may still be read the name of the great Cardinal, whose anniversary on March 13th is solemnly commemorated to the present day.[4]

Just as the great church of the Jesuits was placed in one of the most aristocratic parts of the city, so did the disciples of Philip Neri choose a similar site for their church. This was in the Rione di Parione, the quarter chiefly inhabited by prelates, courtiers, scholars and book-sellers; to the south-west, in the Via di Parione, there was an ancient sarcophagus, the so-called Pozzo Bianco, which to-day is placed on the Janiculum near Tasso's Oak. Close by were three little churches: S. Maria in Vallicella, S. Elisabetta al Pozzo Bianco, and S. Cecilia. These had to be destroyed in order to make room for a new and large church, which was given the name of S. Maria in Vallicella. In the year of jubilee, 1575, Allesandro de' Medici laid the first stone in the presence of Philip Neri. The means were supplied by two noble brothers, Cardinal Pietro Donato Cesi, and Angelo Cesi, Bishop of Todi.[5]

[1] See SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 161; *Diarium Pauli Alaleonis, *loc. cit.*; *Avviso di Roma of November 28, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 470, Vatican Library; *Odescalchi's report of December 1, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] *Cf. Ann. litt. Soc. Iesu*, 1584, Romae, 1586, 9 *seq.* The *Avviso di Roma of June 20, 1584, sounds the praises of the "tabernacolo d' ingegnosa et stupenda architettura." Urb. 1052, p. 240, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 84 *seq.*

[4] In the sacristy is a full length portrait of the Cardinal in oils.

[5] See the inscriptions in FORCELLA, IV., 148, 153. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 68; TACCHI VENTURI in the *Arch. Rom.*, XXVII., 483 *seq.* A letter of August 27, 1575, addressed to Cardinal Borromeo by Tarugi acting in the name of "padre messer Filippo" and asking for a contribution towards the building of the church in SALA, Docum., II., 445 *seq.*

The many followers of Philip Neri, and among them Gregory XIII.[1] himself, assisted the undertaking generously. In August and September, 1578, the Pope visited the works.[2] The number of people who flocked to the Oratorians at that time, we are told by a contemporary, was very great "on account of the good works of the priests of the Congregation of the Oratory, who teach a strict Christian manner of life by word and example." Gregory XIII. bore a great part of the expense of a chapel dedicated to St. Gregory,[3] and also by his gifts of money helped on the completion of this church, which sprang up rapidly and promised to become one of the most beautiful of the churches of Rome.[4]

The Chiesa Nuova di Pozzo Bianco, as the church of the Oratorians was called,[5] is the masterpiece of Martino Lunghi; he was responsible for the building as far as the façade, which

[1] The *Avviso di Roma of January 19, 1577, mentions the setting aside of 1000 scudi for the new church which was being built "a Pozzobianco" for the "preti di S. Girolamo," Urb. 1045, p. 222, Vatican Library.

[2] *His diebus nempe 17 Augusti et praecedentibus S.D.N. visitavit ecclesiam novam S. Mariae in Vallicella nuper per presbyteros congregationis oratorii constructam ad quam quotidie magis fideles utriusque sexus conveniunt propter bona opera dictorum sacerdotum, qui verbo et exemplo rectam vitae christianae disciplinam ostendunt. Mucantius *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 17. For the visit of the "nuova chiesa di Pozzobianco" on September 1, see *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* (in the Appendix, No. 29, Vol. XIX.) *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[4] See Baronius' memorandum of August 14, 1578, in CALENZIO, 148.

[5] *N.S[re] ha levato l'anello delli cardinali che moiono alle monache di Monte Magnanapoli, che dalla fel. mem. di Pio V. in qua hanno goduto, et hallo conferito alla chiesa di S. Maria Nuova di Pozzo bianco accio si finisca quanto prima. Memorandum of Odescalchi of October 22, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. CIAPPI says (17-18) that Gregory XIII. contributed altogether 5,000 scudi.

was then completed by Fausto Rugghesi from his designs.[1] The severe and simple character of the whole may to-day best be seen from this façade, which was not touched by the changes in the XVIIth century, whereas in the interior the very rich decoration conceals the original architectural conception.[2] On account of its great size, the church was able to become a true church of the people, in accordance with the characteristic work of the Congregation founded by Philip Neri. The learned Achille Stazio appreciated the pursuit of learning which the Oratorians did not neglect in the midst of their care of souls, and left to them the whole of his library ; he erected an altar dedicated to St. John the Baptist in the new church.[3]

The generosity of Gregory XIII. was also displayed in the enlargement of the church of S. Marta, close to St. Peter's, as well as in the new Capuchin church dedicated to St. Bonaventure.[4] Many other convents[5] and churches were also assisted with money and in other ways ; among these may be mentioned the national church of the Brescians, SS. Faustino e Giovita ;[6] S. Maria degli Angeli,[7] S. Maria in

[1] See Baglione, 64 ; *cf.* G. Giovannoni in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 99. For the part played by Ant. Talpa in the building see Guasti in the *Arch. stor. Ital.*, 4., Series, XIV., 249.

[2] See Gurlitt, 192 *seq.*, where, nevertheless, the traditional mistake is repeated that the building " was already begun about 1580." *Cf.* also Letarouilly, Édifices, I., 109.

[3] See Lanciani, IV., 69 *seq.*

[4] See Ciappi, 11. *Cf.* Lanciani, IV., 63 *seq.* ; *Civ. catt.*, 1909, III., 221.

[5] See Ciappi, 17, 18.

[6] Lanciani, IV., 65. *Cf.* Fè d' Ostiani, La chiesa e la confraternità dei Bresciani in Roma, in *Brixia Sacra*, II. (1911), 1-2.

[7] *Cf.* Forcella, IX., 151 ; Lanciani, IV., 80. An *Avviso di Roma of January 15, 1583, reports : " Dicesi che S.B^ne^ voglia far finire quella chiesa (S. Maria degli Angeli) poiche da molti huomini pii è frequentata et abbellita di ornatissime cappelle." Urb. 1051, p. 24, Vatican Library.

Traspontina[1] and S. Chiara al Quirinale.[2] The discovery of relics gave the Pope an opportunity of erecting a richly decorated chapel in SS. Cosma e Damiano,[3] and a beautiful tabernacle in SS. Giovanni e Paolo.[4]

In the spring of 1580 a picture of Our Lady painted on the wall in the Rione de' Monti attracted the attention of the Romans by the many favours that were granted there.[5] So many alms were given that it became possible to build a beautiful church to contain the picture. Gregory XIII. endowed this with privileges and assigned it to the College of the Neophytes.[6] The new church, which was named S. Maria de' Monti, was extolled in many poems.[7] It was the work of Giacomo della Porta, and is one of the most effective examples of baroque. The façade, the cost of which was borne by Cardinal Sirleto, is considered one of the best of the time. The interior decoration, and especially the roof, with its beautiful stucco work, is almost entirely free from later additions, and thus gives a good idea of the earlier appearance of the Gesù. Just as the Jesuit church served as a model for large edifices, so did that of S. Maria de' Monti in the case of smaller ones.[1]

[1] See Bull. Carmelit., II., 199. *Cf.* Acta capit. gen. Ord. fr. b. V. Mariae de Monte Carmelo, I., Romae, 1912, 558 *seq.*, 570 *seq.*

[2] See ARMELLINI, 188.

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of September 1, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 321[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* MAFFEI, II., 276.

[4] *Cf.* Le cose meravigliese di Roma, Roma, 1575, 24.

[5] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 30, May 7 and 14, 1580, Urb. 1048, pp. 99, 103, 127[b], Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* CIACONIUS, IV., 21; FORCELLA, IX., 378; CIAPPI, 14; LANCIANI, IV., 66. Bernardino Acciaiuoli had provided most of the means; see *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 135[b], Vatican Library. Gregory XIII. visited the building on September 16, 1581; see *Avviso di Roma of that date, Urb. 1049, p. 360, *loc. cit.*

[7] The poem by Pomp. Ugonius in the Barb. XXX., 87; *cf. ibid.*, 47, Vatican Library.

[8] See BURCKHARDT, Geschichte der Renaissance[3], 145, 147, 156, 359, and Cicerone, 348. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, Edifices, I., 27; BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 49; G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 84 *seq.*

A church which owed its origin entirely to Gregory XIII. is that of the Greek College of S. Atanasio, in the Via del Babuino, the construction of which was ordered by the Pope on October 20th, 1580.[1] On November 23rd Cardinal Santori laid the first stone.[2] Gregory XIII. wished it to be built as quickly as possible,[3] and busied himself about every detail.[4] In May, 1582 he visited the building and urged haste.[5] A year later the church with its original façade and the two characteristic towers which flank it, the first of the kind in Rome was finished. The beautiful interior recalls S. Maria degli Angeli of Michelangelo. On the feast of St. Athanasius, the great Doctor of the Church and patron of the Church in the East, the first mass in the Greek rite was celebrated. The Romans flocked there in great numbers attracted not only by the special functions, which were so full of unction, but also by the indulgences which the Pope had granted.[6] The most recent researches give Giacomo della Porta as the architect of the church and he also made the design for the rich ciborium in wood which occupied the place of the existing high altar.[7] The pictures for the iconostasis and the two

[1] See Card. Santori, *Audientiae (Papal Secret Archives) in the Appendix No. 8.

[2] See Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives. *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of November 26, 1580, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and SANTORI, Autobiografia, XII., 367.

[3] See Appendix No. 8.

[4] *Ibid.*

[5] *The Pope visited the "Collegio de Greci, il quale ha ordinato che con ogni prestezza s' attenda a finire la nuova lor chiesa, che hormai si trova in buonissime termine havendo ancor in animo di comprare tutto il sito contiguo a detta chiesa per ampliare il suddetto collegio." Avviso di Roma of May 5, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 145, Vatican Library.

[6] See *Avviso di Roma of May 7, 1583, Urb. p. 205, Vatican Library.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 76, and G. GIOVANNONI in *L'Arte*, XVI., 90, where no mention is to be found of the statement of RODOTA (216) and NETZHAMMER (12) that Martino Lunghi was the architect of the façade. The inscriptions on the façade, in Greek and Latin,

chapels of the central principal nave, were painted by the Tuscan Francesco Trabaldese.[1]

The Greek College, placed at the right hand of the church, which Gregory XIII., at the advice of a Cistercian of Venice,[2] had built at the cost of the Holy See, had originally been situated in the Via Ripetta.[3] The Pope, who took a great interest in this institution,[4] removed it to the more healthy neighbourhood of the Via Babuino. This building had two floors, in addition to the somewhat lofty ground floor ; in front, towards the street, there was built yet a third, like a tower. The well-preserved inscription on the second floor of the façade, and surmounted by the Pope's arms, describes Gregory XIII. with classical conciseness, as "Founder and Father."[5]

Like the Greek College, the other colleges erected in Rome by Gregory XIII. were also plain and simple buildings, as for example that which he assigned to the English at the SS. Trinità degli Scotti (later St. Thomas of Canterbury), in the Via Monserrato,[6] that of the Maronites on the Quirinal,[7]

in the periodical *La Semaine de Rome*, II. (1909), 250. The splendid ciborium is now in the Archivium of the Greek College ; see NETZHAMMER, 15.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 31.

[2] See WILLIBRORD V. HETEREN in the periodical *Bessarione*, VII., 1900, fasc. 47-8.

[3] See Arcudio in LEGRAND, Bibliographie (1895), 482 *seq.*, and P. DE MEESTER in the periodical *La Semaine de Rome*, II., 106.

[4] See L. ALLATIUS, De ecclesiae occident. atque orient. perpetua consensione, III., c. 7.

[5] Gregorius P.O.M. Fundator et parens ; see FORCELLA, XII., 102 ; NETZHAMMER, 5 ; *ibid.* 10, for the oldest picture of 1591. *Cf.* also LEGRAND, *loc. cit.*, III., 209 *seq.* In July, 1584, Gregory XIII. honoured S. Atanasio with a visit ; see *Odescalchi's report, dat. Rome, July 14, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] See CIAPPI, 19 ; ARMELLINI, 645 ; LANCIANI, IV., 75 *seq.* *Cf.* Vol. XIX. of this work, p. 243.

[7] *La fabrica del collegio, che fa fare il Papa a Montecavallo per il Maroniti, fin hora al numero di 26 che vengono del Monte Libano et Giudea, è finito. Avviso di Roma of October 6, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 393[b], Vatican Library. *Cf.* also FORCELLA, XIII., 175 ; LANCIANI, IV., 76 *seq.*

and that of the Neophytes.[1] The cost of these and other Roman colleges, as well as for others outside Rome, amounted to 40,000 gold ducats annually.[2] Gregory's generosity was displayed in the fullest way in the case of the college which held the first place among the educational and instructional institutions in Rome, the Roman College of the Jesuits. This establishment, founded in a humble way by St. Ignatius, now required a large building.[3] The land between the church of the Minerva and the Corso was chosen as the site for this. On how vast a scale the new edifice was planned is shown by the demolition of houses which was begun in 1581, so that the whole appearance of the district was changed.[4]

The Pope took the greatest interest in this building:[5] he made a gift of 27,000 ducats towards it,[6] and energetically insisted upon its rapid progress.[7] It was a happy day for

[1] *Cf. supra.*, p. 583. Santori notes in his *Audientiae (of May 27, 1582): "Della necessità d' ampliare il collegio de Neofiti: Di sì." Arm. 52, t. 18, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See Odescalchi's report dated Rome, July 25, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] *Cf.* BRINCKMANN, Baukunst, 59.

[4] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of June 17 and 27, July 29, October 21, 1581 (beginning of the demolition of the block of houses near the Guglia di S. Macuto), Urb. 1049, pp. 223[b], 230, 291[b], 402, Vatican Library. *Cf.* RINALDI, 90 *seq.*, 99. Probably the Arco Camigliano also vanished at that time; see RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 77, n. 2.

[5] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of September 16, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 360, Vatican Library.

[6] *"N.S[re] ha fatto dono al collegio del Giesù de 27,000 scudi acciò fabrichino le schole in una forma più ampla di quella, nelle quale si trovano." Memorandum of Odescalchi dat. Rome, July 8, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. According to RINALDI, 92, it was 30,000 ducats.

[7] *On Monday the Pope inspected the building of the "Collegio di S. Macuto" and expressed the wish that the work should speedily progress. Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 459, Vatican Library.

him when, on January 11th, 1582, Cardinal Guastavillani laid the first stone of the new college. The inscription on the stone declared the purpose of the institution to be "the education of the youth of all nations in the highest branches of knowledge."[1] Of the plans put forward that of the aged Bartolomeo Ammanati was chosen, who had completed the Palazzo Pitti at Florence and begun S. Giovannino, the church of the Jesuits.[2] The Jesuit, Giuseppe Valeriano, who was also a painter, undertook the direction of the construction.[3] The total cost of the building, which was planned on a gigantic scale,[4] was estimated at 400,000 scudi,[5] in obtaining which the Pope assisted the Jesuits in every way.[6] In September,

[1] *Il giovedì poi dopo celebrato la messa solenne dal padre generale dei Gesuiti nelle chiesa dell' Annunziata del Collegio con bellissima cerimonia et con grandissimo concorso del popolo il s. card. S. Sisto pose la prima petra nel fundamento del collegio novo, dopo la quale cerimonia quei padri rev^mi diedero un politissimo pranso ad esso sig. cardinale S. Sisto Guastavillano et all' ecc. sig. Giacomo Boncompagni. Odescalchi's memorandum of January 13, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The inscription on the foundation stone in the Memorie intorno al collegio Romano, Roma, 1870, 6, and in RINALDI, 100.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 27.

[3] This hitherto unknown fact I have taken from the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (reproduced in the Appendix No. 11), Boncompagni Archives, Rome. BAGLIONE (78 *seq.*) only mentions Valeriano's activities as a painter. G. Valeriano was born in Aquila in August, 1542, and entered the Society of Jesus in 1572; see the *Catalogue of the Collegio Romano of 1585, in which is also mentioned the fact that Valeriano busied himself with architecture and painting. General Archives of the Jesuit Order.

[4] BAGLIONE, 25.

[5] *Questi padri del Giesù attendono tuttavia a tirar su le facciate della lor fabbrica del Collegio Romano che secondo il loro disegno v' anderà di spesa più di 400,000 scudi, de quali si saranno provisti promettono di dar finita la fabrica in pochi anni che serà bella sopra tutte l' altre. Odescalchi's report of July 7, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[6] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of July 28, 1582, and May 30, 1584,

1582, he gave them no less than 116,000 ducats, and personally visited the works.[1] In May, 1584, there followed a further gift of 25,000 scudi.[2] It was hoped that it would be possible to commence the lectures in the new building in the November of the same year,[3] but Gregory XIII. was not destined to see the completion of this college, the finest possessed by the Jesuits in Europe.

The long and majestic façade of the Roman College is divided into three parts, but shows great freedom of treatment in the distribution of the masses. Its shape was fixed by the circumstance that the interior was composed of lecture halls with many closely grouped windows. The division of these windows into harmoniously alternating groups gives life to the façade. Its simplicity is in keeping with the purpose of the building, as is its magnificent width, which was enhanced

Urb. 1050, p. 271, 1052, p. 207, Vatican Library. According to the *Avviso di Roma of November 27, 1582, Gregory XIII. is said to have disapproved of the fortress-like character of the building. Urb. 1050, p. 447, *loc. cit.*

[1] Odescalchi *reported on September 16, 1582: "Questa mattina S.S^{tà} è stata a vedere il sito, che hanno comprato li padri del Giesù tra l' aguglia di S. Macuto et l' arco di Camigliano per aggrandire il collegio colle scole." The present of 116,000 ducats is also mentioned in Odescalchi's report of September 9, 1582, in the Appendix No. 20, Vol. XIX., Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 9, the *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, Vatican Library.

[3] Odescalchi *reports on July 28, 1584: "Li Padri del Giesù attendono gagliardamente a tirare inanzi la fabbrica loro delle scole et mancandovi denari S.S^{tà} gli ha concesso un breve amplissimo che possino pigliar quella quantità di denari a censo che vogliono, obbligando li beni delle abbatie che hanno havute da S.S^{tà}, la qual fabbrica è già in termine che quest' anno che viene et forse questo settembre si potrà cominciare et a novembre a leggere nelle scole fatte di nuovo amplissime, et quando sarà al fermo la più bella habitatione et studio che detti Padri habbino in tutta Europa." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. A *survey of the "entrata et uscita della fabbrica del Collegio d. Comp. di Gesù, 1584-8," in the State Archives, Rome.

by the addition of a third floor.[1] To-day, however, since the revolution of 1870, the building has been completely alienated from its original purpose. On the façade may still be seen the arms of Gregory XIII., with the beautiful inscription : " For religion and learning, 1584."[2] In contrast with the simplicity and sobriety of the exterior is the richness of the magnificent and wide cloister, which is surrounded by a double arcade. Even though some of the arches have been walled up, the ensemble gives an effect that is " peaceful, dignified, free from ornamentation, and vast." It is rightly looked upon as one of the most effective works of the kind in Rome.[3]

Gregory XIII. also showed his care for the promotion of learning by the reconstruction of the Roman University. In the autumn of 1573 he visited the works, accompanied by Cardinals Morone and Alciati, who were in charge of the curriculum there.[4] In the following year the Pope repeated his visit and promised the Romans his assistance in providing the money.[5] Four years later the works were still in active progress ; Gregory again visited the building and gave orders that they were not to depart from the plans of Pius IV.[6] On September 1st, 1579, he went with all his court to the University,[7] although it was not yet finished.

[1] See GURLITT, 182, who doubts whether the façade be really the work of Ammanati. According to BAGLIONE, 27, Ammanati's plans were departed from. A hitherto unnoticed contemporary description of the new building and its construction in the *Litt. ann.*, 1584, p. 11 *seq.*

[2] FORCELLA, XIII., 175.

[3] See GURLITT, 182 ; *cf.* BURCKHARDT, Cicerone, II.[10], 324.

[4] *Mercordi visitò (il Papa) lo studio per vedere quello che di novo era fabricato. Avviso di Roma of October 31, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma which, though undated, certainly belongs to October, 1574, in the Urb. 1044, p. 275[b], Vatican Library.

[6] *Avviso di Roma of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], *ibid.*

[7] *Avviso di Roma of September 2, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 306b, *ibid.*

The plan for the splendid palace of the Roman University, which went by the name of the Sapienza, from the beautiful inscription over the doorway: "The beginning of wisdom is the fear of the Lord" (*Initium sapientiae timor Domini*), has been attributed to Michelangelo,[1] but this was not the case. A very reliable authority states that Giacomo della Porta made the plans for this building as well.[2] The cortile with pilasters on two floors, which is majestically severe, shows a considerable resemblance to Ammanati's courtyard at the Roman College; but whereas, in the latter Ionic pilasters are employed in the lower floor, and Corinthian ones on the upper, here they are respectively Tuscan and Ionic, the latter being placed on pedestals.[3] The whole space covered is much greater, and it is one of the most imposing of the many beautiful courtyards in the city. The façade, which is in a narrow street, correspond to those made use of by Antonio di Sangallo for the Roman palaces. A clear arrangement distinguishes the lecture halls, which are placed in two corridors along the two sides.[4]

To these buildings for the colleges and the University, which were of service to the whole Church, must be added other buildings, the cost of which, since they were intended to serve the practical needs of the city of Rome, fell to a great extent upon the municipality. A hospital for poor mendicants was established in the abandoned convent of S. Sisto on the Via Appia.[5] The prison of Corte Savelli was

[1] Burckhardt, Cicerone, II.[10], 317.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] See Gurlitt, 67. *Cf.* also Letarouilly, Édifices, I., 70 *seq.*, and Thode, Michelangelo, V., 205.

[4] See Gurlitt, 68.

[5] For the Pope's intention of erecting an almshouse, see *supra*, p. 545, n. 1, and Beltrami, 37. The project met with strong opposition; see *Avviso di Roma of February 18, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 67, Vatican Library; *cf.* (in the Appendix No. 16, Vol. XIX.) Mucantius, *Diarium, 1581, Papal Secret Archives. Unfortunately, the institution had to be given up later on; see, in addition

enlarged,[1] a house for penitents was built in the Corso,[2] and a hospital of the *Fate bene fratelli* was erected on the island in the Tiber.[3] Special mention must be made of the great stores of corn which were accumulated in the Baths of Diocletian.[4] Towards the end of his pontificate the Pope also planned the construction of a magnificent Trade Hall in the Via de' Banchi, such as other Italian cities already possessed ; he intended to expend 40,000 scudi on this.[5]

Anyone who has lived in the south can appreciate the value of fountains and aqueducts. Rome was badly provided for in this respect, since during the stormy times of the past centuries, the aqueducts, once so numerous, had fallen a victim to devastation. The number of the fountains was so small that the population had to content itself with water from tanks or from the Tiber.[6] And one aqueduct, which had

to the particulars on page 545, n. 1, the *Avviso di Roma of March 30, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 147 Vatican Library ; and LANCIANI, IV., 74. *Cf.* also MONTAIGNE, II., 4 *seq.*, and S. Werro's report in the *Zeitschrift für schweiz. Kirchengeschichte*, 1907, 220.

[1] CIAPPI, 8. *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 467.

[2] See (in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX.) *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] This hospital, near the church of S. Giovanni in Isola, is mentioned in the inscription on the third loggia of the Vatican. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 16 ; LANCIANI, IV., 79. For the paintings in the Palazzo del Commendatore of the hospital of S. Spirito see CANEZZA in the *Atti d. Arcadia*, 1917, I., 161 *seq.*

[4] See (in addition to the inscription referred to in the preceding note) also those in FORCELLA, XIII., 174, BONANNI, I., 325, and LANCIANI, IV., 80. *Cf. Arch. Rom.*, VI., 232 ; RODOCANACHI, Monuments, 131.

[5] *L'altra mattina il Papa doveva comparire in Banchi a vedere il sito, ove S.B^ne^ vuole che si faccia un porticale spacioso con i suoi colonnati di spesa di 40,000 scudi come hanno l' altre città di traffichi per commodità de' mercanti et d'altri che negotiáno volendo S.S. che tutto Banchi conferisca a questa spesa. Avviso di Roma of March, 1585, Urb. 1054, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* Vol. XIII., p. 403 *seq.* of this work. The small number of wells is also emphasised by SEB. WERRO in his *Itinerarium Hierosolymit. (University Library at Fribourg, Switzerland).

been repaired by Nicholas V., and subsequently renewed and strengthened by Sixtus IV., Leo X., and lastly by Pius V., the Acqua Vergine or Trevi, was far from sufficient. Gregory therefore resolved to supply this defect,[1] but it only fell to his successor to carry out the work on a grand scale. Nevertheless, to the great joy of Gregory, a large number of fountains, fed from the Acqua Vergine, sprang up during his pontificate. The plans for this purpose were made by Giacomo della Porta.[2] In the first place comes the beautiful erection in the Piazza Navona, where the Pope excavated three large basins for the fountains, which he went to inspect in the autumn of 1578.[3] The round central basin underwent a complete transformation later on at the hands of Bernini in the time of Innocent X. Of the two smaller fountains at the ends of the piazza, the one at the south end still bears the heraldic dragons of the Boncompagni, and these dragons, like the four blowing tritons, fill the octagonal marble basin with foaming water.[4] Gregory XIII. also placed fountains in other parts of the city, as, for example, that in front of S. Maria de' Monti, the fountain della Lupa in the Campo Marzo, the fountain dell'Eridano in the Rione di Parione, of the Nile on Monte Giordiano, del Macacco in the Via Babuino, del Leone at S. Giovanni dei Fiorentini, and lastly the great fountain in the Piazza del Popolo, designed by Giacomo della Porta, and that in front of the Pantheon. These were all adorned with fine Latin inscriptions.[5]

[1] *Cf.* Lanciani, IV., 157, and the *Avvisi di Roma of October 27 and December 24, 1584, Urb. 1052, pp. 430, 432[b], 444 , Vatican Library.

[2] See Baglione, 78. *Cf.* Avvisi-Caetani, 75. See also Misciatelli, in the periodical *Vita d' Arte* (1912), 63 *seq.*

[3] See *Avviso of September 3, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 302[b], Vatican Library.

[4] *Cf.* Cancellieri, Mercato, 34 *seq.*; Lanciani, Acquedotti, 129, and Lanciani, II., 230 *seq.*, IV., 78; *Riv. Europ.*, 1877, IV., 11, 13 *seq.*; Bergner, Das barocke Rom, Leipzig, 1914, 41.

[5] See Fulvio-Ferrucci, 85; Baglione, 6, 82; Lanciani II., 236, IV., 78; *cf.* Lanciani, Aquedotti, 129; Rodocanachi, Monuments, 114. The appearance of the great well in front of the

The Florentine Taddeo Landini, who had executed the most beautiful of the tritons in the Piazza Navona,[1] also had a part in the fountain erected by the Roman magistracy, which is considered the most graceful of the Roman fountains,[2] and which later on became celebrated by the name of the Fontana delle Tartarughe. This work of art stands in a comparatively small piazza, in front of the Palazzo Mattei, by the side of the great thoroughfare which leads from the Capitol to the Vatican. The idea and decoration of the fountain is very simple. Four active youths in bronze touch with one arm the edge of the upper basin, while they alternately support their right or left leg upon the dolphins which spurt water into a round shell. The Raphaelesque grace of the bronze figures led to the design being attributed to the great master of Urbino, but in reality it was Giacomo della Porta who made the design, and Landini who carried it out, after the manner of his own country, and unlike the Roman custom, executing the figures in bronze and the architectural features in yellow marble. It was this that gave the delicate contrast in colour.[3] The tortoises which gave their name to the fountain were a later addition of the XVIIth century.[4]

If Gregory XIII. appears as the forerunner of his great successor, Sixtus V., in his care for the fountains of Rome, this is still more true of his zeal for the improvement of the

Pantheon, before its alteration by Clement XI., can be recognized from the picture in C. A. DEL POZZO, Raccolta d. princip. fontane di Roma, Roma, 1647. To the time of Gregory XIII. (1581) also belongs the Fontanella del Facchino near S. Maria in Via Lata; see the periodical *Romana Tellus*, II. (1913), 50.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 60. For T. Landini *cf.* ORBAAN in the *Repert. für Kunstwissensshaft*, XXXVII., 30. n.

[2] See FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 222.

[3] *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 60; BERGNER, *loc. cit.*, 41. A "giostra" in the Piazza Mattei is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1574, State Archives, at Vienna.

[4] See W. FRIEDLÄNDER, in the *Kunstchronik* of May 27, 1910. *Cf.* also H. SEMPER in the *Mitteil. des bayr. Kunstgewerbevereins*, 1892, 58.

Roman streets. The approach of the Holy Year afforded the immediate opportunity for taking this work in hand. The practical sense of the Pope could not fail to be sensible of the unseemliness of the fact that the way of approach to two of the basilicas which were always visited by the pilgrims, the Lateran and S. Croce in Gerusalemme, should be through a deserted district, filled with ruins and brushwood. The way was not only difficult and long, but also dangerous, because there were practically no inhabitants. Gregory wished to change all this. When he visited the Lateran at the beginning of July, 1573, he gave orders for the construction of a better and more convenient road from St. Mary Major's to the Lateran,[1] as had already been planned by Pius IV.[2] The work was begun at once and pushed forward so quickly that by the beginning of the Holy Year of 1575, the pilgrims, in place of the winding and irregular old Via Merulana, had at their disposal for going to the Lateran basilica, a much wider road, which was almost straight. In Bufalini's plan the old street is called the Via Tabernola, but in that of Du Pérac-Lafréry of 1577, it is called from its maker the Via Gregoriana. What a great advance the construction of this new artery signified may be clearly seen by comparing the new straight road with the old winding one; the two meet at S. Pietro e Marcellino.[3]

Another improvement was made in the Via Ferratella which led from the Lateran Hospital to the Porta Metronia,

[1] *Mercori mattina il Papa cavalcò in compagnia di Cornaro et Como (Galli) sino a S. Giovanni Laterano, ove ordinò che s' accomodasse la strada da quella chiesa à S. Maria Maggiore et dell' altre 7 chiese per l' anno santo che fossero piane come la strada Pia. Avviso di Roma in a *report of Cusano of July 4, 1573, State Archives, Vienna.

[2] Cf. LANCIANI, III, 169.

[3] *Cf.* CIAPPI, 8; RIERA, 2[b]; LANCIANI, IV., 91. The support given to the Pope in the laying out of streets by the Minorites and Capuchins is mentioned by BIASIOTTI (La basilica Esquilina, Roma, 1911, 25, n. 38) from a *document in the Archives of S. Maria Maggiore.

and was carried on as far as the Porta S. Sebastiano.[1] When the Pope visited the Seven Churches in 1581, he was able to enjoy the beauty of this new road.[2] The ancient Via Appia was at this time again coming into common use.[3] The frequent journeys of the Pope to the Alban Hills gave occasion for ordering the improvement of the Via Tusculana: from this a connecting road was made with the Via Latina and the Via Castrimeniese, which was named the Via Appia Nuova. In connexion with this the starting point of this road was changed from the Porta Asinaria to the Porta S. Giovanni, which, according to the inscription, was erected in 1574 by the Sicilian, Giacomo del Duca.[4]

Inside the city, Gregory XIII., by means of the Via della Rupe Tarpeia formed a new approach to the Capitol,[5] and completed the construction of the Borgo Pio begun by Pius IV., decorating that part of the city with buildings, and partly paving the streets with pebbles. An inscription on a column records that this work was completed in 1580.[6] It was soon seen, however, that this new form of paving, because of the great dampness of Rome, was not good for the health of the inhabitants, and by the advice of the doctors it was decided to adopt paving stones.[7]

[1] See LANCIANI, IV., 90. *Cf.* Inventario, I., 10.

[2] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1581, which says of the street: "è bellissima a vedere." Urb. 1049, p. 139, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of May 12, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 153, Vatican Library.

[4] See CIAPPI, 9; CIACONIUS, IV., 21; *Rev. archéol.*, VII. (1886), 225; LANCIANI, IV., 91; Inventario, I., 23. A present of 700 scudi for the Porta S. Giovanni is mentioned in the *Avviso di Roma of August 22, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 285, Vatican Library.

[5] See the inscription in the Arch. Rom. VI., 451. *Cf.* FORCELLA, XIII., 87; RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 47.

[6] See CIACONIUS, IV., 21; FORCELLA, XIII., 87; LANCIANI, IV., 62. *Cf.* SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 233; *Arch. Rom.*, XLIII., 79.

[7] See *Avviso di Roma of August 13, 1580, according to which the decision was taken at a congregation held in the house of

Principally on account of the pilgrims for the jubilee, in 1573 orders were given for the restoration of the so-called Ponte Senatorio, or the Ponte di S. Maria, which had been destroyed by the inundation of the Tiber in 1557,[1] and which had connected the Rione di Campitelli with the Trastevere. On June 27th, 1573, the Pope went in all haste to the Tiber and solemnly laid the first stone.[2] In February, 1574, he went to inspect the work, by means of which the bridge was being restored in an improved form. The expense of the restoration of the two ruined arches, which fell to the municipality of Rome, was calculated at not less than 30,000 scudi.[3] In 1588 the work was again destroyed by a flood; to this day an inscription and the Boncompagni arms may be seen on the remains.[4] The account books for 1583 also make mention of a restoration of the Bridge of St. Angelo.[5]

Gregory XIII.'s zeal for building spurred on the Cardinals and the Roman people to repair and adorn ruined churches, or to build new ones,[6] and also had a great influence upon the

Cardinal Cornaro. Urb. 1048, p. 246, Vatican Library. The pebble pavement was not completely abandoned; see *Bullett. d. Com. arch.*, 1892, 348 *seq.* Concerning an enlargement of the open spaces see FORCELLA, XIII., 87.

[1] *Cf.* Vol. XIV., p. 169, of this work. For the unsuccessful attempt at rebuilding under Pius IV. see *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 66.

[2] See the detailed description in Mucantius, *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives.

[3] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of August 1, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 211, Vatican Library. RIERA (2) gives the cost as 50,000 scudi. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 344-5; FULVIO-FERRUCCI, 74 *seq.*; LANCIANI, II., 24 *seq.*, IV., 85.

[4] The inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 21, and FORCELLA, XIII., 54. *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, *Il ponte Leonino, in the Vatic. 9196, Vatican Library. See also BARTOLI, Cento vedute, 98.

[5] See LANCIANI, IV., 84. In the consistory of April 27, 1575, the plan, proposed by Pius IV., of regulating the Tiber was again discussed; see SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 260, and BELTRAMI, 8.

[6] See LANCIANI, IV., 63, 65, 72 *seq.*; ARMELLINI, 596, 634, 645,

Romans in yet another way. The removal of precious material from the ancient ruins still went on, but now at anyrate more care was taken about the great monuments

780 ; Inventario, I., 39, 148. *Cf.* also RIERA, 102, for the restoration of the Confraternity churches in the year 1575. On S. Tommaso a' Cenci the inscription of 1575, commemorating the restoration, is still preserved. A restoration of S. Bartolomeo is mentioned by SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 160. For the completion of S. Luigi de' Francesi, the façade of which is the work of Giacomo della Porta, see G. GIOVANNONI, in *L'Arte*, XVI. (1913), 86 *seq.* ; *ibid.*, 94 *seq.*, for the building of SS. Trinità de' Monti. The laying of the foundation stone of the new church of S. Maria Scala Coeli in Tre Fontane did not take place in 1582, as ARMELLINI says (756), but in 1581, when the ceremony was performed by that great builder Cardinal Farnese ; see *Odescalchi's report of April 7, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. For the building of the richly decorated Capella Altemps in S. Maria in Trastevere 1584, see FORCELLA, II., 348. For the work carried out on S. Maria di Loreto al Foro Trajano see the monograph of FIAMMA, Rome, 1894. Just as the English College had, in its church, pictures of the martyrs painted by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie, so also had the German College, in its church of S. Stefano Rotondo (see BAGLIONE, 38) which were engraved by G. B. de' Cavalieri with verses by Julius Roscius (Triumphus martyrum in templo D. Stephani . . . expressus opera et studio Io. Bapt. de Cavalleriis). *Cf.* A. GALLONIUS (Cong. Orat.), De ss. Martyrum cruciatibus cum figuris per Ant. Tempestum, Parisiis, 1659. In 1584 the paintings in the church of the English College were also reproduced in copper engravings by Cavalieri who has thus handed down to us the inscriptions which were later destroyed at the time of the French Revolution. One of these inscriptions has proved of the highest historical importance ; see PHILLIPS, The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy, London, 1905. The glaring crudeness and exaggerated realism of these pictures, though they offend our modern susceptibilities and cannot be called true art (see JANSSEN'S *Briefe*, I., 210), were nevertheless much admired by the people of the period in which they were painted (Proofs of this in STEINHUBER, I.[3], 150 ; *cf.* also the Avviso in the *Arch. Rom.*, XXXIII., 309, which relates how Sixtus V. burst into tears on seeing the frescoes in S. Stefano). It would be a great mistake

which had survived from antiquity. Thus in August, 1574, the Romans decided to restore the column of Marcus Aurelius.[1] The Pope in his turn proposed the difficult task of transferring the colossal obelisk which stood at the south side of St. Peter's near the Campo Santo, and which had been brought by Caligula from Heliopolis, to the Vatican Circus and placed in the Spina. The expense, however, which was estimated at 30,000 scudi, justified the foresight of those who said that the change would not be made.[2]

Gregory XIII. also subsidized the restorations at the Palazzo of the Cancelleria,[3] and the works at the Capitol directed by Giacomo della Porta and Martino Lunghi. Both

to suppose that these gruesome pictures were peculiar to the period of Catholic Restoration, though this mistake is still often made (e.g. WEISSBACH, Der Barock als Kunst der Gegenreformation, Berlin, 1921, 36). The pictures produced in the Middle Ages were certainly not less gruesome (*cf.* for example, SCHULTZ, Deutsches Leben, I., 42 *seq.*; Wentzel von Olmütz' Martyrdom of Saint Bartholomew and similar pictures in the Town Museum at Frankfort-on-Main and in the Museum at Colmar). Dürer's martyrdom of the 10,000 Christians and the altar to the martyrs of 1525 in the cathedral Xanten may also be mentioned in this connection. Even Correggio produced a very ghastly picture in his martyrdom of Saint Placid and Saint Flavia (*cf.* BURCKHARDT, Beiträge zur ital. Kunstgeschichte, 159).

[1] See *Avviso di Roma of August 1, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 211, Vatican Library.

[2] *" Dopo la tornata di N.S^re da Civitavecchia si è inteso che S.S^tà ha risoluto la gulia di S. Pietro sia condotta nella piazza di quella (basilica) per maggior commodità della vista delle persone che veranno l' anno santo a Roma." It is thought that it will cost 30,000 scudi, " essendone già stati offerti da altri pontefici 22,000 scudi, che poi non fu fatto altro come si credono si farà anco adesso per esservi altro che pensare." Avviso di Roma of July 27, 1574, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* C. AGRIPPA, Trattato di trasporta la guglia in su la piazza di S. Pietro, Roma, 1583; M. MERCATI, Gli obelischi di Roma, Roma, 1589, 341 *seq.*

[3] See the inscription in CIACONIUS, IV., 42, and FORCELLA, XIII., 174.

architects retained their office. In 1577 Annibale Lippi was associated with them, principally with financial powers ;[1] the reason was that there had been some suspicion of fraud in connection with the works.[2] In the same year the Piazza was levelled ; in 1579 a new campanile[3] replaced the genuine medieval tower of the palace of the senators, which dated from the time of Boniface IX., and which had been damaged by a thunderbolt.[4] According to the plan of Michelangelo this was to retain its character of a fortress tower, and be of only one storey, but Martino Lunghi[5] gave it three storeys, the two upper ones being open.[6] The result was a slender construction, which harmonized very well with Michelangelo's palaces, since he always insisted upon the subordination of the whole building to one dominating feature. Many commemorative medals struck in 1579,[7] celebrated the construction of this tower. The balustraded staircase of the palace of the senators was in 1582 adorned with the statue, not of Jupiter as intended by Michelangelo, but of Minerva.[8] The

[1] *Cf.* O. Pollak in the supplement to the *Kunstgeschichtl. Jahrbuch der österr. Zentralkommission*, 1910, p. 168. The arms of Gregory XIII. also in the chapel of the Palace of the Conservatori.

[2] According to the *Avviso di Roma of August 24, 1577 (Urb. 1045, p. 482, Vatican Library) the amount of the deficit discovered in the "conti della fabrica di Campidoglio" was 100,000 scudi, but this is very likely an exaggeration. The acts of the Capitoline Archives give no information as to the result of the enquiry which was held ; see Rodocanachi, Capitole, 89.

[3] *Cf.* Thode, Michelangelo, V., 192 *seq.*

[4] See Fulvio-Ferrucci, 74[b].

[5] The tower is ascribed to M. Lunghi by all modern authorities, and yet it is a remarkable fact that Baglione, always so well informed, makes no mention of it when enumerating the works of this architect (p. 64 *seq.*).

[6] See Cancellieri, Le due nuove campane di Campidoglio, Roma, 1806, 45 *seq.* ; Lanciani, II., 88 ; Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 90.

[7] See Bonanni, I., 350 ; Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 91.

[8] See Rodocanachi, 91-2.

great flight of steps which unites the piazza of the Capitol with the city below had already been adorned in the time of Pius IV. with two sphinxes found near S. Maria della Minerva. In 1583 the Dioscori which had been excavated in the Ghetto, were placed at the upper extremity of the steps, not crosswise as Michelangelo intended, but parallel with the entrance. In the following year an ancient milestone from the Via Appia was placed upon the balustrade.[1] The monumental character of the site was thus ensured.

To the Minims, founded by St. Francis of Paula, Gregory XIII. gave the slope in front of their church of SS. Trinità de' Monti, and assisted them to build the steps.[2]

Of great importance for the beautifying of the Eternal City was a constitution concerning building issued by Gregory XIII. in 1574. Medieval Rome, which long continued to survive even during the period of the Renaissance, offered, it is true, like other cities of Europe, a very picturesque appearance with its labyrinth of little streets and alleys, but was all the less satisfactory at close quarters in that even the most elementary ideas of cleanliness were as yet unknown there.[3] From the bull of Martin V. in 1425, which revived the office of superintendents of the streets (*Magistri viarum*) we learn that butchers, fishmongers, shoemakers and others simply threw into the streets the intestines and the heads of the slaughtered beasts, spoiled fish, and skins, which were allowed to decay and infect the air.[4] This state

[1] See Michaelis in Lützow's *Zeitschrift für bild. Kunst*, 1891, 192; Lanciani, II., 88; Thode, *loc. cit.*, 193; Rodocanachi, *loc. cit.*, 83.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of September 28, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 604 Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Odescalchi's report of August 15, 1579, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avviso di Roma of April 6, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 144, Vatican Library.

[3] For the state of medieval towns *cf.* Durm, Baukunst der Renaissance, 124 *seq.* For Germany see Steinhausen, Geschichte der deutschen Kultur, Leipzig, 1904, 346 *seq.*

[4] Bull. Rom. IV., 716. *Cf.* Vol. I, p. 216, of this work and Moroni, XLI., 221 *seq.*

of affairs may be attributed to the neglect which was the inevitable consequence of the absence of the Popes during the period at Avignon; nevertheless an inscription of the year 1483 praises Sixtus IV. for having removed the pestilential filth from the streets.[1] There was at any rate, even in other respects, much left for that Pope to do towards the beautifying of Rome. The fundamental constitution which he issued on this subject[2] gives much surprising information. By reason of every kind of vestibule and porch in front of the houses, the streets had been rendered so narrow that all traffic and passage of vehicles was seriously interfered with, and in some places two men on horseback could hardly pass. Although a beginning had been made in removing these vestibules, and in paving the streets, nevertheless this had resulted in the destruction of several premises which were of no little value to the proprietors of the houses, so that these houses had been abandoned as being too confined, and thus the streets were indeed wider, but as they had many ruined buildings on both sides, they had become more neglected than ever. A remedy might have been provided for this effect of the changes in the city if two delapidated houses had been united into a single one, but the attempts to do this led to endless disputes, and very often the irritated owners refused to sell their property; Sixtus IV. endeavoured to remedy this by giving the superintendents of the streets the right to expropriate dangerous houses.

This enactment was confirmed by Julius II. and Leo X.;[3] but Pius IV. had to interfere once more in 1565.[4] The new streets made at that time were indeed marked out, but were not bordered on both sides by houses or even by walls, or

[1] Belloni in the work quoted *infra* 604, n. 1.

[2] On June 30, 1480, Bull. Rom., V., 273.

[3] On November 2, 1516, *ibid.*, 655 *seq.* The confirmation by Julius II. is mentioned there. Alexander VI., on the occasion of the Jubilee year of 1500, also confirmed the Bull of Sixtus IV. for the Via Alessandria which he had built from the bridge of S. Angelo to St. Peter's Square. *Ibid.*, 377 *seq.*

[4] Decree of August 22, 1565, *ibid.*, VII., 386.

else the blocks of houses were broken by open tracts which served as refuse heaps for rubbish and filth.[1] For this reason Pius IV. ordered that these open building spaces should at least be enclosed by walls, and that steps should then be taken to pave the adjoining streets.[2] From this edict we also learn that the tangle of houses in Rome was traversed by a large number of narrow passages, the width of which was scarcely two or three palms, into which every kind of filth was thrown; the buildings on either side were falling into ruin, gave out unhealthy vapours, and at last fell down, whereupon the damp walls that remained partly standing were once more incorporated into the buildings, and used as a support for loggias.[3] To add to the filth and the danger to health, many of the houses had small open drains, by means of which every imaginable kind of sewage and filth was allowed simply to flow into the street.[4] Great tracts of the city and the neighbourhood were covered with reeds and rushes which were very harmful to health with their marshy vapours, prevented a clear view of the Tiber, and afforded shelter for criminals. As in previous centuries, people were still allowed to build out on to the streets; above all, large staircases leading to the first floors sometimes so interfered with the traffic that two carriages could not pass each other.[5] Moreover, light and outlook were cut off above by the fact that wooden passages were built across the streets from one house to the other.[6] In some places the streets were not paved, but strewn with gravel, which increased the dampness, one of the principal drawbacks of Rome,[7] and the air in the narrow streets, over and above the dangerous vapours and filth, was especially infected by the insupportable smell from the inevitable making of tallow candles. Candlemakers were to be found

[1] *Ibid.*, par. 12, p. 390.
[2] *Ibid.*, par. 12-15, p. 390.
[3] *Ibid.* par. 16, p. 391.
[4] *Ibid.*, par. 17, p. 392.
[5] *Ibid.*, par. 22, 24 *seq.*, p. 393 *seq.*
[6] *Ibid.*, par. 27, p. 394.
[7] *Ibid.*, par. 31, p. 395 *seq.*

all over the city, whereas other industries, such as tanneries and dealers in cat-gut had for a long time past, because of the offensive smell, been restricted to certain places along the banks of the Tiber.[1]

Pius IV. set himself to issue suitable ordinances to meet these abuses, and further expressly renewed the enactments of Sixtus IV. and Leo X. for the beautifying of the city. In this way some provision had been made for the adornment and splendour of "Eternal Rome, as the common fatherland of all Christian peoples."[2] But it seemed to the successor of the Medici Pope, Pius V., that such zeal for external appearances might easily lead to the violation of ecclesiastical immunities, and of the rights of the poor and needy. He therefore revoked all the constitutions on the subject issued by Sixtus IV., Leo X., and Pius IV., in so far as they ran counter to the provisions of common law.[3]

This new enactment at once gave rise to fresh discontent. Pius V. had hardly closed his eyes when public decrees in the name of the Roman senate and people complained that this ordinance was opposed to the adornment of Rome and the desires of many of the citizens. Gregory XIII. was unable to pay attention immediately to these repeated complaints, although he saw that many beautiful buildings were being left unfinished, and that many people who were anxious to build were unwilling to take in hand new buildings, since Pius V. had abrogated the former decrees on the expropriation of property, with the result that impossible prices were being asked for such property.[4] At last Gregory XIII. took the matter in hand, but not in such a way as altogether to restore the ancient right. Starting with the principle that the common

[1] *Ibid.*, par. 30, p. 395.

[2] "in communemque totius christiani populi patriam," *ibid.* p. 386.

[3] On April 10 and July 3, 1571, Bull. Rom., VII., 910 *seqq.*

[4] "magnifica aedificia iampridem inchoata, propter nimiam quorundam cupiditatem interrupta pendere, plurimosque ea de causa aedificandi consilium abiecisse." Gregory XIII., Constitution of October 1, 1574, par. 1, Bull. Rom., VIII., 88 *seq.*

good and the beautifying of the city must always be considered before the cupidity or even the desires of individuals. it would be more true to say that he drew up a new building constitution on the basis of the enactments of Sixtus IV., Leo X., and Pius IV.,[1] which remained in force until the XIXth century, and left its mark upon the arrangement of the new Rome.

This constitution aims at facilitating, wherever possible, the making of new streets, the widening of the ancient, narrow, twisting passages, and to some extent straightening them. The chamberlains of the Holy Roman Church and the officials for buildings and highways received the necessary power of expropriation for this purpose.[2]

In order that the eye might not be offended in the streets by ruined or unfinished houses, or in building areas by heaps of rubbish, such places were to be surrounded by walls of a certain height, and this prescription was to be strictly carried out. Unless this wall were built no rent was to be demanded or paid for such houses or areas, and all rights to the use thereof lapsed. The lessee must use the rent for building the wall instead of paying it to the proprietor. The proprietor was to be obliged by fines to build the walls, and if he remained obstinate, his property might be leased, or handed over in hereditary tenure, or even sold to others who were more amenable.[3]

A terrible blemish on the appearance of the city of Rome was the narrow gaps between the houses, which were bound

[1] On October 1, 1574, *ibid.* *Cf.* Carlo Borganana, Degli edificii e delle vie di Roma al cadere del secolo XVI. e della Costituzione Gregoriana "Quae publice utilia," Roma, 1855; second edition with reprint of the Constitution added, *ibid.*, 1860; Paolo Belloni, La Costituzione "Quae publice utilia" del Pontefice Gregorio XIII. intorno al decoro ed ornato pubblico e la città di Roma considerata nelle vie e negli edifici dalla caduta dell' impero Romano sino al terminare del secolo XVI., Roma, 1870.

[2] Par. 2.

[3] Par. 3.

to become mere dungheaps and plague-spots. Gregory XIII. therefore ordered that in the case of private houses everyone must make use of the neighbouring wall to rest the beams of the new house upon, to which end he was to pay half the cost of the erection of such a wall. If the space between the houses were less than three palms, it was to be included in the new house when such was built.[1] It was manifestly with a view to the beautifying of Rome that the building constitution of Gregory XIII. urged the union of several small rough houses into one larger one. If the owner of a house or farm wished to build upon his property or his land, he could demand that the neighbouring houses or properties which were leased should be sold to him, but in that case he must pay a twelfth above the estimated value.[2] If it were a case of a splendid edifice, then a neighbouring house or property could be forcibly obtained if necessary, even though it were personally inhabited by its owner, always supposing that the important building had already been begun, that it touched upon the neighbouring property on at least two sides, and was four times greater in value. The price paid for the acquired land, however, must in that case be a fifth above the estimated value, and the neighbour must be given six months to find another place of residence.[3] If in making or altering a street a house was partly destroyed and made too small for its inmates, the proprietor of the house could buy the neighbouring leased house and unite it to his own. Similar arrangements held good in cases where several adjoining leased houses were damaged by the making of streets, or when the proprietor of a damaged house rebuilt his own, while his neighbour neglected to repair his damaged house or to enclose it with a wall.[4]

From the same wish to encourage the union of several small houses in one larger one came the decree that no one must sell his house without having first officially informed all the neighbouring proprietors of the price and terms of sale, and

[1] Par. 4-5.
[2] Par. 6.
[3] *Ibid.*
[4] Par. 7.

their having declared that they did not intend under the terms of the sale to come forward as purchasers.[1] Substantially the same conditions applied in the case of a tenant living in the house to be sold; if the neighbours did not intend to come forward as purchasers, then the right to acquire it passed to him.[2] In the same way the acquisition of the house was facilitated in the case of the hereditary tenant who wished to build.[3]

Moreover, in order that "in some way provision may be made for the beautifying of the country properties in the suburbs, which serve the purpose of suitably enhancing the amenities of life, and the healthy recreation of mind and body," the proprietor of the larger vignas and the like, was, also in certain definite cases, to have the right to have small properties sold to him.[4] Even the property of churches and entails were not excepted from the enactments of the constitution.[5] There were further provisions as to what was to be done if anyone refused to comply after two warnings, as well as for avoiding the abuse of the concessions made, and for the prevention of the abuses which had taken place in the case of the earlier enactments of Sixtus IV., Leo X. and Pius IV., as well as ordinances concerning the employment of the money paid in fines.[6] When mention is made in the constitution of compensation for expropriation, or of the sum to be paid in the case of a forced sale, it is always laid down that none but the officials in charge of the building works must fix the amount of the payment. Lastly, there is the important note, that in cases of doubt as to the meaning of the enactments, that interpretation was always to be adopted which most favoured the beautifying of the city.[7]

[1] Par. 8-10.
[2] Par. 11.
[3] Par. 13.
[4] Par. 14-15.
[5] Par. 16.
[6] Par. 17-21.
[7] "Omnia et singula, quae supra statuta sunt, in eam partem interpretanda esse, quae ad Urbis ornatum magis facere videbitur." Par. 23.

CHAPTER XV.

Decorations at the Vatican.—The Quirinal.—Death of the Pope.—Importance of his Ponfiticate.

Thus Gregory XIII. strove in every way for the improvement and benefit of his city. This was shown in a small matter by a decree of 1573 concerning the introduction of new fire-places; it speaks of an invention for preventing smoke.[1] For the defence and fortication of the city,[2] a matter which was equally dear to the Pope's heart, in April, 1575, a fallen bastion of the Castle of St. Angelo was repaired, and the defences of the Borgo were strengthened.[3]

All these undertakings encouraged the development of Rome which became so manifest after 1575.[4] As a mark of their gratitude towards their generous sovereign the Roman people resolved, on February 23rd, 1576, at the proposal of the Conservators, del Bufalo, Mancini and Cavalieri, to erect

[1] See *Decreto circa il fare camini che non faccino fumo nel modo ritrovato da Filippo Castagnoti, dat. June 22, 1573, in the *Editti*, V., 74, p. 100, Papal Secret Archives. For the chimneys of the Renaissance *cf.* Durm, Baukunst der Renaissance, 274 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* A. Nibby, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1820, 340, 359; Forcella, XIII., 36; Borgatti, Le mura di Roma, Roma, 1890; Lanciani, IV., 84 *seq.*

[3] See the *Avvisi di Roma of April 23 and October 15, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 409[b], Vatican Library, and *ibid.*, the *payments 1575-6 in the Vatic. 6697. *Cf.* Ciappi, 11; Rodocanachi, St. Ange, 177.

[4] See the *list in the Archives of the Propaganda in Rome, Collegi, 363, p. 65. For the increase in the population see Beltrami, 28; for the building of new houses, especially in the Trastevere, *cf.* Seb. Werro's *Itinerarium Hierosolymit., University Library, Freiburg, Switzerland.

a marble statue to the Pope in the great hall of the palace of the senators.[1] Its execution was entrusted to Pierpaolo Olivieri, who also decorated the monument to Gregory XI. erected by the Romans in 1574 in S. Francesca Romana, with a relief showing the return of that Pope from Avignon.[2] The marble statue, larger than life, shows Gregory XIII. in the pontifical vestments, seated on his throne, with the keys in his left hand, and his right raised in blessing. This statue, the inspiration for which is drawn from the Moses on the tomb of Julius II., is in many ways a fine work, but the members are badly proportioned, the upper part of the body is too large, and the expression of the face is not altogether successful.[3] The inscription extols some of the Pope's works, the removal of the tax on corn in Rome, the beautifying of the Eternal City with churches and other buildings, his generous help of the poor, the erection of colleges and seminaries in every part of the Catholic world, and also makes mention of the Japanese mission.[4] This historical monument was removed from its place in 1876, and taken to the church of S. Maria in Aracoeli, but no steps were taken for the preservation of the inscription.[5]

[1] The *resolution in the Cod. G. 378, p. 211, of the Chigi Library, Rome. *Cf.* RODOCANACHI, Capitole, 111 *seq.* The statue was unveiled in May, 1577; see (Appendix No. 4) *Strozzi's report of May 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of May 25, 1577, Urb. 1045, p. 299, Vatican Library.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 72; LANCIANI, IV., 67. The relief contains a panorama of Rome. Both LANCIANI, who treats of it in the *Bullett. d. Com. Arch.*, XXI. (1893), 272, and BURCKHARDT (Cicerone, II.[10], 599) consider it to be among the best works of its kind. The resolution to erect the memorial to Gregory XI. is *reported by Odescalchi on August 4, 1574, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[3] See RODOCANACHI, *loc. cit.*, 112, and SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preusz. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258, where will also be found a good picture of the statue.

[4] See CIACONIUS, IV., 6; FORCELLA, I., 39, *cf.* 40.

[5] And yet the author of the removal immortalized himself in an inscription! See *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 238.

The visitor of to-day is reminded by numerous inscriptions and coats of arms how extensive were the works carried out by Gregory XIII. at the Vatican. The mottoes of Gregory, "Vigilat" and "Non commovebitur," may also be seen in various parts of the palace.[1] Restorations were effected there very extensively,[2] especially in the Loggia della Cosmografia added by Pius IV.,[3] and in the chapel of Nicholas V.[4] The fresco decoration of the Sala Ducale was executed by Lorenzo Sabbatini, who was assisted by Raffaellino da Reggio and Matteo da Siena.[5] Vasari was employed to complete the frescoes in the Sala Regia.

At the death of Pius V. Vasari was still in Rome. His commemorative painting of the naval victory of Lepanto was then practically completed, and he considered it the best of his frescoes.[6] On his return to Florence, the artist at once learned that the new Pope wished to have him in his service. With the permission of Cosimo, he complied with this summons. He reached Rome on November 14th, 1572, and was courteously received by Cardinal Boncompagni.[7] At an audience which he had immediately afterwards, the Pope explained to him his plans for the pictorial decoration of the antecameras of the Vatican and of the Sala Regia. Vasari declared his readiness to begin work at once; Gregory XIII. heaped signs of his favour upon him, assigned him apartments in the Belvedere, and had his rooms furnished "like a sovereign's." When the artist fell ill in December, he sent to him his own physician; on December 5th Vasari told a friend: "Even

[1] See FORCELLA VI., 82 *seq.*, 85 *seq.*; TAJA, 7, 79, 107, 119, 130, 273, 282. *Cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 62; *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 59; STEINMANN, II., 8, n. 1.

[2] See CIAPPI, 6.

[3] See FORCELLA, VI., 95. Danti was put in charge of it; see THIEME, VIII., 380.

[4] See FORCELLA, VI., 84.

[5] See BAGLIONE, 17, 25, 41. *Cf.* TAJA, 77.

[6] See GAYE, III., 312 *seq.*

[7] See *ibid.*, 331, 340; VASARI, VIII., 479 *seq.*; FORCELLA, VI., 80; KALLAB, Vasari-Studien, 135.

though His Holiness is an austere man and one of few words, he nevertheless shows great regard for me and an extraordinary esteem."[1]

So that Vasari might be able to devote himself entirely to the making of the cartoons for the frescoes intended for the antecameras of the Vatican, the subjects for which were to be taken from the life of St. Peter, and the remaining paintings in the Sala Regia, Lorenzo Sabbatini was charged to complete the little that was still wanting to the picture in commemoration of the naval victory of Lepanto in the Sala Regia. Vasari worked with his customary rapidity, so that by February the Pope could already be shown several cartoons. Gregory was highly delighted with the artist's work, and showed the greatest anxiety about his health. Vasari himself was in the highest spirits. Six Popes, he wrote to a friend, had so far employed twelve painters in the Sala Regia, and he himself was the thirteenth.[2] In March, 1573, three of the frescoes were completely finished, and the others half done. In the following month only one picture was still wanting, and when the news came in April of the dissolution of the league against the Turks, the Pope seemed at first inclined to do away with the fresco showing the united fleets of the Spaniards, Venetians and the Holy See, though he quickly gave up this idea. During the same month the new marble paving was laid in the Sala Regia, with the Pope's arms, and the inscriptions for Varsari's frescoes were set up. On the feast of Corpus Christi it was possible to throw open this work, which had taken thirteen months.[3]

Even more than to Vasari's frescoes dealing with the history of the Popes, such as the excommunication of Frederick II. by Gregory IX. and the return of Gregory XI. from Avignon,[4]

[1] See GAYE, III., 341, 343 *seq.*, 345; VASARI, VIII., 481 *seq.*

[2] See GAYE, III., 361 *seq.*

[3] See *ibid.*, 368, 370, 375. For the marble flooring see BAGLIONE, 5, and *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 59, where will also be found the inscription of 1573.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 13. *Cf.* BARBIER, II., 6 *seqq.* In his letters (GAYE, III., 365, 370) Vasari always speaks of "sei cartoni grandi delle 6 storie," but I could not verify the sixth fresco.

has attention been directed to his three pictures dealing with the massacre of St. Bartholomew. On the right of the entrance to the Sistine Chapel is a picture showing Coligny, the Huguenot leader, being taken away mortally wounded, and on the neighbouring right wall leading to the Pauline Chapel are shown the massacre of the Huguenots, and the justification of Charles IX. by the Parliament for that deed.[1]

Lorenzo Sabbatini had completed his work at the same time; in the front portion of the great picture of the fleet he had painted three allegorical figures, and in that of the naval battle the figure of religion, which rises above the defeated Turks, carrying the cross in one hand and the chalice in the other.[2] In the small pictures in the Sala Regia, Orazio Sammachini celebrated the donation of Luitprand, King of the Lombards, to the Roman Church.[3] Marco da Siena painted the restoration by Otho the Great of the provinces taken by Berengarius from the Holy See, and Livio Agresti da Forlì the investiture of King Peter II. of Aragon by Innocent III.[4] All these frescoes are only mediocre works.

[1] In a letter of December 12, 1572, to Francesco de' Medici (given in GAYE, III., 350) Vasari described the frescoes in which he desired to depict the "storie degli Ugonotti." The explanatory inscriptions, grown almost illegible by the lapse of time (*cf.* KEYSZLER, Reisen, I., 788) were copied, in the time of Sixtus V., by the author of the description of Rome in the Cod. Barb., XXX., 89; and according to him, they read as follows: 1. G. Colignius Amiralius accepto vulnere domi defertur; 2. Colignii et suorum caedes; 3. Rex Colignii necem probat (see *Arch. Rom.*, VI., 455). At a later date A. Buchellius read the inscriptions with almost exactly the same result (see *ibid.*, XXIII., 62). And that settles once and for all the reading given by anti-Jesuit and anti-Catholic pamphlets: "*Pontifex* Colignii necem probat," which, though long ago stigmatized as a malicious forgery by DUHR (Jesuitenfabeln², 191), was nevertheless still accepted as genuine by Wachler, Froude, Forneron and Polenz.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 17.

[3] See TAJA, 18 *seq.*

[4] See BAGLIONE, 18; TAJA, 15 *seq.*, 17. Picture in Voss, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 551.

They are surrounded by heavily painted and elaborate frames, held up by plastic figures: "in these frames one is oppressed by the multiplicity of pinnacles and volutes, and figures full of life and movement, the whole without any particular connexion with the pictures."[1] These frescoes are, however, very interesting on account of the idea they give of the still substantially medieval views of ecclesiastical politics held at that time at the Roman court, and its conception of the position of the Papal State; they are characteristic of the period of Catholic restoration; on the walls of the splendid hall intended for the solemn ceremony of making the *obedientia* on the part of the Catholic princes, it was thought only fitting to represent the dominant power of the Church, and the victories of the Papacy.[2]

By the Pope's wish Vasari also made the designs for the decoration of the ceiling and walls of the Pauline Chapel;[3] their execution was entrusted to Lorenzo Sabbatini. In three frescoes the latter painted the stoning of St. Stephen, St. Paul disputing with Simon Magus, and the Apostle of the Gentiles being cured of his blindness by the hands of Ananias. A fourth painting, the baptism of St. Paul, was the work of

[1] See Posse in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 128.

[2] "Ecclesia militans and Ecclesia triumphans" was the programme says Escher in the *Repert. für Kunstwissenschaft*, XLI. (1918), 108. "No attempt is made to tell a story, for the episodes are not arranged in chronological order, but each one has for its sole object the creating of an impression which gives unity to the whole." A hitherto unknown *programme for the paintings in the Sala Regia points out that these paintings must be in keeping with the purpose for which the place is used. "Et perche nella Sala Regia gli Imperatori et Re christiani publicamente rendono obedienza al Pontefice Romano . . . si dovesse dipingere alcun fatto o historia memorabile che rappresentasse la debita sugettione et inferiorità del principato terreno verso il sacerdotio." The author quotes examples from the Old Testament and from church history (Constantine and Pope Silvester, Charlemagne and Leo III.). Vatic. 7031, pp. 280-1, Vatican Library.

[3] Kallab, Vasari-Studien, 135.

Federico Zuccaro, who also painted the pictures on the ceiling.[1] The angels bearing torches round the arms of Gregory XIII. are the work of Prospero Bresciano.[2] The works of sculpture in the Pauline Chapel were entirely finished by the beginning of 1585.[3]

The restoration of the pictures in the Sala de' Palafrenieri was undertaken by Pietro de Santi, Pietro Comotto and the young Giuseppe Cesari d'Arpino.[4] The Sala de' Paramenti also was given an elaborate new ceiling.[5] At the entrance to the Hall of Consistories, in which Muziano had painted the Descent of the Holy Ghost, there arose a loggia decorated with paintings and stucco work.[6] The Sicilian, Tomaso Laureti, was summoned from Bologna to complete the decoration of the ceiling of the Hall of Constantine. Laureti had made his name not only by his altar-pieces, but also by his architectural perspective paintings. The Pope, who was especially fond of this new style of decoration, honoured him almost as a prince.[7] These works were at their height in the last year of the pontificate of Gregory.[8] On the great

[1] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 7, and BAGLIONE, 117, and also TAJA, 68 *seq.* With regard to Vasari see THEINER, I., 202, 411. Numerous *payments for the decoration of the Capella Paolina in the Tesor. segr. of the year 1580, Papal Secret Archives.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 40; THIEME, I., 155.

[3] The Pope inspected them on Thursday says the *Avviso di Roma of January 5, 1585. Urb. 1053, p. 7[b], Vatican Library.

[4] See LANCIANI, IV., 60. *Cf.* PLATNER, II., 1, 379, who says that Zuccaro was employed.

[5] See PISTOLESI, II., 37, and plate VIII.

[6] See CIAPPI, 6; BAGLIONE, 5, 48.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 68.

[8] See *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 480, Vatican Library. *Cf.* BAGLIONE, 68; CIAPPI, 6. On December 7, 1584, Odescalchi *reported that P. Toledo preached yesterday in the "Sala dell' udienze publiche, facendosi hora accomodare la suffito della sala di Costantino, che andava in ruina." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

wall of the Hall, in the fresco of the Donation of Constantine, the Emperor is shown in the act of giving to Pope Sylvester a golden statue of Rome. So as to depict the magnitude of the gift, Laureti painted on the ceiling, in the form of allegorical female figures, the eight provinces of Italy with appropriate emblems and inscriptions, and facing the windows personifications of the islands of Sicily and Corsica. On the ceiling were also shown, by means of globes, Europe, Asia and Africa, the Papal insignia, and allegorical emblems of the virtues of Gregory XIII. In the centre Laureti intended to commemorate the destruction of paganism by Constantine. While the work was still going on the Pope died, and his successor completed the fresco in a different way.[1]

The northern part of the Loggia, on the first floor of the Cortile of S. Damaso, was decorated by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie and other artists, with grotesque paintings,[2] the variety of which, when contrasted with the western part, carried out under Leo X., by Giovanni da Udine, well shows the decadence in art. This contrast is also clearly shown on the second floor, in the continuation of the Loggie of Raphael undertaken by Lorenzo Sabbatini, and after his death by Ottaviano Mascherino.[3] The paintings on the ceilings, representing scenes from the New Testament, as well as the arabesques and festoons of fruit, painted by Marco da Faenza,[4] are but mediocre works,[5]

The new apartments of the Pope adjoined the Loggie, and were very spacious.[6] For the private chapel Muziano

[1] See the *Memorie in the Appendix No. 11, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See Baglione, 38; Taja, 130 *seq.*, 132 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* Ojetti in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca*, Ann., 1913-4, 89 *seq.*, where will also be found a picture of the frescos which are valued too highly by Ojetti.

[4] See Baglione, 21.

[5] Detailed description in Taja, 174 *seq.*

[6] They constitute almost a palace in themselves, is the exaggerated comment of Cardinal Galli in his *Memorie (see Appendix No. 28, Vol. XIX.), Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

painted the altar-piece, the miraculous feeding of Paul the Hermit and Antony by a raven.[1]

Gregory had scenes from the life of St. Peter painted on the walls of the staircase leading from the first to the second floor of the Loggie. These, as well as other paintings on the stairs of the Vatican, are the work of Donato da Formello, a disciple of Vasari.[2] Gregory had the north-west gallery on the third floor of the Loggie finished by Martino Lunghi, and had the second series of arches decorated with paintings and stucco work in the heavy taste of the day under the supervision of Lorenzo Sabbatini.[3]

Matthieu Bril and Antonio Tempesta painted there that picture which is so important for the topography of Rome, the translation of the relics of St. Gregory Nazianzen to the church of St. Peter's.[4] Of special interest are the numerous inscriptions placed on the vaulting of the ceiling, recording the buildings and more important events of the long pontificate of Gregory XIII.;[5] an inscription in gold letters records the reform of the calendar.[6] These were composed by a Dominican, Tomaso Fazello, a celebrated authority upon Sicily. The Pope criticized the fact that several building works were attributed to him which had never been carried out.[7]

The direction of the decoration of the so-called Sala

[1] *Cf.* TAJA, 197 *seq.*; MORONI, IX., 158. The chapel is now used as the Papal chamber for Relics.

[2] See BAGLIONE, 15; THIEME, IX., 425.

[3] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* LETAROUILLY, I., Cour de Loges tab. 46-7.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 201; THIEME, V., 16; MAYER, Die Brüder M. und P. Brill, 6 *seq.*, and plate 1. *Cf. supra*, p. 571, n. 1.

[5] Reproduced in FORCELLA, VI., 93 *seq.*, and LANCIANI, IV., 49. Detailed description in TAJA, 255 *seq.* *Cf.* BARBIER, II., 74 *seqq.*

[6] Reproduced in CIAPPI, 85. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 92.

[7] See *the notes of T. Fazello in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

Bolognese[1] on the third floor of the Vatican, as well as the above mentioned second series of arcades on the same floor, was entrusted to Lorenzo Sabbatini. The foreshortened architecture of the vaulted ceiling, which is open to the sky, was painted by Ottaviano Mascherino with the signs of the zodiac ; the figures of celebrated astronomers and geographers which people the landscape, are the work of Sabbatini himself. Gregory also had the walls decorated. The brothers Cherubino and Giovanni Alberti painted on the entrance wall a plan of Bologna and its neighbourhood, with detailed reproductions of the buildings of that city ; there is also the concession of the decretals by Gregory IX., and the conferring of privileges upon the University of Bologna by Boniface VIII.[2]

Contemporaries admired above everything else the so-called Galleria Geografica in the Vatican. This name was given to the first half of the corridor in the Belvedere, 120 metres in length, which was completed in the time of Gregory XIII. by Ottaviano Mascherino,[3] and which is on the second floor of the western part of the Vatican. From this seventeen windows open, on the east to the cortile of the Belvedere, and on the west to the Vatican gardens. The name was derived from the geographical maps which were painted on the surface of the walls between the windows. This, however, forms only one part of the decoration of the long gallery, which is magnificently decorated from ceiling to floor with

[1] The " Sala detta la Bologna " was used, up to the time of Pius X., as a picture-gallery ; and is still well remembered by older travellers to Rome. Its floor bears the inscription : Gregorius XIII., &c. A° Iubilei, 1575.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome, as also TAJA, 497 *seq.*, and *Atti e Mem. p. l., stor. d. Romagna*, 3. Series XIII., 158 *seq.* *Cf.* also POSSE in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XL. (1919), 133.

[3] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (*loc. cit.*) which considerably supplement the particulars given by Baglione. The work had already been begun in 1580 ; see BELTRAMI, 36.

paintings, inscriptions and stucco work.[1] The ceiling, which is painted after the designs of Girolamo Muziano, Cesare Nebbia and others,[2] consists of historical pictures, arabesques and landscapes. There may be seen side by side and in great variety scenes from the lives of St. John the Baptist, the Princes of the Apostles, Popes Sylvester I. and Leo the Great, St. Benedict, St. Severus, St. Romuald and St. Bernadine. There is also an episode from the life of St. Peter Damian and the election of Celestine V. The restless impression of the whole is increased by the fact that at first the spectator cannot understand the connexion between the pictures. But an inscription[3] warns him that there are depicted those events which occurred in the places indicated in the adjoining geographical maps. It is above all these maps which attract the attention of the visitor. In all there are no less than forty, sixteen gigantic maps all round, others in the spaces between the windows, and four smaller ones near the two doors in the shorter walls. These are the work of the Dominican, Ignazio Danti, who had been professor of mathematics at Bologna since 1576.

Danti had a great reputation as an astronomer, mathematician, engineer and cartographer, and, as the editor of

[1] See the description in TAJA, 283 *seq.*, PISTOLESI, VI., 164 *seqq.*, CHATTARD, II., 272 *seq.*, and BARBIER, II., 140 *seqq.*, though they completely ignore the actual contents of the maps. For this see the excellent article by E. SCHMIDT, Die Galleria geografica des Vatikans, in Hettner's *Geogr. Zeitschrift*, XVII. (1911), 506 *seq.* See also E. MACCARI, Targhe e disegni d. carte geografiche nel Vaticano, Roma (no date—14 maps) and A. MELANI in *Arte Ital. decorat. ed industr.*, XV. (1906), 13 *seq.*; also BESNIER in the *Mél. d'archéol.*, XX., 295 *seq.*, who expressly draws attention to the fact that the maps were substantially altered at the time of the restoration by Urban VIII.

[2] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, *loc. cit.* According to BAGLIONE, 16, 17, 38, 41, 48, 54, 110, Jacopo Sementa, Lor. Sabbatini, Nicc. dalle Pomerancie, Matteo da Siena and others were employed in Galleria Geografica.

[3] See CIACONIUS, IV., 22. *Cf.* FORCELLA, VI., 85.

the "optics" of Euclid and the "perspective" of Vignola was also connected with sculpture.[1] He perfected his measuring instruments to such an extent that he was able to produce a widely admired plan of the territory of Perugia, which he painted upon the wall of the great hall of the Palazzo del Governo.[2] This work led Gregory XIII. to commission the learned friar to make a map of the whole of the Papal States. In 1580 Danti went to Rome, where he took part in the discussions of the reform of the calendar,[3] and received orders from the Pope to produce in large maps in the corridor in the Vatican a true representation of the whole of the Papal States.[4]

How strong a hold the idea of the temporal possessions of the Church had is seen from the fact that even Avignon is

[1] *Cf.* VASARI, VII., 633 *seq.*; BAGLIONE, 53 *seq.*; MARCHESE, Mem. dei pittori domenicani, II., Bologna, 1879, 351 *seq.*; PODESTÀ in the *Riv. Europ.*, VIII., 2 (1877), 41 *seq.*; J. DEL BADIA in the *Rassegna Naz.*, 1881; V. PALMERI in the *Bollett. d. deput. di storia per l' Umbria*, V. (1899); E. SCHMIDT, Die Galleria geografica, *loc. cit.*, 503 *seq.*; RIZZATTI, Perugia, Bologna, 1911, 151; THIEME, VIII., 380 *seq.*; *Mél. d' archéol.*, XX., 292 *seq.*; v. SCHLOSSER, Materialien zur Quellenkunde der Kunstgeschichte, Vienna, 1919, 49, 82. The Vatic. 5647 contains: Fr. Egnatius, ord. praed., *Anemographia in Anemoscopium Vaticanum horizontale ac verticale instrumentum ostensorem ventorum ad Gregorium XIII., Vatican Library.

[2] Giov. Pietro Ghislieri says, in his *Relatione della Romagna, that he transmitted to Danti the order to undertake this work. Urb. 831, p. 85, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., p. 285. MORONI's statement (L.,262), taken from SCHMID (Kalenderreform, 415), that Gregory XIII. recognized the errors in the Julian Calendar from the meridian constructed by Danti in the Torre de' Venti is probably a story without foundation.

[4] Interesting from a chronological point of view is the statement of L. Jacobilli, *Croniche di Foligno: "1581 di Gennaio per ordine del Papa si mandó da Foligno a Roma la pianta della città e territorio per poner nella Galleria." Manuscript in the possession of Mgr. Faloci Pulignani at Foligno.

included, and that to all the places recovered by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. the arms of those Popes are attached.

The original commission for the reproduction of the Papal States was soon extended to that of the whole of Italy. Besides the division into states, Danti also worked upon geographical lines. The Appenines serve as the main line of division ; on one wall may be seen the districts beyond the great mountain range, and on the other those on the nearer side. Italy is here shown by a symbolical figure with a crown upon her head, in her right hand the horn of plenty, in her left a spear, while at her feet are the two rivers, the Po and the Adige.[1] If one considers the tremendous cartographical work which was thus produced, it is easy to understand how Danti, even though he had assistants to help him, required three years hard work to produce it.[2]

Danti carried out his task in great detail. He himself was responsible for all the measurements, the outlines of the sea-coasts, the courses of the rivers, canals and roads, as well as the marking of places, and the plans of the cities. He obtained a large number of drawings from Venice.[3] The pictorial execution of these designs as well as the rest of the decoration, he left to his assistants, although he superintended the whole work with the greatest care ;[4] when the great work was approaching completion in 1583 the learned Dominican was appointed Bishop of Alatri,[5] a recompense which he had certainly deserved. His gigantic work in the Galleria Geografica is not, however, free from defects ; these are especially due to the fact that the maps had as their first

[1] Picture in the *Arch. p. l' Alto Adige*, IX. (1914), 61.

[2] See E. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 506. *Cf.* BERTOLOTTI, Art. Bolognesi, 50 *seq.* MONTAIGNE (I., 236) thought in January, 1581, that the gallery was near completion.

[3] *Cf.* *Bolognetti's letter to Galli dated Venice, November 19, 1580, Nunziat. di Venezia, XXI., 582, Papal Secret Archives.

[4] See E. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 514. For the Dominicans as assistants to Danti see MARCHESE, II., 374.

[5] He died there in 1586 ; see UGHELLI, I. *Cf.* Lettere di Bernardo Baldo, Parma, 1873, 26.

object their artistic effect, though no one can deny to them many excellences, as for example the exact configuration of the coasts of Italy. In his treatment of the cities Danti followed the taste of his times, which demanded not so much a plan as a general picture of the cities in question; thus, although in the case of the larger cities we have a plan, it nevertheless has rather the character of a general view, by reason of the bringing into prominence of the principal buildings, so that the strictly topographical value of the plan undoubtedly suffers. Rome, Bologna and other important cities have special maps to themselves, which either fill the small spaces near the doors, or are inserted in the margins of the larger ones in frames of their own.[1]

Danti sought to avoid the monotony of the large maps which extend from the ceiling to the floor, by filling the sea with sea-horses, dolphins, marine divinities and mythological animals, while he introduces historical episodes near the cities and in various districts. Moreover, the numerous inscriptions, with their richly coloured characters, the points of the compass, which are to be seen in every map, and which stand out effectively upon the blue of the sea, give to the whole work a decorative character; moreover, the large frames of the maps are adorned with a profusion of cupids, and allegorical personifications of each region in accordance with the taste of the times. But in spite of this predominance of the artistic point of view, the cartographical work of Danti, taken altogether, is an important geographical landmark of the late Renaissance.[2] Travelling was a difficult matter in those days and not devoid of danger, so that representations

[1] See E. SCHMIDT, Die Galleria geografica, *loc. cit.*, 507 *seq.*, 519, who was the first to give an expert appreciation of the work of Danti. *Cf.* BERTOLINI, L' autore della epigrafa alla carta delle Marche nella Galleria d. carte geogr. al Vaticano, in the *Bollett. d. Soc. Geograf. Ital.*, 5. Series, Vol. 10. For the representation of the so-called Alto-Adige district see TOLOMEI, in the *Arch. p. l'Alto Adige*, IX. (1914), 60 *seq.* A complete publication of all the maps is being prepared by A. Grossi-Gondi and B. Nogara.

[2] See E. SCHMIDT, *loc. cit.*, 509, 511, 514, 516.

of foreign places and cities, which were beyond people's personal experience, were all the more welcome. For this reason the gallery justly excited the admiration of contemporaries,[1] and was even celebrated in verse;[2] it is undoubtedly a magnificent work of its kind.[3] From the first, the expense involved had been very large,[4] but this did not restrain Gregory XIII. from erecting, in the middle of the Belvedere galleries, at the hands of Ottaviano Mascherino, yet another building, the so-called "Tower of the Winds"[5] which was seventy-three metres in height: this was to serve as an astronomical observatory.[6] The arms of Gregory XIII. adorn the principal façade. The dragon of the Boncompagni may also be seen in the loggia of the tower which Urban VIII. had transformed into a hall, which contains the celebrated meridian of Rome attributed to Danti. The walls were adorned with frescoes by Niccolò dalle Pomarancie and the Dutch landscape painter, Matthieu Bril.[7]

These works at the Vatican, where the building operations made residence difficult for the time being,[8] and still more the

[1] *Cf.* CORRARO, 274, and, in the Appendix No. 28, Vol. XIX., the *Memorie of Cardinal Galli, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[2] See the poem which praises the magnificent view from the gallery: *Ambulatio Gregoriana in the Cod. D. 8 of the Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] According to H. VOSS, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 431.

[4] The "spesa eccessiva nel corridore di Belvedere" is mentioned by the *Avviso di Roma of December 24, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 432^b, Vatican Library.

[5] See CIAPPI, 7.

[6] *Cf.* F. DENZA, Cenni storici sulla Specola Vaticana, in the *Pubblicaz. d. Specola Vatic.*, I., Roma, 1891, 13 *seq.*

[7] G. AURELI (La Specola Vaticana, in the *Rassegna Internaz.*, XI. (1902), 4 *seq.*) ascribes the paintings to Zuccaro. I follow the very well informed *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome; see Appendix No. 11.

[8] *"Essendo sottosopra il Vaticano per le nuove fabriche, che fa fare il Papa per un' altro pezzo si potrebbe godere il Palazzo di S. Marco et fare il S. Martino a Montecavallo," says the Avviso di Roma of October 7, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 396, Vatican Library.

bad climate that prevails there in the hot months, suggested to Gregory XIII. that he should pass the summers of 1572 and 1573 at the palace of S. Marco.[1] While he was there he frequently visited the splendid palace of Cardinal Este on the western slope of the Quirinal. From its owners, the Neapolitan family of the Carafa, the villa bore the name of the Vigna di Napoli ; it was leased by the Carafa, first to the Farnese and later on to the Este.[2] Doctors recommended Montecavallo, as the Quirinal was then called, for its healthy climate.[3] It also enjoyed a splendid view over the city and the Campagna, and it is no wonder that Gregory XIII. was attracted by that locality. On the occasion of one of his visits, on October 4th, 1573, he expressed his intention of building a palace on the hill for use in the hot season.[4] For this purpose he had to buy one of the villas, but he had to take into account that this would involve a cost of 50,000 scudi.[5] It was probably the question of expense that delayed the carrying out of this plan. When the Pope again chose the Quirinal for his residence in the following year, he availed himself of the hospitality of Cardinal Este ; on August 30th he held a consistory in the latter's splendid villa.[6] He again stayed at the villa of the Cardinal in the autumn of 1575.[7]

It was almost a whole decade later that Gregory XIII. once again returned to the wish which he had expressed in 1573 ; at the end of May, 1583, it was learned in Rome that the erection of a palace had been decided upon, on the estate of Cardinal Este, facing on the Via Pia, and that 23,000 scudi

[1] See DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, Vienna, 1909, 107 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* HÜLSEN, Römische Antikengärten, Heidelberg, 1917, 85 *seq.*

[3] *Cf.* CANCELLIERI, Lettera sopra il tarantismo, 31.

[4] See Avvisi-Caetani, 69.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of October 24, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 319, Vatican Library.

[6] See MUCANTIUS *Diarium, Papal Secret Archives ; SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 246.

[7] *Cf.* OJETTI in the *Atti e Mem. d. Accad. di S. Luca,* Ann., 1913-4, 104.

had already been expended for that purpose.[1] By the middle of June the work was in full progress, and was being pushed forward with the greatest energy ;[2] the question of the necessary water supply was already under consideration.[3] The direction of the work was placed in the hands of Ottaviano Mascherino ;[4] the great cost at first alarmed Gregory,[5] but in the end he allotted the necessary sums, and hoped to be

[1] *Si dice per la corte che N.S. habbia ordinato che si faccia un bel palazzo a Monte Cavallo nel giadino del s. card. d'Este su la strada Pia et che per questo conto S. B^ne habbia destinati 22,000 scudi. Memorandum of Odescalchi dated Rome, May 21, 1583, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. This report, confirmed by the *Avviso di Roma of May 21, 1583 (Urb. 1051, p. 228, Vatican Library), and the hitherto unknown documents quoted below throw a certain amount of light on the history of how the Papal palace on the Quirinal came into being. The matter has always been obscure even to LANCIANI (IV., 92 *seq.*), who is the best authority on such subjects. HÜLSEN (*loc. cit.*, 88) rightly remarks that the usual statement that the building was begun in 1574 cannot be correct.

[2] Odescalchi *reported on June 18, 1583, that the Pope was causing the work on the new palace to be carried out "a furia."

[3] *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of May 28 and June 4, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 233, 239. In the first one of these it says : "N.S.^re fa aggiongere grandi stanze alla vigna del s. card. d'Este a Montecavallo con pensiero di farvi condurre anco certa acqua grossa di Salone con render quel luogo amenissimo da che si conosce che si aper habitarlo molti mesi dell' anno." Vatican Library.

[4] See BAGLIONE, 5 and 93 *seq.* ; *cf.* 64 for the part played by Martino Lunghi. See also OJETTI, *loc. cit.* M. DE BENEDETTI (Palazzi e Ville Reali d'Italia, I., Firenze, 1911, 16) describes Flaminio Ponzio as the first architect of the Quirinal under Gregory XIII.

[5] When the architects declared that 8,000 scudi would be sufficient for the new building, Gregory XIII. said that an annual payment of 1,000 scudi was too much, from which it was concluded that the Pope hoped to live for eight years more, *Avviso di Roma of June 1, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 237, Vatican Library.

able to make use of his new residence in the autumn.[1] In October he brought pressure to bear to hasten the work,[2] but when he went for a week to the Quirinal in January, 1584, he had to stay with Cardinal Este, as the new Papal palace was not yet fit for habitation.[3] In the same month the number of the workmen was increased, so that until March the work advanced rapidly.[4] At the end of May it was said that the Pope intended to add a lofty tower to the palace, which would afford a view, not only of the city of the seven hills, but also of the whole surrounding country as far as the sea.[5] When Gregory had, as before, passed the summer in the Palace of S. Marco,[6] he visited the new building in the autumn and found it so far advanced that he could at last make use of it. The north part, with its lofty loggia, and its beautiful winding staircases, was finished, but the interior decoration was still to a great extent lacking.[7] Moreover,

[1] *Ha applicato (il Papa) tutti li denari delle compositioni, che si davano a loughi pii, alla fabrica di Monte Cavallo volendo S.S^tà che sia finita et habitabile al prossimo autumno. Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1583, Urb. 1051, p. 263, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of October 12, 1583, *ibid.*, p. 423.

[3] See *Odescalchi's memorandum of January 14, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] See the *Avvisi di Roma of January 11 and 21, 1584, Urb. 1052, pp. 13 and 31. In the first one it says: Yesterday the Pope went to the villa of Cardinal Este, "essendo la fabrica nuova in quel sito sort ain un tratto maravigliosamente da fundamenti, ma per un pezzo sarà inhabitabile per S.S^tà." *Cf.* also the *Avviso di Roma of January 25, 1584, Vatican Library. Odescalchi *reported on March 3, 1584, that the Pope remained until yesterday at Montecavallo, "essendo hormai quella fabrica ridotta a bellissimo termine d' habitatione." Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. The setting aside of 4,000 scudi for the building is reported in an *Avviso di Roma of March 7, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 83, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584, *ibid.*, p. 207 (Appendix No. 9).

[6] *Cf.* DENGEL, Palazzo di Venezia, 108.

[7] See BAGLIONE, 5; *ibid.*, 67, for the paintings of Giov. Alberti in the Quirinal. *Cf.* HÜLSEN, *loc. cit.*, 88.

the whole building was too small to house a large court. The Pope therefore only made short stays in the palace; for example, at the end of September[1] and of November, 1584,[2] and in January, 1585, on which occasions he was accustomed to walk in the adjoining garden[3] until nightfall. The property and land upon which the palace stood still belonged to the Carafa, though it was leased to Cardinal Este. The relations of the Pope with Este were disturbed for a time by the excesses of the turbulent retinue of the Cardinal, who claimed immunity for them,[4] but at the end of the pontificate they were again on good terms. In June, 1584, Gregory expressed his intention of leaving the new palace to Cardinal Este in his will.[5]

The regular and frequent stays which he made in the delightful hills of Frascati, led the Pope to establish a parish and a small cathedral in honour of St. Gregory at the neighbouring Monte Porzio.[6] He also caused Martino Lunghi to build a new church for the Capuchins at Frascati.[7] This

[1] See *Odescalchi's report of September 22, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[2] See *Sporeno's report of November 24, 1584 (the Pope betook himself from the Vatican "ad novum a se conditum palatium ad vineam Estensem"), Provincial Archives, Innsbruck).

[3] See *Avviso di Roma of January 12, 1585, Urb. 1053, pp. 18-19. Here it is also mentioned that the contract for supplying water to the Quirinal was ready. Vatican Library.

[4] See LE BRET, Geschichte Italiens, in the *Haller Allg. Welthist.*, XLVI., 2, 312. *Cf. supra*, p. 528.

[5] See, in the Appendix No. 10, the *Avviso di Roma of June 6, 1584. According to the *Avviso of June 18, 1583 (Urb. 1051, p. 260) it was thought at the time that the Pope intended buying the Villa Este, Vatican Library.

[6] *Cf.* CIAPPI, 10 *seq.*; GROSSI-GONDI, 56; HEMPEL, C. Rinaldi, Munich, 1919, 65, and, in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX., *Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The arms of Gregory XIII. are still to be seen over the main gate of the charmingly situated little town.

[7] See, in the Appendix No. 11, the *Memorie sulle pitture e fabriche, Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

church, which was dedicated to St. Francis, occupied a fine sight on the road leading to Tusculum. The name of the Pope may still be read upon its simple façade.[1] A beautiful Crucifixion by Muziano adorns the high altar, and two of the chapels were founded by Cardinal Guastavillani.[2]

On many occasions Gregory XIII. very seriously occupied himself about the improvement of the ports of the Papal States. This was the case at Fiumicino, where there still existed important remains of the ancient harbour;[3] but the silting up put such difficulties in the way of the works, which were directed by Giovanni Fontana, that the project had to be abandoned.[4] The Pope then directed his attention all the more energetically to the improvement of the other two ports in his States. On February 3rd, 1574, accompanied by a number of engineers, he went to Civitavecchia for a stay of ten days,[5] and gave orders for the harbour to be put into a state of repair; the fortifications there were also strengthened; the arms of Gregory and an inscription of 1584 on the rock commemorates this.[6] Ten years earlier Gregory XIII. had strengthened the fortifications at Ancona;[7] the principal

[1] "Sedente Gregorio XIII. P. M. a. iubil., 1575," and underneath the Pope's arms; over the entrance door: "Divo Francisco." The church was added to later on, for the *Avviso di Roma of June 27, 1579, reports: "Il Papa fa fare alla Villa una bellissima chiesa a PP. Cappuccini." Urb. 1047, p. 214, Vatican Library.

[2] See CIACONIUS, IV., 6.

[3] See the picture in the Galleria Geografica with the inscription: Romani portus reliquiae A° X° Pontif. Gregorii XIII descriptae.

[4] See KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 84 *seq.* For particulars of Fontana's work in Fiumicino see BAGLIONE, 123.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of February 3, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 35. The *Avviso of December 18, 1574, reports that on Thursday the Castellano" went to Civitavecchia to direct the work of fortification. *Ibid.*, p. 319, Vatican Library. *Cf.* also BELTRAMI, 7, and *supra*, pp. 549 *seq.*

[6] Gregorius XIII. Pontif. Max. MDLXXIIII. *Cf.* CIAPPI, 10, VENUTI, 145, BONANNI, I., 347, and *supra*, pp. 549 *seq.*

[7] *Cf.* *Avviso di Roma of December 18, 1574, Urb. 1044, p. 318b, Vatican Library. The plan goes back to the year 1572; see BELTRAMI, 6.

works there, however, were in connexion with the repairs to the harbour, upon which large sums were spent.[1] The supreme direction of the works was in the hands of the Pope's nephew, Giacomo Boncompagni. A tower on the sea shore south of Terracina still bears witness to Gregory's zeal for the fortification of the coasts.[2]

In the interests of trade and communications, and above all to facilitate access to Rome for the pilgrims, Gregory XIII. ordered repairs of the bridges and roads in the Papal States. The most important means of communication, the road from Rome to Loreto and Ancona, was so radically improved that henceforward it could be used even by carriages. At that time, however, people still travelled for the most part on horseback, and the use of carriages, already common in France, was still the prerogative of the aristocracy in Italy. The new road, which, from its maker, bore the name, perpetuated in a marble inscription, of the Via Boncompagni, was at once, on account of its convenience and in spite of the detour involved, made use of by the post which went by way of Genoa to Spain. In consequence of the destruction of the forests it also afforded the advantage of safety.[3] The ancient Flaminian Way, which led to Rimini,[4] and the road from Rome to Civitavecchia, were also repaired, and a canal between Civitavecchia and the Eternal City was also projected.[5]

[1] See *supra*, p. 550. *Cf.* also CIAPPI, 9 *seq.*

[2] The inscription, with the date 1573, on the tower which stands on the road to Fondi was seen by me as recently as 1903 when I was paying a visit to that district so much frequented by artists. For Gregory XIII.'s tower on the island in the Tiber see *Arch. Rom.*, XX., 77 *seq.*

[3] See CORRARO, 274, CIAPPI, 9, and Taverna's *notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *Cf.* KEYSZLER, II., 394; HÜBNER, I., 84 *seq.*; KARTTUNEN, *loc. cit.*, 86 *seq.*, where will also be found particulars of the improvements in the postal service made by Gregory XIII.

[4] See the inscription in the *Arch. Rom.*, VII., 247. *Cf. ibid.*, XXIII., 36, 42; KEYSZLER, II., 392.

[5] *Cf.* NARDUCCI in the *Atti d. Accad. dei Lincei*, 4. Series I. (1885), 300 *seq.*, where de Castro's Relazione is quoted from the Boncompagni Archives.

Closely allied with the making of roads was the repairing of the bridges. Especially famous, because of its utility and its beauty, was the Ponte Centino, near the Florentine border, across the Paglia, a swift tributary of the Tiber, in crossing which many people were drowned every year; its architect was Giovanni Fontana. Mention is also made of the bridges over the Montone near Cesena and Forlì.[1]

At Loreto the Pope decorated the façade of the celebrated sanctuary with marbles, and placed a bronze statue of the Blessed Virgin in a niche over the entrance. He also sent to the sanctuary the Golden Rose and rich vestments; in the city he built the Illyrian College and a palace for the lodging of princely visitors. At Cività Castellana the apartments of the castle were enlarged. At Tolfa the officials employed in the alum mines were given new accommodation. The sanctuaries of S. Maria della Quercia near Viterbo, and of S. Petronio at Bologna received rich gifts.[2] In his native Bologna the Pope also subsidized the building of the cathedral,[3] and ordered the enlargement of the Palazzo Pubblico,[4] for which Domenico Tibaldi made a new portal for the bronze

[1] See *Arch. Rom.*, XXIII., 32; KEYSZLER, II., 465; BAGLIONE, 123; VENUTI, 145. *Cf.* BONANNI, I., 346 *seq.* For the coins mentioned by Bonanni, *cf.* PIPER, Mythologie der christl. Kunst I., 2, Weimar, 1851, 556.

[2] See CIAPPI, 9 *seq.*; MAFFEI, II., 393. The artist of the bronze statue is mentioned in the *Memorie sulle pitture et fabriche (Appendix No. 11). Gregory XIII. visited the Madonna della Quercia in September, 1578 (see BUSSI, Viterbo, 319), and a present from him followed in the next year; see *Avviso di Roma of June 27, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 214[b], Vatican Library. An inscription on the Rocca at Spoleto draws attention to the restoration carried out there by Gregory XIII.

[3] *Cf. Atti d. Emilia*, II. (1877), 196 *seq.*, and, in the Appendix No. 29, Vol. XIX., Musotti's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. The cathedral also received the Golden Rose; see *Avviso di Roma of March 22, 1578, Urb. 1046, p. 88, Vatican Library.

[4] See *Avviso di Roma of June 25, 1575, Urb. 1044, p. 476, *ibid.*

statue of Gregory XIII. executed by Alessandro Menganti.[1] An inscription on the Porta Gregoriana at Ravenna records how the Pope had drained the marshes there, repaired the Emilian Way, built a bridge and the gate itself, protected Cervia from inundations, improved the salt works and constructed the Porto Cesenatico.[2]

Finally, the building works of Gregory XIII. extended beyond the borders of Italy. Besides the fortification of Avignon,[3] mention may be made of the seminaries and schools erected at the Pope's expense at Vienna, Graz, Prague, Olmütz, Braunsberg, Fulda, Dillingen, Rheims, Pont-à-Mousson, Wilna, and in far-off Japan.[4] It is not too much to say that Gregory XIII. by his buildings, recalls the versatility of the Popes of the Renaissance.[5] In this respect the Boncompagni Pope surpassed his great successor, Sixtus V., who confined himself almost entirely to Rome. The work which Sixtus accomplished there so strikes the observer that

[1] Fr. G. Cavazza, Della statua di Gregorio XIII. sopra la porta del Palazzo pubblico in Bologna, Bologna, 1888. *Cf.* Bonanni, I., 341; Thieme, I., 259. Tibaldi's first rough sketch in the *Bollett. d' Arte*, VII. (1913), 282 *seq.* For the statue of Gregory XIII. in Ascoli see C. G. Cantalamessa, Notizie storiche su una statua di bronzo erettasi dalla citta di Ascoli nel sec. XVI. al S. P. Gregorio XIII., Roma, 1845.

[2] See Ciaconius, IV., 42. For the draining of the marshes *cf.* Ghislieri's Relatione della Romagna (quoted *supra*, p. 518, n. 4), Urb. 831, p. 121[b], Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Ciappi, 10.

[4] Contemporaries rightly praised the numerous colleges; *cf.* Epistola ex Romana urbe in Germaniam missa, Ingolstadii, 1577. Pictures of the colleges and other buildings of Gregory XIII. in the new edition of Ciappi's Compendio which appeared in Rome in 1596. A certain number of pictures also in the rare work: Delle allusioni, imprese ed emblemi del s. Principio Fabricii da Teramo sopra la vita e opere ed attioni di Gregorio XIII. P.M. libri VI., nei quali sotto l' allegoria del Drago, arme del detto Pontefice, si descriveano la vera forma d' un principe christiano et altre cose, Roma, 1588.

[5] See Escher, 12.

the work of his predecessor is driven into the background. The same thing also holds good in many respects of the influence of Gregory XIII. in ecclesiastical matters, which were nevertheless the centre of gravity of his long pontificate.

Gregory XIII. found himself upon the threshold of old age when he ascended the throne of St. Peter, yet he felt as vigorous and strong as though he had been ten years younger.[1] As he came of a long-lived family, and was free from all disease,[2] he had every reason, considering his simple and strictly regulated manner of life, to promise himself a long reign, all the more so as, though he loved work, he did not neglect to take the necessary recreation.[3] To balance the inevitable annoyances and anxieties of his position, he had a calm disposition and an equable temperament.[4]

The Pope's vigour in 1574 filled the Imperial ambassador, Cusano, with wonder,[5] and this continued in the years that followed.[6] An illness in 1575 was thrown off with the same

[1] *Cf.* his declaration in the consistory of June 26, 1573, in SANTORI, Diario concist., XXIV., 136.

[2] See *Franc. Mendoza's report of May 17, 1572, State Archives, Vienna, and P. TIEPOLO, 212. Gregory XIII. had previously only suffered from a certain weakness in the chest; see *Speciani's notes, Boncompagni Archives, Rome. *"Il Papa è sano et di buona complessione, mangia bene et dorme bene ne ha veruna schinella," reports Franc. Strozzi on July 4, 1573, State Archives, Vienna. *Cf.* also *Avviso di Roma of December 5, 1573, Urb. 1043, p. 338, Vatican Library.

[3] *Cf.* Vol. XIX., 38 *seq.* See also Zuñiga's report in the N. Colecc de doc. inéd., I., 154, III., 87.

[4] See CORRARO, 273.

[5] An *Avviso di Roma, sent in by Cusano and dated April 10, 1574, relates that Gregory XIII., after reading aloud the Bull *In coena Domini*, hurled the candle to the ground with such force "come se fosse giovane di 25 anni." State Archives, Vienna. See also the *Avviso di Roma of September 8, 1574, State Archives, Naples, C. FARNESE, 6.

[6] *Cf.* *Aless. de' Medici's report of June 17, 1575, State Archives, Florence.

ease as a more serious indisposition in 1577.[1] The Pope is now in better health than ever, the Mantuan envoy was able to report at the beginning of June, 1577; in spite of the great heat he was able to make the procession of Corpus Domini in person. In the autumn he was in the best of health at the Villa Altemps at Frascati.[2] In the January of the following year Gregory, although it was very cold, visited the Seven Churches. He went out in all weathers, sometimes so far as to tire out much younger persons who accompanied him. He always carried out all the religious functions.[3] In Holy Week of 1579 an ambassador remarked that the Pope was as well as though he had been only forty years of age.[4] In the May Cardinals congratulated him on possessing such perfect health at the beginning of the eighth year of his reign. Gregory replied that they should give thanks to God, and pray Him to make his life useful to religion and the Holy See.[5] When the Pope returned from Frascati at the end of June, 1579, for the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he looked even better

[1] For the "accidente" of 1575, see P. TIEPOLO, 212. For the passing indisposition of 1577 see the *memoranda of P. Strozzi of May 4, 11 and 18, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and the *Avvisi di Roma of May 1 and 8, Urb. 1045, pp. 281, 287, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of June 1, 10 and 22, and of September 25, 1577, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* the *Avvisi di Roma of June 29, July 19, and August 14, 1577, Urb. 1045, pp. 439[b], 472, 524, Vatican Library. A passing indisposition of Gregory is referred to in an *Avviso di Roma of August 2, 1577, State Archives, Modena.

[3] In addition to A. TIEPOLO, 258, see also *Odescalchi's memoranda of January 11 and December 28, 1578, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

[4] *Memorandum of Odescalchi dat. "Sabbato santo 1579," Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf. ibid.* the *reports of May 23 June 13 and 20, July 25, August 15, October 17, 1579, and the *Avviso di Roma of February 21, 1579, Urb. 1047, p. 56, Vatican Library.

[5] See *Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1579, *ibid.*, p. 182.

than before.[1] At the beginning of April, 1580, the Mantuan envoy reported that the Pope had borne all the tiring functions of Holy Week so well that everyone was surprised; during the long singing he always assisted standing and quite motionless, which was very wonderful in an old man of eighty years.[2] In the summer of 1584, the greater part of the inhabitants of Rome were ill, and only the Pope remained entirely well.[3] In the autumn, during his stay at Mondragone, he took long walks every day.[4]

In the first half of 1581 Gregory surpassed in vigour many who were younger than himself.[5] In the middle of August, however, he began to suffer from a malady which, at first, according to his wont, he tried to conceal, but his condition was soon seen to be serious,[6] and he became worse in consequence of the anxieties occasioned by the prevalence of brigandage.[7] Some of the Cardinals even began to prepare

[1] *Report of Aless. de' Medici of June 27, 1579, State Archives, Florence.

[2] *Odescalchi's memorandum of April 2, 1580, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* also *Aless. de' Medici's report of March 12, 1580, State Archives, Florence.

[3] *Avviso di Roma of August 20, 1580, Urb. 1048, p. 259, Vatican Library. *Ibid.*, an *Avviso di Roma of April 30, 1580: On Thursday the Pope said his office in a room over the Hall of Constantine; he had scarcely left the room when there fell "tetto e soffito con gran ruina."

[4] *Cf.* the *Avviso di Roma, sent by Sporeno and dated September 16, 1580, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck, and *ibid.* Sporeno's *report of September 24, 1580.

[5] See (in addition to Corraro, 273) *Odescalchi's report of March 25, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua, and Sporeno's *memorandum of May 13, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 16 and 19, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 324, 326 *seq.*, 331, Vatican Library, and P. Strozzi's *reports of August 19 and 23, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 103 *seq.*, 111 *seq.*, 115 *seq.*, 117 *seq.*

[7] See the *Avvisi di Roma of August 19 and October 7, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 331, 389, Vatican Library. *Cf.* *Sporeno's report of August 19, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

for a new election.[1] In addition to the attacks of fever, the Pope suffered a good deal from asthma. Throughout the whole of September his condition caused anxiety, though he once again recovered.[2] In the middle of September the Florentine ambassador described Gregory as a failing old man, pale, and with a difficulty in speaking; without a miracle, he thought, the Pope will never be well again.[3] At the beginning of October it was generally thought that a prophecy of an astrologer, that the Pope would die on the 16th of the month, would be verified.[4] Instead of that, however, on October 14th, he was able, completely recovered, to go to his villa at Frascati for a short stay, after having once again resumed his public business.[5] The Venetian ambassador, Corraro, thought that Gregory, who had already buried thirty Cardinals younger than himself, might very well survive another dozen.[6]

In the winter before 1582[7] and during the summer that followed, Gregory's health left nothing to be desired.[8] When

[1] *Cf.* Lettres de P. de Foix, 123 *seq.*; HERRE, 269 *seq.*; HIRN, II., 406.

[2] See *Avvisi di Roma of September 2, 7, 9, 13, 16 and 30, 1581, Urb. 1049, pp. 346, 356, 358, 360, 365, 378, Vatican Library, Sporeno's *memoranda of September 2 and 8, 1581, Prov. Archives, Innsbruck, and P. Strozzi's reports of September 16 and 30, 1581, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. See also Lettres de P. de Foix, 127 *seq.*; GROTTANELLI, Piccolomini, 59.

[3] See *Serguidi's report to the Grand Duke of Florence dat. Rome, September 14, 1581, State Archives, Florence, Medic. 3605.

[4] *Avviso di Roma of October 4, 1581, Urb. 1049, p. 387, Vatican Library.

[5] See the *Avvisi of October 14 and 21, 1581, *ibid.*, pp. 395, 400; P. Strozzi's *memorandum of October 14, 1581 (sta benissimo, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Sporeno's *reports of October 7, 14 and 21, 1581, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[6] CORRARO, 279.

[7] See *Sporeno's reports of December 9, 1581, and January 6, 1582, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[8] See *Odescalchi's reports of July 7 and 14, August 4 and 26, September 16, 1582, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.

an artist was painting his portrait at the end of July, 1582, he was able, old though he was, to stand on his feet for an hour and a half without resting for even a minute.[1] In December his intimates thought they could detect a diminution in his strength,[2] but any serious anxiety was shown to be uncalled-for. An indisposition in February, 1583, quickly disappeared, and in March the Pope assisted at all the functions of Holy Week. In the summer he felt as well as ever he had been, and when he came back from his villa in the autumn, all Rome marvelled at his appearance. At Christmas he took part in all the functions, except the midnight mass.[3] The same was the case in the Holy Week of 1584, and the Pope even entertained the idea of undertaking the long journey to Bologna. When his nephews proposed to him that he should not himself pontificate on the feast of St. Peter and St. Paul, he refused with a smile. With youthful energy, and in spite of the great heat, he assisted at the function at the church of the Jesuits on the feast of the Assumption. He spent the autumn at his villa in the hills of Tusculum, often going for walks, and at the same time devoting himself to business.[4]

The year 1585, the last of Gregory's life, opened with the

[1] *Essendo venuto desiderio al Papa del ritratto della sua persona stette in piedi un' hora e mezza senza appogiarsi mai, ragionando con mons. Datario mentre il pittore ne pigliava il ritratto dicendo S.S^{tà} di volerlo per lei medesima. Avviso di Roma of July 28, 1582, Urb. 1051, p. 271, Vatican Library.

[2] See *Avviso di Roma of December 9, 1582, Urb. 1050, p. 469, *ibid.*

[3] See the *Avvisi of February 5 and 9, April 9 and 13, August 31, October 8 and 15, 1583, Urb. 1051, pp. 56, 64, 162, 166, 361, 421, 427, *ibid.* *S^{mus} adeo bene valet ut nemo audeat dicere illum annum 83 agere. Sporeno on July 23, 1583; *cf.* the *report of December 24, 1583. Landesarchiv, Innsbruck.

[4] See the *Avvisi of March 3 and 7, and June 27, 1584, Urb. 1052, p. 80 *seq.*, 251, Vatican Library, and *Odescalchi's reports of January 7 and 10, March 31, June 2, October 20, November 24, 1584, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. *Cf.* Sporeno's *reports of May 5, June 2 and 23, July 15, 21, 28, August 18, September 29, October 20 and December 1, 1584, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

old man of eighty-four in absolutely good health. As before, he took an active part in all kinds of affairs, and went for his usual walks, especially in the loggia which he had built at the Vatican. The Venetian ambassador, however, thought he saw certain disquieting symptoms, though the general opinion was that Gregory, like many of his ancestors, would attain to the full measure of human life.[1] In the meantime he assisted at all the ecclesiastical functions. He attended indefatigably to public business, was present at consistories and the Segnatura, and gave public and private audiences.[2] A cold which he contracted at the beginning of April had all the worse effect upon the old man as he strictly limited himself to the meagre fare of the time of abstinence. He refused to adopt the precautions suggested by the doctors even when they discovered on April 5th an inflammation of the throat and some fever.[3] Notwithstanding a bad night, the

[1] *Cf.* Sporeno's reports of January 12, February 2, March 2 and 23, 1585, *ibid.*, and the Avviso in BELTRAMI, Roma, 52. See also HÜBNER, I., 132.

[2] See *Odescalchi's reports of January 19 (N.S^re sta con molta salute et Roma con molta quiete) and March 7, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua. An *Avviso of February 2, 1585, says, with reference to the customary distribution of candles on Candlemas Day, that the ceremony was performed by the Pope "con promissione nella cera et nelli fatti di doverne dar tante (candele) per l' avvenire che bastano a far lume alla sepultura della metà del collegio hora vivente." Vatican Library. See also Sporeno's *report of January 26, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck.

[3] For the last days of Gregory XIII. *cf.* the *notes made by Musotti who was present at the death (Boncompagni Archives, Rome); Mucantius, Diarium, in THEINER, III., 642 *seq.*; SANTORI, Autobiografia, XIII., 163; Priuli's reports of April 10 and 12, 1585, in MUTINELLI, I., 157-8; C. Capilupi's *memorandum of April 10, 1585, Gonzaga Archives, Mantua; Sporeno's report of April 10, 1585, Provincial Archives, Innsbruck; *Avvisi di Roma of April 10 and 13, 1585, Urb. 1053, p. 145 *seqq.*, 158 *seqq.*, Vatican Library; MAFFEI, II., 423 *seq.* G. Masetti's report is given in PETRUCELLI DELLA GATTINA, II., 237, with the wrong date. For the doctors of Gregory XIII. see HAEFER, II.[3], 52; MARINI, I., 452 *seq.*

sick man celebrated mass in his private chapel on Sunday, April 7th, and then assisted in the Sistine Chapel and gave some audiences. A consistory was held on the Monday morning, and more audiences were given in the afternoon. On the following day Gregory wished to be present at the Segnatura Gratiae, but as during the night the catarrh had become worse and his weakness had increased, the doctors forced him to keep to his bed, to give up his rigorous fasting, and to accept some fresh eggs. It was only very unwillingly that the old man accepted this, as he had never allowed himself any relaxation during the whole of his life.[1] On Wednesday, April 10th, he thought himself so much better that he regretted this concession to his body. After taking a simple meal in company with the Duke of Sora, he received Cardinals Boncompagni and Guastavillani, with whom, walking up and down his room, he discussed certain business concerning the Papal States. The doctors declared that the catarrh, from which he was still suffering, was not serious, so that the Pope's entourage had no idea of grave danger. Only the assistant physician, Michele Mercati, realized the true state of affairs, and when he visited him after the Cardinals had gone, he noticed an alarming diminution in his pulse and a cold sweat. There could be no doubt that he was in imminent danger. Gregory received the news with complete calm, and at once began to pray and to proclaim his desire to die in the Catholic faith. The end came with equal suddenness and rapidity; there was only time to administer the sacrament of Extreme Unction to the Pope, who immediately afterwards quietly breathed his last.[2]

[1] *Cf.* the following note.

[2] *Cf.* *Priuli's memoranda of April 10 and 12, 1585, State Archives, Venice, Roma, XIX.; CIAPPI, 77 *seq.* Anatomical examination of the body disclosed "le fauci et quei meati della gola pieni di materia catarale et viscosa, il petto tutto infocato, il fecato grande et duro tutto scabioso intorno, il polmone simile ad un legno d' esca estenuatissimo per la quaresima, che ha voluto al dispetto d' ognuno osservare in questa sua età di 84 anni seben haveva l' asma cosi grossa" (Avviso di Roma of April 12, 1585,

The body was first taken to the Sistine Chapel, where the Jesuits, as penitentiaries of St. Peter's, carried out the funeral vigil; on the following day it was taken in solemn procession to St. Peter's. There it remained exposed for three days in the Gregorian Chapel, and was then buried in a simple tomb, for which Prospero Bresciano executed a statue of the dead Pope.[1] Later on (in 1723) Gregory XIII. was given, by the care of Cardinal Jacopo Boncompagni, a monument of white marble, which was placed under the arch between the Gregorian Chapel and the Chapel of the Blessed Sacrament. The sculpture was the work of Camillo Rusconi.[1] The marble sarcophagus stands upon a plinth; Wisdom, represented by Minerva, raises a curtain on one side, uncovering a relief, referring to the reform of the calendar; on the other side is the figure of Religion with the Holy Scriptures, and a tablet bearing the words: *Novi opera eius et fidem.* In the centre above the sarcophagus is the enthroned and seated figure of the Pope in his pontifical vestments, his right hand raised to heaven in blessing: "a grave and very dignified figure of

Urb. 1053, p. 158, Vatican Library). Cardinal Galli remarks in his *Memorie: "Haveva le fauci strette come quelli che patiscono d' asma, onde parlava sempre con voce bassa et con qualche reluctantia de le parole, non pero ch havesse alcuno impedimento nel parlare." Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[1] See BAGLIONE, 45. *Cf.* TITI, Ammaestramento di pittura, scoltura et architettura nelle chiese di Roma, Roma, 1686, 13; SOBOTKA in the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIII., 258. See also CERRATI, T. Alpharani de basil. Vatic. liber p. 89. Picture of this tomb, which differed from the later one, in BONANNI, 33; *cf.* LANCIANI, IV., 104. For the epitaph see CIAPPI, 119. Fazolio reports: *"Al tempo della b. m. del card. S. Sisto si trattò di S. S. Ill. di far l' epitafio" for Gregory XIII.'s tomb, "et furono eletti F. Orsini, Flaminio de' Nobili, Latino Latini et io, quali fussimo in casa del S. Latino." Boncompagni Archives, Rome, D. 5, where Fazolio gives two more epitaphs composed by him for Gregory XIII.

[2] *Cf.* PASCOLI, Vita de' pittori, scultori et architetti moderni, I., Roma, 1730, 263 *seq.*

an old man."[1] The allegorical figures are a repetition of those on the tomb of Innocent XI. The whole, with its white marble, gives the effect of "a dying effort of the classical Renaissance."[2]

Gregory had ruled the Church for twelve years, ten months and twenty-eight days. To his pontificate, of which the Jesuit Stefano Tucci drew a concise picture in his funeral oration on April 17th, 1585,[3] as well as to his whole life, may be applied the words: It was precious because it was so full of labours and fatigues.

For a long time Gregory XIII. was not appreciated. Only the systematic researches in the secret archives of the Vatican which have recently been made, have afforded the material for an impartial judgment of his personality and his unwearied labours. This want of appreciation has also been helped by the fact that a saint like Pius V. was his predecessor, and a fascinating personality like that of Sixtus V. his successor. Sixtus V., facing with unflinching resoluteness the evil of brigandage, which Gregory XIII., by reason of his age and his leniency, often verging on weakness, had been unable to subdue, stands out in a brilliant light in contrast to his predecessor. In this way little by little a popular estimate was formed of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. which took into consideration only the undeniable and grave abuses which existed in the Papal States, while the great work that Gregory had done for the welfare of his subjects and the beautifying of Rome was suffered to fall into oblivion. Moreover, it has

[1] See PISTOLESI, I., 110 *seqq.*; GREGOROVIUS, Grabmäler, 168; BRINZINGER, Ein Gang zu den Grabdenkmälern der Päpste in der St. Peterskirche, Einsiedeln, 1917, 22 *seq.*; LETAROUILLY, Vatican, I., pl. 45. Epitaph in FORCELLA, VI., 170.

[2] See SOBOTKA, Marattas Entwurf zum Grabmal Innozenz' XI., Special reprint from the *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, 1914, 19 *seq.* *Cf.* BERGNER, 103.

[3] See "Oratio in exequiis Gregorii XIII. P.M. a Stephano Tuccio sacerdote Soc. Iesu habita in Vaticano ad s. collegium XV Cal. Maii 1585, Romae, 1585." Reprint in CIACONIUS, IV., 27 *seq.*

too often been forgotten that in many cases Sixtus V. only carried to completion what Gregory XIII. had begun.[1]

The outstanding feature of the pontificate of Gregory XIII. was undoubtedly in the realm of religion. Even though in this respect he had done nothing more than carry on the reform work of Pius V., this alone would have entitled him to a place of honour among the Popes of the XVIth century. But Gregory XIII. was not content merely to work systematically and in the fullest measure for the carrying out of the

[1] The attempt to exalt Sixtus V. at the expense of Gregory XIII. was already noticeable in the diary of Guido Gualterius. The painstaking work of Maffei, which was intended to counteract this tendency (*cf.* App. 26, Vol. XIX.), was only partially successful; and the old attitude returned with Ranke. Out of the twelve pages that he devotes to Gregory XIII. seven deal with abuses in the States of the Church, especially the bandits. Hübner's work on Sixtus V. affords an even more striking illustration of how the traditional conception of Gregory XIII. came to be established. The only exception seems to have been Reumont, who (in the *Bonner Theologisches Literaturblatt*, 1870, V., 612 *seq.*) protested against Hübner's statement of the case; and yet the old and false point of view was still being maintained, as late as 1879, by Giovanni Gozzadini (Giovanni Pepoli e Sisto V., p. 10). It was the opening of the Papal Secret Archives by Leo XIII. that brought about a complete change of attitude; and the abundant material thus made available was first made use of by Hansen in the *Nuntiaturberichte* (I., xxiv *seq.*, xxvi, xxx) where he endeavours to do justice to Gregory XIII. But it is to the indefatigable energy of Schellhass, most of all, that we owe the more correct estimate of Gregory XIII. (*cf.* especially *Nuntiaturberichte*, III., v and xv). In Brieger's *Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte*, XXX., 144, Schellhass has recently protested most emphatically against the belittling of Gregory and his pontificate. Now that two northern historians, Biaudet (Les Nonciatures, 27 *seq.*) and Karttunen (Gregoire XIII. comme politicien et souverain, iii *seqq.*), have also condemned the traditional misrepresentation of Gregory XIII., it can no longer be doubted that his pontificate was of the very greatest importance, as Kawerau has also pointed out in the new edition of Möller's *Kirchengeschichte* (III., 251).

decrees of the Council of Trent; the new spirit which was awakening in the Church, went much further than that during his pontificate; loyally supported by the ablest men of the school of Borromeo, headed by the holy Archbishop of Milan himself, he brought about a decisive change in the effective conflict against the apostasy from the faith.[1] This is made all the more clear, the further we examine his pontificate in the light of the documents. It is true that the complete restoration of the ancient religious unity of Christian peoples of Europe which Gregory XIII. and his fellow labourers aimed at, did not prove possible of attainment, in spite of their extraordinary efforts and their great financial sacrifices,[2] yet Gregory did succeed in accomplishing a great deal, and above all in the fact that, in strong contrast to the Popes of the Renaissance, he always definitely placed the religious point of view before any earthly considerations. The predominance of religious tendencies which began in the pontificate of Paul III., now became supreme for a long time to come.

Especially vital were the efforts made by Gregory XIII. on behalf of Germany, where such great gains were made for the Church that it is right to speak of his pontificate as the beginning of a new era.[3] But in the north and east of Europe as well the events of his pontificate marked a great change. Even though the attempts once more to unite Sweden and Russia to the Church were a failure, they nevertheless had very important results. The heir to the throne of Sweden was won over and the way paved for the reunion of the Ruthenians, while the change that was brought about in a comparatively short time in Poland was of the utmost importance. At the extinction of the dynasty of the Jagellons, the triumph of Protestantism in Poland was by no means

[1] See REINHARDT-STEFFENS, xxiv.

[2] According to *Musotti's notes, Gregory XIII. sent to France more than 300,000 scudi, to the Emperor 100,000, to the Archduke Charles also 100,000, and to Don Juan 50,000 scudi. He bestowed about 200,000 scudi on Cologne. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.

[3] *Cf. supra*, p. 383, and Vol. XIX., p. 7 of this work.

improbable,[1] and as that nation had an importance for the east comparable to that of the Netherlands in the west, the triumph there of the new religion would have been a fatal blow to the Church beyond the Alps. But the very opposite of what one party hoped for and the other feared took place, and when the pontificate of Gregory drew near its end, the failure of Protestantism and the triumph of the renewed Catholic Church in Poland had been assured.

An essential share in this change, which was of international importance,[2] was taken by the King of Poland, Stephen Báthory. Under his rule, and with his help, the Catholic Church in Poland found new life, "Protestantism was eradicated, and at the same time, the permanent seeds of Catholicism were sown in the Greek-Orthodox districts of the kingdom."[3] The support of the Pope and the Jesuits was of the greatest importance in this. Báthory, by his support of the Jesuits in Poland proper, and in Lithuania, as well as by opening out Livonia to them in the north, and Transylvania in the south, exercised a decisive effect on the propagation of Catholicism in the north and east of Europe.

The Jesuit Possevino prepared a far-reaching programme for this in his work on Transylvania which was dedicated to the Pope in 1584.[4] He drew up special plans for the carrying out of Catholic restoration in Transylvania, and pointed out the importance of this country for the spread of the Catholic faith in the neighbouring kingdoms. In the Grosswardein and other districts dependent upon Transylvania, he wrote, there are still many Catholics. They must be given help

[1] In 1572, only two Catholics remained among the councillors of the King of Poland; see HAUSMANN, Studien zur Geschichte des Königs Stephan von Polen, I., Dorpat, 1880, 25.

[2] According to SCHIEMANN (II., 371), who writes: "Poland was the vessel of election that was to carry through the counter-Reformation in the north and east; and was, at last, to bring about that union with the Greek Church which had been so earnestly desired ever since the days of Gregory VII."

[3] See *ibid.*, 269.

[4] Edited by VERESS in the *Fontes rer. Transilv.*, III., 1 *seqq.*

without any delay. The same is the case with Temesvar, Belgrade and Bosnia, where the Catholics under Turkish rule do not hesitate to undertake long journeys in order to hear one mass and go to confession. There is also reason to hope for a rich harvest in Moldavia and Wallachia. In Wallachia the Greek schismatics call the Pope the "great father." It would not be difficult to win over this simple people, who are closely allied in origin to the Italians, but at least fifty missionaries are required who must learn the language of the country, and disseminate good Catholic books. These missionaries could be chosen, partly from the Society of Jesus, and partly from the Franciscan Order, who are highly esteemed by the Turks; the Oratorians too might be employed.

In Transylvania, says Possevino, and in the neighbouring districts, the greatest efforts must be made to supply priests and churches. The Pope it is true has done a great deal, but even more must be done, since these countries open the way by which the Gospel may be carried to the distant territories in the north and east of Europe. If the adversaries of the Church in Germany, he exclaims, put their trust in earthly means, we must proceed by peaceful means, and show that we do not seek for dignities and wealth, but only for the salvation of souls.

The far-reaching and generous spirit in which the zealous Jesuit drew out his argument was in complete accordance with the character and ideas of the aged Pope.[1] But when Gregory received the news of the vast plans of Possevino, his own life was hastening towards its end.[2] Let this be said: he whose name is associated with the new edition of the Canon Law, and the reform of the calendar, could truly say

[1] When Possevino went to Transylvania in 1583, Gregory entrusted him with briefs for the Princes of Wallachia and Moldavia; see THEINER, III., 453 *seq.* The Pope had previously taken measures to protect Moldavia against the Turks.

[2] Since Possevino's proposals affected Hungary as well, Galli addressed himself, first of all, to the nuncio at the Emperor's court; see TURBA, III., 209.

that by his unwearied zeal for all the nations of the world, and by his establishment and support of ecclesiastical institutions for education and the training of missionaries throughout the world, had done more than any of his predecessors.[1] For that reason, as one of his contemporaries pointed out, the memory of Gregory XIII. must always remain in benediction, because he made clear to the world one of the principal duties of the true successor of St. Peter. "You Romans," he concludes, "must remember how much you owe to God and to such a pastor, who ennobled your city with institutions from which every year there goes forth a steady stream of missionaries to spread the faith. It is the duty of those who dwell in the Eternal City to consolidate by the example of their piety, that which he has planted."[2]

[1] See *Speciani's notes in the Boncompagni Archives, Rome; MAFFEI, II., 478. *Cf.* REUMONT, III., 2, 567; KARTTUNEN, Grégoire XIII., p. 94 *seq.*

[2] *Cf.* *Raggioni date a diversi sig^{ri} cardinali in favore de' collegi e seminarii instituiti dalla S^{tà} di Gregorio XIII, Propaganda Archives, Rome, Vol. 362. *Cf.* for this memorandum, Vol. XIX., pp. 256 *seqq.*

APPENDIX.

1. Camillo Capilupi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1573, March 28, Rome.

. . . Essendo questo populo cresciuto notabilmente come dicono questi soprastanti alla gabella della farina che vogliono che dopo l'assumtione di S. S^{tà} al pontificato siano accresciute vintimila bocche, dicendo che si mangiano due milla rubbia di grano al mese più di quello che si faceva, il che nasce dall'ottimo et temperato governo di S. B^{ne} che administra giustitia senza crudeltà et tien a freno la licenza rigore et si mostra benigna et piacevole a tutti lasciandosi vedere spesso in publico et dando audienza a chi la vuole, ne si vede con tanta piacevolezza licenza straordinaria et la città quieta et l'honestà in ciascuno, et perchè questi soldati che eran qui in numero di cinque milla havevano cominciato a perturbare questa quiete con mille homicidii et assassinii che facevan per tutta la città, S. S^{tà} li ha cacciati tutti mandandoli a certi luoghi circonvicini, over saranno pagati et ridotti sotto le loro insegne et sotto la disciplina militare . . .

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

2. Cleansing of Morals in Rome, 1573-1582.[2]

i. Consistory of June 3rd, 1572.

See: *Studi e docum.* XXIV., 133.

ii. Niccolò Cusano to Maximilian II., Rome, May 9th, 1573. A severe watch over morals, as in the days of Pius V., was again established. Eighteen prostitutes were whipped at Tor di Nona.

[Orig. State Archives, Vienna, *Romana.*]

iii. Avviso di Roma of September 12, 1573.

" Si pigliano tutte le cortegiane uscite dell'hortaccio et anco

[1] See *supra*, p. 541, n. 2.
[2] See *supra*, p. 545. n. 3.

tutte le altre di dishonesta vita, che saranno costrette di habitare in detto luogo a vero partirsi di Roma."

[Orig. Urb. 1043, p. 303b., Vatican Library.]

iv. Avviso di Roma of June 5, 1574.

Some "donne trovate in cocchio" received a whipping.[1]

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 136, *loc. cit.*]

v. Avviso di Roma of August 20, 1575.

The Pope ordered Monsignor Aragona to leave Rome, because, in spite of the repeated prohibition, he cultivated a passion for gaming. Cardinals Maffei and F. de' Medici had gambled for 27,000 scudi.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 517b, *loc. cit.*]

vi. Avviso di Roma of August 27, 1575.

The Pope complained that Cardinal Medici was publicly dissipating his property. Besides Aragona he has also punished Maffei for gambling. Medici lost 30,000 scudi in gambling.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 522b, *loc. cit.*]

vii. Avviso di Roma of September 10, 1575.

In spite of their attempts to justify themselves, Maffei, Verallo and Rustici are in disgrace on account of the gambling affair.

[Orig. Urb. 1044, p. 530, *loc. cit.*]

viii. Avviso di Roma of October 20, 1576.

"Sono stati attaccati bandi per li cantoni, che tutte le meretrici ritornino ad habitare all'ortaccio, et i vagabondi sfrattino di Roma fra 5 giorni sotto pena della galera da ciechi e stroppiati in poi, et questo per questi sospetti di peste."

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 165, *loc. cit.*)[2]

ix. Avviso di Roma of September 25, 1577.

"De'spresso ordine del Papa si è publicato bando, che le

[1] This and other severe measures were justified by the grave moral conditions. *Cf.* the memorial in Döllinger, Beiträge, III., 237 *seqq.*, which was written in 1574 or 1575; see *Gott. Gel. Anz.*, 1884, n. 15, p. 604.

[2] *Cf.* the Mantuan report of October 22, 1576, in BERTOLOTTI, Repress. straord. alla prostituzione in Roma nel sec. XVI., Roma, 1887, 14.

cortigiane ritornino ad habitare nell'hortaccio sotto pena della perdita de' beni d'applicarsi a luoghi pii, et della frusta, che non vadino in cocchio, sendo di nuovo stati prohibiti li ridotti di giuocatori sotto pena della galera."

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 601, *loc. cit.*]

x. Avviso di Roma of January 14, 1579.

" Incrudelisce la corte di Roma contra le povere cortegiane, delle quali in 2 giorni de sono state prese da 80 circa."

[Orig. Urb. 1047, p. 14b, *loc. cit.*]

xi. Avviso di Roma of September 30, 1579.

On Sunday there were arrested by the new " Bargello alcuni cocchi pieni di cortegiane, il che dinota principio di riforma." The Pope sentenced them to the loss of their rings and gold chains and to 100 scudi for the hospital of the " SS. Trinità de' Convalescenti."

[Orig. Urb. 1047, p. 329, *loc. cit.*]

xii. Avviso di Roma of January 27, 1582.

" Perchè li giorni passati fu pubblicato un bando contro le cortegiane et particolarmente in Borgo, di dove sono state scacciate tutte, il barigello di Roma l'altro giorno vedendo la femina del s. Ostilio Orsino fratello del già card. Orsino, che andava per Roma nel cocchio di esso signore, la condusse subbito prigione et diede la corda al cocchiere, mandando il cocchio nell'osteria dell'Orso et poi a S. Sisto conforme a bandi."

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 23, *loc. cit.*]

xiii. Avviso di Roma of July 13, 1582.

Last week by the express command of the Pope 42 courtesans were arrested, who had gone in " cocchio " to the " ponte Salaro " ; they were ordered not to go out, and His Holiness further desired that " sino che esse pagghino 2,500 scudi," in future they should all be confined to the appointed places under severe penalties.

[Orig. Urb. 1050, p. 249b, *loc. cit.*]

3. Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1576, January 28, Rome.

Qui erano comparsi molti comedianti con disegno di ottenere licenza di recitar questo carnevale, il che non havendo ottenuto si sono partiti.

Il s. Paolo Giordano supplicando S. S^{tà} che si potessero far maschere, hebbe in risposta che era meglior a pensar di trovar corsaletti et arme per ditendersi dalle minaccie degl'heretici et infideli, che disegnano assaltar la povera christianità et che facessero cio intendere alli Romani, onde si crede che si faranno pochi giorni maschere.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

4. Pompeo Strozzi to the Duke of Mantua.[2]

1577, May 25, Rome.

. . . Il popolo Romano ha eretto in Campidoglio una statua a S. S^{tà} et dimani si cantarà una messa solenne in Araceli, et per tre giorni continui si farà festa in honore di S. B^{ne}, sotto la qual statua si metterà l'inscritione sequente, la quale è piacciuta a S. B^{ne} più che l'altra che era a contentamento del sig^{r} castellano: Gregorio XIII. Boncompagno. Bonon. Pont. Max. qui [etc.; s. Forcella I 39]. L'altra era come di sotto: Opt. Pont. Max. Gregorio XIII. Boncom. Bonon. ob Capitolium extructum, portas resistitutas, pontes instauratos, fontes publicos ornatos, iustitiam administratam, Rempublicam gubernatam religionemque conservatam S. P. Q. R. P.

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

5. Avviso di Roma of October 30, 1577.[3]

La nuova chiesa de' padri Theatini vicino a S. Marco posta nella strada, che va a Campidoglio, è (Dio lodato) condotta a perfetissima fine et è riuscita macchina di signolar maestà et bellezza per gli ornamenti di marmi nella facciata et de ricchissimi capitelli, che sono nella chiesa, che costa 100^{m} sc., de quali il card. Farnese ne ha pagati 4^{m} l' anno, da che principiorno i fondamenti, in memoria del quale è sopra la porta di mezzo, che sono 3 con pari proportione l'armi di

[1] See *supra*, p. 548, n. 5.
[2] See *supra*, p. 608, n. 1.
[3] See *supra*, p. 578, n. 2.

S.S. Ill^ma in un' ovato di finissimo marmo, lungo 25 palmi et largo 10 con il suo nome in una linea, che tiene tutta la facciata della fabrica : Alexander Farnesius S. R. E. Card. Vicecanc. f. c. Anno 75.

[Orig. Urb. 1045, p. 650, Vatican Library.]

6. Giovanni Ant. Odescalchi to the Duke of Mantua.[1]

1578, October 25, Rome.

" . . . S. S^tà ha finite tutte le fabbriche restate imperfette per la morte di Pio IV., et si è già messo mano per finire il corridore di Belvedere che riguarda sopro il Boschetto. Con gran cura et diligenza ancora attende a far finire la sua Cappella Gregoriana in S. Pietro, la quale serà una delle maravigliose et suntuose cose che si sian fatte dalli antichi in qua, si per essere di mirabile spesa come per essere lavorata di musaico con molta più maestranza et diligenza che non si faceva anticamente ; costerà avanti che sia finita più di 200^m duc. Ha anco fatto incominciare l'altra cappella al dirimpetto della sudetta che viene sopra la sacristia di S. Pietro . . ."

[Orig. Gonzaga Archives, Mantua.]

7. Avvisi di Roma of August 6 and 10, 1580.[2]

August 6 : " Cavendosi in chiesa di S. Pietro in fondamenti d'una scala sono stati ritrovati 4 corpi santi di Leon Magno, Leon 2 e Leon 3. Pontefice et il corpo d'un rè d'Inghilterra, quale havea la corona et anello con un manto di broccato, che pareva nuovo, e sono più di mill'anni che fu sepolto. Il Papa ha voluto veder il tutto et ha donato al maestro di Camera la corona et anello."

August 10 : In front of the Gregorian Chapel are the bodies of Popes Leo I., Leo II. and Leo III., as well as the remains of a King of England : the king's mantle down to the knees is of gold brocade, in silk embroidered with gold thread.

[Orig. Urb. 1048, pp. 228b, 239b, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 565, n. 1.
[2] See *supra*, p. 566, n. 2.

8. Audiences of Cardinal Santori with Gregory XIII. concerning the Greek Church of S. Atanasio.[1]

1580.

October 20: "Della fabrica della chiesa di Greci—che se cominci."

November 3: "Del disegno nuovo della chiesa del Collegio greco—lo viddimo insieme, che si seguiti. Dell'invocatione di S. Atanasio da imporsi alla chiesa nuova—gli piace et che è ben fatto per le raggioni dette e che di questo santo non vi è chiesa, ma de altri dottori greci vi è S. Basilio, la Cappella Gregoriana ha di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno e di S. Giov. Crisostomo vi sarà l'altra all'incontro in S. Pietro."

December 1: "Del disegno e fabrica della chiesa—che si seguiti a furia."

1581.

April 20: "Della cornice di fuera della chiesa di Greci, che fusse di tivertino e non di mattoni per le pioggie et acqua di tetti—che si parli con Jacopino e che se non fussero questi tivertini la chiesa saria finita."

November 16: "Dell'ampliatione della chiesa di Greci—che segli mostri il disegno."

[Orig. Audientiæ Card. Santorii, Papal Secret Archives, LII., 18.]

9. Avviso di Roma of May 30, 1584.[2]

"Il Papa ha donato il primo sborso delli 25[m] sc. del Camerlengato alla fabrica del Collegio generale delli Iesuiti, et gli altri 25[m] sc. da pagarsi in 2 anni, gli ha S. B. destinati per finire la capella, che si fa in S. Pietro di rincontro alla Gregoriana dedicata a S. Andrea.

"Hora anco per magnificare (come molto dedito alle fabriche) il palazzo di Montecavallo, è entrato in pensiero di erigervi nel mezo della sala una gran torre, la quale domini non solo i sette colli, ma scopri anco questi contorni fino al mare, et tal pensiero di S. B. piace molto al card. Guastavillano, ma S. Sisto n'è nemico, di maniera che questo humilia respicit, et l'altro a longe alta cognoscit."

[Orig. Urb. 1052, p. 207, Vatican Library.]

[1] See *supra*, p. 584, nn. 1 and 3.
[2] See *supra*, pp. 588, n. 2; 624, n. 5.

10. Avviso di Roma of June 6, 1584.[1]

On Sunday the Pope showed himself very anxious about Cardinal Este's health, and begged him to take care of himself in the interests of Christendom, and to remain at the Quirinal, "a godere la salubrità di quell' aria, le delitie di quel luogo et le commodità di quella stanza fatta capace per ambidue et fabricata da S. S. a beneficio et commodo di S. S. Ill^ma^, alla quale sebene non haveva mai detto nulla ne per creanza ne per debito di voler fabricare nel suo giardino, non già però mai speso in quel sito che per servitio et beneficio di lei, della quale voleva dopo morte, che'l palazzo con tutti gli altri miglioramenti, che se gli aggiungeranno, siano i suoi." The Cardinal was quite confounded by the friendliness of Boncompagno.

(Orig. Urb. 1052, p. 218, Vatican Library.]

11. Notes on the Pictures and Buildings of Gregory XIII.[2]

La f. m. di P. Gregorio XIII. fece fare in Roma e fuori molte degne e magnanime imprese, tra li quali dignissima è stata la cappella Gregoriana, architetto della quale è stato Giacomo della Porta Romano; il musaico d' essa cappella fu ordinato e disegnato da Gieronimo Mutiano pittore Bresciano, e dal medesimo sono state depinte le doe tavole, che hora fa metter in opera l'ill. et ecc. duca di Sora cioè una di S. Gregorio Nanziano. La lavation de piedi, che fece il Signore all' apostoli, che sta sopra d' una delle porte, la fece Tadeo Landini scultore Fiorentino.

Sopra le cinque porte di S. Pietro e tutte le caposcale di palazzo [Vaticano], dove sono dipinti tutti l' atti delli apostoli, furono fatte con ordine e disegno di Lorenzo Sabbatini pittore Bolognese.

Nella cappella Paolina il medesimo Lorenzo Sabbatini dipinse tre quadri, nel primo la lapidation di S. Stefano, nel secondo S. Paolo riceve il lume nella casa d' Anania, lo terzo il miracolo che fece S. Pietro contra Simon Mago. Il quadro dove è depinto il battesimo di S. Paolo, ha fatto Federico Zuccaro,[3] e similmente tutta la volta dove son depinte attioni dell' apostoli S. Pietro e Paolo.

[1] See *supra*, p. 625, n. 5.
[2] See *supra*, cap. XIV.
[3] See H. Voss, Malerei der Spät-Renaissance, II., 460.

Il fine della Sala Regia, dov' è la battaglia navale e altr' attioni fatte in honore e benefitio di s. chiesa, fu condotto con ordine e disegno di Georgio Vasari pittore Aretino.

Il quadro del Spirito santo nel mezzo del palco della Sala del Concistorio lo fece Gieronimo Mutiano, la galeria piccola a canto a detta Sala Lorenzo Sabbatini.

Della Galeria maggiore ne fu architetto Ottaviano Mascherino, la pittura delle tavole di cosmografia fu fatta con ordine e disegno del rev^mo P. Ignatio Dante, vescovo d' Alatri, le pitture della volta ordinate da Gieronimo Mutiano, ma designate da Cesare Nebbia da Orvieto.

La Loggia de' venti ne fu architetto Ottaviano Mascherino ; la pittura dov' è la fortuna che patì S. Paolo alla venuta di Roma, con altre inventioni, la fece Nicolao Pomarancie ; le stantie a canto alla medesima loggia le dipinse Matteo Fiamengo, eccellentissimo nel far paesi.

Le loggie del cortile di Palazzo verso ponente le ordinò Martin Longo architetto, le pitture delle seconda e terza loggia Lozenzo Sabbatini, quelle della quarta, dov' è dipinta la translatione di S. Gregorio Nanziano, e d' alcune tavole di cosmografia il vescovo d' Alatri.

La sala detta la Bologna, dove sono depinte al mezzo della volta i 12 segni celesti con una prospettiva di colonne adornata di varie figure e nella prima pariete vi è depinta Bologna in pianta con il suo territorio, nella seconda Bologna con l' edificii alzati e nella terza vi son doi quadri, [in] uno de quali è depinto Gregorio IX. con li decreti e nel secondo Bonifacio VIII. che conferma i privilegii alli dottori e scolari del studio di Bologna ; tutta l' opera di pitture fu ordinata e designata da Lorenzo Sabbatini e molte cose fatte di sua propria mano, ma li 12 segni celesti nominati li ordinò Giovan Antonio Varesi.

Il palazzo di Monte Cavallo l' ordinò Ottav. Mascharini, la sepultura di Gregorio XI. a S. Maria nova fu fatta da Pietro Paolo Olivieri scultore Romano.

Lo studio della Sapienza Giacomo della Porta.

La chiesa di S. Marta Ottav. Mascharino.

Il collegio Romano il P. Giuseppe Valeriano architetto Giesuita.

La chiesa e il collegio de Greci Giac. della Porta.

Il ponte senatorio detto di S. Maria Matteo del Castello architetto,

La chiesa di S. Gregorio alla villa di Frascati Martin Longo, un quadro del crocifisso in pittura Gieronimo Mutiano.

La statua della Madonna fatta da bronzo nella facciata di S. Maria di Loreto Gieronimo Recanati.

Gl' architetti e pittori provisionati da essa f. m. :

Prima Martin Longo architetto, appresso Ottav. Mascharino.

Pittori provisionati :

Il primo fu Georg. Vasari Aretino.

Gieronimo Mutiano.

Lorenzo Sabbatino et ultimamente Tommaso Laureto pittore Siciliano fatto venire da essa f. mem. a Roma per depingere la sala Costantina.

La f. m. di P. Gregorio XIII. fece venir in Roma il medesimo T. Laureti per depinger la volta della Sala Costantina, et havendo egli anco assunto di far l' inventioni, li venne in animo di far attioni del medesimo imperatore et in particulare quelle che fece in honore e beneficio di s. chiesa, et havendo esso Tommaso vista in una delli parieti della medesima sala la donatione d' Italia fatta da Costantino a S. Silvestro e suoi successori rappresentata per una figuretta non molto intelligibile, pensò di fare l' istessa Italia distinta in 8 provincie secondo l' ordine de Strabone per più intelligenza di tal donatione. Pero fece nelle 4 pedocci della volta esse provincie, 2 per pedoccio, e primo la Liguria con la Toscana, appresso la Romana e la Napoletana, seguendo la Locania con la Puglia et ultimamente il Piceno con Venetia, tutte fatte in figura de donna con 2 puttini per ciascheduno che tengono l' uno l'insegni e proprietà del paese, l' altro l' inscrittione, nelli mezzi tondi piccoli o sordele, che chiamano alcuni della professione ; per l' incontro delle finestre la depinse la Corsica e Sicilia pure adornate de puttini che tengono medesimamente insegne e descrittioni ; nelli mezzi tondi grandi ah fatto li 3 corpi del mondo con le sue inscrittioni cioè l' Europa, l' Asia e l' Africa, nelli 4 angoli della volta son depinte 2 arme di essa felice memoria e 2 ombrelle insegna di s. chiesa, quali tutte son' accompagnate da 2 virtù con le sue inscrittioni, e prima la vigilanza e sapienza, che tiengono in mezzo una dell' armi, appresso la benignità e clemenza, dai lati di una delle ombrele la liberalità e magnificenza, tengono in mezzo l' altr' arma sicome la sincerità e concordia l' altra ombrella. Nelle lunette della volta vi son depinti alcuni puttini in scoccio con arte di

prospettiva, che tengono alcun' ornamento imperiale come il regno, la mitra, la corona, lo scettro, le vesti purpuree, lo stocco e speron d' oro et altri ornamenti, che dimostrano la dignità, e facoltà lasciata da Costantino a S. Silvestro e suoi successori. E perchè nelle parieti della medesima sala vi son depinte in forma di donne le 4 principali virtù, non parse ad esso Tomaso farle anco nella volta per non se vedere soto e sopra una medesima cosa, ma conoscendo egli tal virtù esser proprie della detta fel. mem., li venne in consideratione di farle a modo di embleme senz' alcun moto. Però fece in 4 triangoleti, che fan l' ornamento della volta, un globo della terra per ciascheduno in mezzo a 2 serpenti che doi timoni lo sostengono, sopra il primo ha fatto un specchio, al 2° una spada la bilancia, al 3° un leone e sopra il quarto la briglia, volendo dimostrare che la fe. mem. di P. Gregorio XIII. governò benissime il mondo con prudenza, giustitia, fortezza e temperanza.

Nel mezzo della volta pensò di dipinger quella degna attion di Costantino, quando commandò che per tutte le parti del suo imperio si gattassero a terra gl' idoli e s' adorasse Christo nostro redentore, ma essendo piacciuto al signor di tirar a se quell' anima benedetta, il nominato Tomaso non la possete far adornata di figure, come desiderava, per non esserli stato concesso dal successore d' essa fel. mem., ma nondimeno fece in quel luogo una prospettiva di un tempio, in mezzo al quale un altare con un crocifisso, e per terra una statua di Mercurio fracassata, che significano la medesima intentione.

[Copy. Cod. D. 5. Boncompagni Archives, Rome.]

INDEX OF NAMES IN VOL. XX.

Abel, Leonardo (titular-bishop of Sidon), 495 *seq.*, 497 *seq.*
Abundius and Abundantius, SS., 579.
Acciaiuoli, Bernardino, 583 n. 6.
Accoramboni, Vittoria, 536.
Acosta, José de (S.J., missionary), 507 *seq.*
Adolphus, Duke of Holstein, 51, 290 *seqq*, 293.
Agricola, George (Bishop of Lavant and Seckau), 62, 73, 76 *seq.*, 192, 274.
Aguillar, Pedro de, 499 n. 4.
Akbar (Grand-Mogul), 474–478
Alba, Duke of, 2–5, 307 *seq.*
Alber, Ferdinand (S.J.), 148.
Albert of Austria, Cardinal, 286.
Alberti, Cherubino (painter), 616.
Alberti, Giovanni (painter), 616.
Albert V. (Duke of Bavaria), 28, 41–52, 54, 59, 66, 71 *seq.*, 74, 80 *seqq.*, 83 *seq.*, 87 *seqq.*, 94, 109, 115, 117, 121, 126, 151, 158 *seq.*, 211, 224, 226, 250, 253, 255, 260, 266 *seq.*, 289 *seq.*, 293, 298 *seqq.*, 316, 321, 324 *seqq.*, 328, 332–337, 361.
Alciati, Francesco, Cardinal, 63 n. 6, 589.
Alençon, Francis (Duke of Anjou), 11, 18.
Alessi, Galeazzo (architect), 577.
Alexander VI., Pope, 575, 601 n. 3.
Alfaro, Pedro de (Franciscan missionary), 478.
Almeida, Luiz (S.J.), 451.
Altemps, *see* Hohenems.
Alvarez, Michele (Franciscan), 109, 122.
Ammanati, Bartolomeo (architect), 562, 563 n. 5, 587, 590.
Anchieta, José de (S.J.), 510.
Andrew of Austria, Cardinal, 18, 127, 131, 285, 321, 323, 370 *seq.*, 373.
Anjou, *see* Alençon and Henry.
Anna (Duchess of Bavaria), 93, 343.
Anna Jagellon, 386, 390, 393, 408, 420.
Anna of Saxony (wife of William of Orange), 249.
Antichi, *see* Bresciano.
Apian, 46 n. 2.
Aquaviva, Claudio (General of the Jesuits), 471 n. 2.
Aquaviva, Rodolfo (Jesuit missionary), 476 *seqq.*
Aragona, Mgr., 645.
Arator, *see* Szántó.
Arpino, Guiseppe Cesari d' (painter), 613.
Arsengo, Girolamo (Franciscan), 490.
Audebert, Nicolas, 553 n.
Augustus (Elector of Saxony), 51, 54, 203 n. 2, 209, 210 n. 1, 212, 236, 238 *seq.*, 243, 245–249, 251 *seq.*, 254, 259 *seqq.*, 263, 273, 276, 282, 284, 336 *seq.*, 349, 375.
Avrogadro, Ottavio (bandit), 540.
Azarias (Armenian patriarch), 496 *seq.*

Baglione Giov., 560 n. 1, 569, 589 n. 1, 599 n. 5.
Baglioni, Family of the, 526.
Balduini, Martin (Bishop of Ypres), 9.

Bär, Francis (coadjutor bishop of Basle), 142.
Barbaro, Francesco (Patr. of Aquileia), 71, 80.
Barnaynes, Isaac, 481 n. 4.
Baronius, Caesar (Oratorian), 20 n., 569.
Barreira, Blathasar (S.J., missionary), 482.
Barreto, Melchior Nuñez, 466.
Barvitius, Johann (Bavarian agent in Cologne), 367.
Barzana, Alonso (S.J., missionary), 505.
Báthory, Andrew, Cardinal, 411.
Báthory, Christopher (Voivode), 412 *seq.*
Báthory, Sigismund (Voivode), 412, 414.
Báthory, Stephen (King of Poland), 386, 389 *seqq.*, 393–397, 399 *seq.*, 403 *seq.*, 406, 408, 414, 434 *seqq.*, 438, 444, 446, 641.
Baume, Claude de la (Archbishop of Besançon), Cardinal, 181.
Becke, von der (envoy from Bremen), 337 n.
Beirer (Augustinian canon of Augsburg), 124
Bellarmine, Robert (S.J.), 23, 415.
Bellini, Marcantonio (auditor to Bonhomini), 170, 184.
Berg, Marquard von (Bishop of Augsburg), 126.
Bernini (architect and sculptor), 592.
Bertrand, Louis (O.P., missionary), 501.
Bialobrzeski, Martin (Bishop of Kamieniec), 405.
Bicker, Christopher (Abbot of Hersfeld), 318.
Bielke, Gunnila (wife of John III. of Sweden), 433.
Biglia, Melchior (nuncio), 349 n. 4, 350.
Blarer, Ambrose, 138 n.
Blarer, Diethelm (Abbot of St. Gall), 130, 137 n. 7.
Blarer, Gerwick (Abbot of Weingarten), 137 n. 7.
Blarer, Louis (Abbot of Einsiedeln), 137 n. 7.
Blarer von Wartensee, Jakob Christoph (Bishop of (Basle), 137–143, 148, 165, 174, 181.
Blondus, Fabius (latin Patr. of Jerusalem), 566 n.
Boccapaduli, Antonio, 462, 464.
Bologna (painter), *see* Sabbatini and Torrigiani.
Bolognetti, Alberto (Bishop of Massa), Cardinal, 405 n. 5, 407–411, 447 n. 3.
Boncompagni, Cristoforo (Archbishop of Ravenna), 519.
Boncompagni, Filippo, Cardinal [S. Sisto], 26 n. 3, 464, 520, 636.
Boncompagni, Giacomo (General of the Church, Duke of Sora), 435, 464, 533, 537, 554, 569, 571, 627, 636 *seq.*
Boncompagni, Giovanni (ancestor of Gregory XIII.), 562.
Boncompagni, Jacopo, Cardinal, 637.
Bonfiglioli, Rodolfo (Papal treasurer), 514.
Bonhomini, Giov. Franc. (Bishop of Vercelli, nuncio), 24, 159 *seq.*, 168–185, 229 n. 8, 267 *seqq.*, 271, 273, 281 n. 4, 341 n. 3, 345, 368 *seq.*
Boniface IX., Pope, 599.
Borgia, Francis (general of the Jesuits), 402, 503, 577.
Borromeo, Charles (Archbishop of Milan), Cardinal, 67, 141, 163, 165, 168 *seqq.*, 170, 174, 180 *seq.*, 184 *seqq.*, 268, 381, 383, 414.
Bossi, Francesco (Bishop of Perugia and Novara), 381.
Boucherat, Nicholas (Abbot-general of the Cistercians), 305 n. 6.

Bourbon, Charlotte de (wife of William of Orange), 249.
Brendel, Daniel (Archbishop of Mayence), 188 *seq.*, 194 n. 3, 211, 220, 223 *seq.*, 228, 231–242, 243 *seq.*, 257, 271, 294, 297, 312, 334, 337 n. 6.
Brescia, Giovita da (O.P.), 490.
Bresciano, Prospero [Antichi], (sculptor), 564, 613, 637.
Bril, Matthieu (painter), 564, 615, 621.
Bril, Paul (painter), 564, 569.
Broich, Anna, 319.
Bruno, Giovanni (S.J.), 491 n. 3, 493 *seq.*
Brus, Anton (Archbishop of Prague), 102 *seqq.*, 350.
Bubenhausen, Henry von (administrator of Fulda), 227, 230.
Bufalini, 554, 594.
Bufalo, del (Roman conservator), 607.
Burghesius, Horatius, 566 n.

CABRAL, Francis (S.J., missionary), 456.
Calderoni, Family of the, 521.
Caligari, Giovanni Andrea (nuncio), 394, 406 *seq.*, 415.
Calvin, 3.
Campegio, Lorenzo (nuncio), 303.
Canisius, Peter (S.J.), 27 *seq.*, 38 n., 41 *seq.*, 46 n. 1, 50 n. 3, 51, 85, 141, 182, 195 n. 7, 258, 282, 306, 401 *seq.*
Capece, Ferrante (S.J.), 414.
Capilupi, Camillo, 541 n. 2, 547 n. 1, 549 n. 3.
Capizucchi, Emilio, 537.
Capua, Annibale di (nuncio), 229 n. 8.
Carafa, Family of the, 622, 625.
Carafa, Antonio, Cardinal, 491 *seq.*, 494.
Caresana (secretary to Bonhomini), 170.
Carpi, Alberto Pio de, 522.
Casa (Jesuit), 495.
Casas, Bartolomé de las (O.P., Bishop of Chiapa), 501.
Castagna, Giambattista, Cardinal, 12, 15 n. 1, 335 n. 2, 363 *seq.*
Castro, Scipione di, 530 n., 627 n. 5.
Catena (leader of the banditti), 527, 531 n. 4.
Catherine Jagellon (Queen of Sweden), 386, 417, 419 *seq.*, 423, 425, 429 n. 3.
Cavalieri (Roman conservatore) 607.
Cavalieri, Giambattista de' (engraver), 597 n.
Cavalieri, Tomaso de'. 565.
Cedulini, Pietro (Bishop of Nona), 487 *seqq.*, 490.
Cesarini, Family of the, 515.
Cesi, Angelo (Bishop of Todi), 580.
Cesi, Pietro Donato, Cardinal, 269, 529, 556, 580.
Charles, Archduke of Styria, 50, 54 *seq.*, 61, 66, 68, 70 *seq.*, 74, 78, 80, 83, 87, 99, 105, 109, 113, 117 *seq.*, 158, 211, 272 *seq.*, 277, 439, 640 n. 2.
Charles IX. (King of France), 388, 554, 611.
Charles (of Sweden), 418.
Charles Frederick (hereditary Prince of Jülich-Cleves), 51, 143, 307 *seq.*
Ciappi (biographer of Gregory XIII.), 560 n. 1, 629 n. 4, 636 n. 2.
Cingiva, Michael (Japanese prince), 460, 462.
Clavius, Christopher (S.J., mathematician), 470.
Clement VII., Pope, 435, 499.
Clement XI., Pope, 593 n.
Clemente, Juan (Franciscan missionary), 479.
Clenck, Rudolf (theologian), 302, 303 n. 1.
Coligny, Admiral, 611.
Colonna, Family of the, 515.
Colonna, Giulio, 516.
Colonna, Marcantonio (Viceroy of Naples), 550 n. 2.

Commendone, Giov. Franc., Cardinal, 26 *seq.*, 63 n. 6, 106, 188, 269, 306, 386, 387 n. 1, 388, 396, 419, 437.
Comotto, Pietro (painter), 613.
Condé, Henry of, 219.
Consalvi (Jesuit), 462 *seq.*
Contarini, Paolo (Bailo), 487.
Contreras, Pedro Moya de (Archbishop of Mexico), 502, 504.
Cornaro, Luigi, Cardinal, 594 n. 1, 596 n.
Corraro, Giovanni (Venetian envoy), 34 n. 2, 512, 516 *seq.*, 540, 572, 633 *seq.*, 635.
Correggio (painter), 598 n.
Corso, Pietro, 526 n. 1.
Cosimo de'Medici (Grand-duke of Florence), 609.
Costa, Cristoforo da (missionary), 467.
Cromer, Martin, 405.
Cruz, Gaspar de (O.P., missionary), 466.
Cuprimontanus, Petrus, 428.
Cusano, Galeazzo (Imperial agent in Rome), 630.
Cysat, Renward (state-secretary of Lucerne), 164, 176.

Dalberg, Wolfgang von (Archbishop of Mayence), 273 *seqq*, 368 *seq.*, 375 n. 1.
Dandini, Family of the, 521.
Danti, Ignazio (O.P., Bishop of Alatri), 609 n. 3, 617 *seq.*, 620.
Dario, *see* Hida-no-Kami.
Dathenus, Peter (Calvinist), 9 *seq.*
David, Ignatius (Jacobite patriarch), 496.
Delfino, Giovanni (nuncio), 50, 82 *seq.*, 87, 96 *seq.*, 99, 111, 223, 250, 256 *seqq.*
Delfino, Zaccaria, Cardinal, 26, 28, 86, 209, 269, 295 *seq.*
Delius, Joachim, 302 n. 5.
Delphius, Johann (Coadjutor-bishop of Strasburg), 144 *seq.*
Dernbach, Balthasar von (Prince-abbot of Fulda), 203, 205–231.
Dillinger, 85.
Dorothea, Duchess of Lorraine, 302, 303 n. 5.
Drieux, Rem. (Bishop of Bruges), 9.
Duca, Giacomo del (architect), 595.
Dum, Martin (court-preacher), 159.
Duninwolski, Petrus (Bishop of Plock), 395.
Du Pérac, Étienne, 553 *seq.*, 594.
Dürer, Albert, 598 n.

Echter, Julius of Mespelbrunn, (Bishop of Würzburg), 39, 82, 190, 193–203, 219 *seqq.*, 224–230, 233, 273, 376.
Eck, Johann, 44.
Eck, Simon Thaddeus (Bavarian chancellor), 44, 290.
Eder, George, 83 *seq.*, 159, 267.
Egeling (chancellor of Bremen), 338.
Egnatius, Fr., 618 n. 1.
Eisengrein, Martin, 47 *seq.*, 81.
Elgard, Nicholas (Coadjutor-bishop of Erfurt), 91 n. 3, 124, 188–191, 196 *seq.*, 204, 215–218, 237, 258, 314, 325, 348 *seqq.*, 356.
Eliano, Giambattista (S.J.), 492 *seqq.*, 497.
Elizabeth (Queen of England), 3, 6 *seq.*, 379, 443.
Elsenheimer (Bavarian chancellor), 261 n. 7.
Eltz, Jakob von (Archbishop of Trêves), 189, 194 n. 3, 220, 227, 251, 257, 334, 337, 354–357.
Erasmus, 17, 21.
Eraso, Francisco de (Spanish envoy to Sweden), 424.

Eric II. (Duke of Brunswick-Kalenberg), 130, 290, 301 *seqq.*
Eric XIV. (King of Sweden), 417 *seq.*
Erici, Petrus, 431 n. 3.
Ernfelder (Jesuit), 147.
Ernest of Bavaria, Duke (Bishop of Freising, Hildesheim, Liège, Cologne and Münster), 23, 54, 71, 73, 80, 84, 88, 125, 160, 275, 286, 289 *seqq.*, 291–294, 300, 316, 320–323, 325–330, 334, 338 *seq.*, 341–346, 361 *seq.*, 370 *seq.*, 374–378.
Ernest (Archduke of Austria), 266, 386 *seq.*, 389.
Erstenberger (secretary of the Imperial Chancery), 223, 244.
Este, Alfonso d' (Duke of Ferrara), 530 n. 1.
Este, Luigi d', Cardinal, 528, 556, 622, 624 *seq.*
Eugenius III., Pope, 575.
Eyb, Martin von (Bishop of Bamberg), 192 n., 278, 280.

Fabi, Fabio de' (S.J.), 470.
Fabricius, Andreas, 89, 152, 291, 321, 544 n.
Faenza, Marco da (painter), 563.
Farnese, Family of the, 622.
Farnese, Alessandro, Duke, (Governor of the Netherlands), 14 *seqq.*, 18 *seq.*, 23, 337, 377.
Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 26, 429, 437, 527, 556, 567, 574 n. 2, 576–580. 597 n.
Farnese, Ottavio, 14.
Fazello, Tommaso (O.P.), 615.
Fazil, Abul, 476 *seq.*
Fazolio, 637 n. 1.
Fecht, Peter (secretary to the King of Sweden), 421 *seqq.*
Fend, Erasmus (Bavarian councillor), 158, 160.
Ferdinand (Bavarian Duke), 378.
Ferdinand I., Emperor, 56, 215, 238, 241, 243–247, 255, 258 *seq.*, 349.
Ferdinand II. (Archduke of the Tyrol), 28, 42, 54, 56, *seqq.*, 61, 63 n. 5, 64, 66, 70, 72, 74, 80, 83, 87, 99, 109 *seq.*, 127, 131, 133, *seq.*, 136, 145, 149, 174, 180 *seq.*, 211, 224, 255, 261, 270, 272 *seq.*, 303, 321, 368, 370, 389, 540.
Fernandez, Em., 481 n. 4.
Ferrari, Paolo (Swedish envoy in Rome), 419 *seq.*
Ferratino, Bartolomeo (Bishop), 571.
Feucht, Jakob (Coadjutor-bishop of Bamberg), 191.
Feyt, Florenz (Papal envoy to Sweden), 421.
Fickler, Johann, 71, 85.
Firley (grand-marshal of Poland), 387.
Fontana, Giovanni (architect), 562, 626, 628.
Forli, Livio Agresti da, 611.
Formello, Donato da (painter), 615.
Fornier, Jean (S.J.), 425.
Franchini, Giulio, 549 n. 2.
Franck, Kaspar, 47.
Frangipani, Fabio Mirto (Archbishop of Nazareth, nuncio in Paris), 11.
Francis, Daimio (Japanese convert), 459.
Francis I., (King of France), 385.
Francis I. (Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 143, 316 *seq.*
Francis of Paula, St., 600.
Francis Xavier, St., 448 *seq.*, 456 *seq.*, 466, 470, 472 *seq.*
Frauenberg, Ladislaus, Count of, 47.
Frederick (Duke of Holstein, Bishop of Hildesheim,) 143, 284, 287.

Frederick (Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 316, 342, 345 *seq.*, 372.
Frederick (Count Palatine), 210, 212, 238, 282.
Frederick II. (King of Denmark), 333.
Frederick III. (Elector Palatine), 150, 152, 248 *seqq.*, 252, 254 n. 4, 263, 310.
Frederick Albert (Duke of Prussia), 308, 386.
Freytag, Sebastian (Abbot of Bruck), 108.
Frizolio, Lorenzo, 572 n. 4.
Froes, L. (Jesuit missionary), 449, 454 *seq.*, 458.
Fugger, Family of the, 123 *seq.*
Funck (Abbot of Petershausen), 173.
Fürstenberg, Theodore von (Bishop of Paderborn), 347.

GAETANI, Pietro, 537.
Gago, Balthasar (Jesuit missionary), 449.
Gakkei, Schogun, 455.
Galli, Tolomeo, Cardinal (of Como), 10, 26 *seq.*, 64, 83, 129, 161, 180, 191 n. 1, 270 *seq.*, 278, 282 *seq.*, 313, 323, 329, 363 *seq.*, 372, 381 *seq.*, 407, 419, 425, 429, 436 *seq.*, 517, 594 n. 1, 614 n. 6, 637 n., 642 n. 2.
Garcés, Julian (Bishop of Tlaxcala), 501.
Gardie, Pontius de la (Swedish envoy in Rome), 422 *seq.*, 425.
Gennadius, 487.
George, Duke of Brunswick (Archbishop of Bremen), 317.
Georg Ludwig (Landgrave of Leuchtenberg), 87.
Gérard, Balthasar, 19 n. 4.
Germigny, Jacques (French envoy in Constantinople), 488.
Ghettini, Agostino, 462 n. 1.
Ghislieri, Giov. Pietro, 517 n. 7, 518 *seq.*, 520 *seq.*, 522 *seq.*
Gibelstadt, Zobel von (Bishop of Bamberg), 191 n. 8.
Gigli, Tomaso. 514.
Giovio, P., 438.
Gluschitz, Konrad Adam (Bishop of Laibach), 71.
Gnecchi, Organtino (Jesuit missionary), 456, 458.
Gogreff, Georg (dean of Minden), 296, 298.
Gonzaga, Ercole, Cardinal, 424.
Gonzaga, Louis, 476.
Gonzaga, Marco, 544 n.
Good, William (S.J.), 425.
Granvelle, Cardinal, 10.
Gregory IX., Pope, 610, 616.
Gregory XI., Pope, 608, 651.
Gregory XIII., Pope, *see* Vol. XX.
Gregory of Nazianzen, St., 569 *seqq.*, 615.
Gretser (Jesuit), 122.
Groesbeek, Gerhard von (Bishop of Liège), Cardinal, 23.
Gropper, Johann, 82, 87, 187,
Gropper, Gaspar (nuncio), 66. 123, 125, 187–190, 215, 233 *seq.*, 284, 297 *seq.*, 308–314, 317 *seqq.*, 323 *seqq.*, 329, 348, 354 *seq.*
Gaulterius, Guido, 639 n. 1.
Guastavillani, Filippo (nephew of Gregory XIII.), Cardinal, 10, 464, 530 n., 561, 575 n. 5, 587, 626, 636.
Guercino, Prete da (leader of bandits), 539.
Gymnich, Werner von, 307 *seq.*

HALVER, Ludwig (vice-chancellor of Brunswick), 289.
Hammerstein (envoy of Cleves), 321.
Hara, Martin (Japanese nobleman), 460, 462.
Hattstein, Markward von (Bishop of Spires), 131, 149, 151 *seq.*, 228.
Haugwitz, Johann von (Bishop of Meissen), 348 *seq.*

Heer (Abbot of Einsiedeln), 172.
Helding (Bishop of Merseburg), 245.
Henriquez, Franc. (Jesuit missionary), 476.
Henry of Navarre, 379.
Henry (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 287, 288 *seq.*, 296.
Henry (Protestant Archbishop of Bremen, Duke of Saxony-Lauenburg), 306, 312, 316, 317 n. 1, 318 *seqq.*, 322 *seq.*, 324, 327, 329 *seq.*, 335, 337 *seqq.*, 340, 342, 345 *seqq.*, 351, 362, 366.
Henry III. (Duke of Anjou, King of France), 11, 386 *seqq.*
Henry Julius (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 288, 290, 297 *seqq.*, 300 *seq.*, 351.
Herberstein, 438.
Herbest (Jesuit), 399.
Hida-no-kami, Takajama [Dario], 455.
Hoffäus, Paul (S.J.), 49, 181.
Hoffmann, John Frederick, 278, 280.
Hohenems, Mark Sittich von [Altemps], Cardinal, 26, 134, 138, 140, 167 *seqq.*, 176, 516, 528.
Holguin, Diego Gonzalez (Jesuit missionary), 505 *seq.*
Holle, Eberhard (Abbot of Lüneburg, Bishop of Lübeck and Verden), 290, 352, 353.
Horneburg, Hermann von, 288 *seqq.*, 291, 298 *seqq.*
Hosius, Stanislaus, Cardinal, 26 *seq.*, 41, 50, 291, 585, 390 n. 5, 393 *seq.*, 396, 405, 419, 425, 429.
Hoya, Johann von (Bishop of Münster), 304–307, 309, 312, 317 *seq.*, 346 *seqq.*

Ignatius of Loyola, 384, 586.
Ilsung, Family of, 123 *seq.*
Ingoli, Family of the, 521.
Innocent III., Pope, 491, 611.
Innocent X., Pope, 592.
Innocent XI., Pope, 638.
Isabella of Aragon, 419.
Isei, Family of the, 522.
Ito, Mantius (Japanese prince), 459, 462.
Ivan IV., "The Terrible," 386, 434-446.

Jacobilli, L. (chronicler), 618 n. 4.
Jacobea, Duchess, 48, 93, 343.
Jeremias (schismatic patriarch of Constantinople), 489, 494.
Joachim, Frederick (Margrave of Brandenburg), 274, 284, 295.
Joachim, Charles (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 297 n. 2.
John of Austria, Don, 6–9, 14, 640 n. 2.
John (Coptic patriarch), 497.
John (Duke of Nassau), 338 *seq.*, 340, 362, 365, 371.
John III. (King of Sweden), 51, 386, 417–423, 425 *seqq.*, 429–433, 440.
John Casimir (Count Palatine), 152, 373, 375, 379.
John George (Elector of Brandenburg), 252, 263.
John Sigismund (Elector of Brandenburg), 33.
John William (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 66, 307, 309, 313, 315, 321. 323, 325–331, 334, 337, 339 *seqq.*, 343, 345, 370.
Joschinaga, Daimio, 451.
Joschisada, Daimio, 453.
Joschischiga, Otomo, Daimio, 451.
Julius (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 291 *seq.*, 296–301, 303, 313, 351.
Julius II., Pope, 567, 601, 608.
Julius III., Pope, 490, 542, 556, 576.
Junilla, Matteo di (Franciscan lay-brother), 508.

Jussoila, John, 432.
Justus, Alex., 566 n.

Karnkowski, Stanislaus (Bishop of Leslau), 390, 406 *seq.*
Kartaro, Mario (engraver), 567 n. 3.
Katschadur (Armenian patriarch), 496.
Kessel, L., 214 n. 3.
Khuen, Michael (Archbishop of Salzburg), 62 n. 5.
Khuen v. Belasy, Johann Jacob, (Archbishop of Salzburg), 27 *seq.*, 62, 64, 66, 69–80, 83, 87, 105, 109, 111, *seqq.*, 123, 155 *seq.*, 160 *seq.*, 250, 261 *seq.*
Klaur, William (Abbot of Fulda), 205.
Klefl, Melchior, 267.
Klinghard, Johann (Hessian envoy), 212 n. 8.
Knöringen, Johann Egolf von (Bishop of Augsburg), 125 *seq.*
Kobenzl, Hans von (Austrian chancellor), 80.
Kölderer, David (Bishop of Ratisbon), 39, 88 *seqq.*, 156.
Komulowič, Alessandro (Canon of Zara), 485.
Kostka, Peter (Bishop of Kulm) 405.
Kostka, Stanislaus (S.J.), 402.
Koteda (Japanese prince), 452.
Krasinski, (Bishop of Cracow), 393.
Kuenberg, George von (coadjutor of Salzburg), 156 n. 2.
Kunz, Othmar (Abbot of St. Gall), 130.

Lafrery, Antonio, 554, 594.
Lampeschi, Family of the, 522.
Landini, Taddeo (sculptor), 569, 593.
Lanzea, (Jesuit), 495.
Laterna, Martin, 400, 403.
Latini, Latino, 637 n. 1.
Lattanzio (governor of the Romagna), 518, n. 3.
Laureo, Vincenzo (Bishop of Mondovì), Cardinal, 388 *seq.*, 390 n. 3, 391, 428 n. 1.
Laureti, Tomaso (painter), 564, 613 *seq.*
Lawrence (Japanese convert), 453, 455.
Leisentritt, Joh. (provost of Bautzen), 349 *seq.*
Leleszi, Peter John (J.S.), 414.
Leo I., Pope, 567, 648.
Leo II., Pope, 648.
Leo III., Pope, 612 n. 2, 648.
Leo X., Pope, 472, 592, 601, 603 *seq.*, 606, 614.
Leonardi, Family of the, 521.
Leoncillo [Petrino], of Spoleto, bandit, 531.
Leubenstein, Martin (S.J.), 164.
Leuchtenberg, Countess, 88.
Lichtenfels, Melchior von (Bishop of Basle), 131, 137.
Ligorio, Pirro, 554.
Lindanus, William (Bishop of Ghent), 20 n. 4.
Lindemann (Saxon councillor), 245 n. 1.
Liner (Jesuit), 164.
Lippi, Annibale (architect), 599.
Loaysa, Franc. Jeronimo de (O.P., Archbishop of Lima), 502.
Lopez, Luis, 508 n. 3.
Lopperz, (Jesuit), 225, 230.
Lorichs, Andrew (Swedish envoy) 419, 433 n. 5.
Louis (Duke of Wurtemberg), 71, 85, 150, 203.
Louis (Landgrave of Hesse), 203, 212, 222, 243, 311.
Louis (Count Palatine), 250, 252.
Lunghi, Martino (architect), 561, 575, 581, 584 n. 7, 598 *seq.*, 615, 625.
Lussy, Melchior (leader of the Swiss Catholics), 167, 169, 171, 185.
Luther, 3, 42, 298
Luxsinger, Balthasar, 167.

Macesilaus, Joh., 566 n. 2.
Madruzzo, Cristoforo, Cardinal, 10 *seq.*, 26, 516.
Madruzzo, Lodovico, Cardinal, 26, 80, 140, 160, 197, 219 n. 5, 250, 254 n. 5, 269 *seqq.*, 272–282, 296, 319, 342, 366 *seq.*, 370, 383 n. 1, 429, 437.
Maestro, Giovanni, 577.
Maffei, Giampietro (S.J., biographer of Gregory XIII.), 464, 639 n. 1.
Maffei, Marcantonio, Cardinal, 269, 645.
Magnus, Lawrence, 432.
Malaspina, Germanico (nuncio), 272 *seq.*, 274, 281 n. 4, 371, 374, 381 *seq.*
Malaspina, Orazio (nuncio), 444 n. 4.
Malatesta, Family of the, 522.
Malatesta, Ramberto (leader of bandits), 534.
Malvezzi, E. (Swedish envoy), 425 n. 5.
Mancini (Roman conservator), 607.
Manderscheid, Johann von (Bishop of Strasburg), 130 *seq.*, 143 *seqq.*, 147, 149, 369 n. 1, 383 n. 1.
Manderscheid-Keil, Christopher von (Count and Abbot), 357.
Mansfeld, Count (Archbishop of Cologne), 187.
Mansfeld, Agnes von, 365, 371.
Manuel (King of Portugal), 472.
Margaret of Austria, 14.
Maria, Maddalena (sister of the Emperor Rudolph), 311.
Marianaccio of Camerino (brigand), 526.
Martin V., Pope, 600.
Mary, (Arch-duchess of Styria), 42.
Mary Stuart (Queen of Scotland), 6.
Mascherino, Ottaviano [Nonni], (painter and architect), 560 n. 1, 561. 616–621, 623.
Masius (envoy from Cleves), 308 n. 2.
Massilara, *see* Paleologus
Mattei, Antonio de' (Bishop of Bosnia), 484.
Matteo, Giovanni (S.J., architect), 578 n. 1.
Matthias (Archduke of Austria, governor of the Netherlands), 8, 11, 334 *seqq.*, 337, 340.
Maximilian (Archduke of Austria), 195 n. 7, 253, 335.
Maximilian II., Emperor, 49 *seq.*, 54, 97 *seq.*, 104, 120, 149, 151, 211, 213, 224, 226, 247–265, 274, 296, 300, 307, 320, 334 *seq.*, 349 *seq.*, 385 n. 1, 387 n. 1, 389 *seq.*
Maxlrain, Wolf Dietrich von, 54.
Meckbach, Johann (Hessian envoy), 210, 212.
Medici, Alessandro de', Cardinal (afterwards Pope Leo XI.) 580.
Medici, Ferdinando de', Cardinal, 527, 548, 556, 645.
Medici, Francesco de', (Grand-duke of Tuscany), 460.
Menganti, Alessandro (sculptor), 629.
Mengersdorf, Ernest von (Bishop of Bamberg), 191.
Mercati, Michele (physician), 636.
Mercurian, Everard (General of the Jesuits), 423, 424, 467.
Merode, Adrian (provost of Lübeck), 353 n. 3.
Meschita (Jesuit), 460.
Michael, Peter (S.J.), 152, 182 n. 5, 462.
Michelangelo, 440, 555, 561, 569, 576, 584, 590, 599 *seq.*
Miletus, Vitus, 86.
Minucci, Minutio, 55, 285, 368 *seq.*, 371 *seq.*, 380 *seq.*
Miquez, José, 488.
Molvianinow, Jacob (Russian envoy), 444 *seqq.*
Montaigne, Michel de, 552 *seq.*, 555–559, 573.
Montalcino, Cesare (Franciscan), 429.

Montalto, Cardinal, 429, 536.
Montebelli, Marquis, 522.
Montecorvino, Giovanni da (Franciscan missionary), 466.
Montevecchio, Jacopo di, Count, 531.
Montluc, Jean de (Bishop of Valence), 388.
Montorio (nuncio), 382 n. 2.
Montserrat, Ant. (Jesuit missionary), 476.
Montúfar, Alfonso de (Archbishop of Mexico, O.P.), 502.
Moriaku, Francis, 455.
Morone, Girolamo, Cardinal, 10, 26, 51, 63 n. 6, 67, 93 n. 5, 111 *seq.*, 120 *seq.*, 136, 140, 158, 189, 224, 254–261, 270, 301, 429, 589.
Morosini, Gianfrancesco (Bailo), 485 n. 5.
Moses, Beat (vicar-general of Spires), 152.
Motonari, Mori, Daimio, 451.
Moullart, Matthieu (Bishop of Arras), 13.
Mucantius, Franc. (Papal master of ceremonies), 578.
Musotti, Filippo, 635 n. 3, 640 n. 2.
Muziano, Girolamo (painter), 560 n. 1, 562 *seq.*, 564, 568 *seq.*, 613 *seq.*, 617, 626, 650.

Nacaura, Julian (Japanese noble), 460, 462, 464.
Nahai (Jesuit), 399.
Naldi, Family of the, 521.
Nas, Johann (Coadjutor-bishop of Brixen), 58–61, 70, 80, 93, 122 n. 4.
Nebbia, Cesare del (painter), 569, 617.
Neemet, Ignatius (Patriarch of Antioch), 490 *seq.*, 494, 496.
Neri, Philip, 580 *seqq.*
Neuenahr, Adolphus von, Count, 362, 365, 367.
Nicholas (Archbishop of Naxivan), 490.
Nicholas IV., Pope, 575 n. 5.
Nicholas V., Pope, 592, 609.
Nilssön, Lauritz (S.J., Papal envoy), 421, 426.
Ninguarda, Feliciano (O.P. nuncio), 27 *seq.*, 62–65, 66, 71, 77, 83, 86–91, 93–109, 111 *seq.*, 116–123, 154–163, 166, 182, 183 n. 5, 190, 258, 271, 273, 381.
Noailles, François de (French envoy to Turkey), 486, 490.
Nobili, Flaminio de', 637 n. 1.
Nobunaga, Oda (Prince of Owari), 455, 457 *seq.*
Nogari, Paris (painter), 563.
Nonni, *see* Mascherino.
Norcia, Paolo da, 98 n. 2.
Numai, Family of the, 521.

Oberg, Burkhard von (Bishop of Hildesheim), 288 *seqq.*
Oberstein, Andreas von (Dean of Spires), 150.
Odescalchi, G. A. (Mantuan envoy), 631 *seq.*, 635 n. 2.
Olivieri, Pierpaolo (sculptor), 564, 608.
Ongarese, Guilo (Papal commissary), 538.
Opser, Joachim (Abbot of St. Gall), 165, 173, 178.
Orange, William, Prince of, 1 *seq.*, 6 *seqq.*, 12, 14, 17 *seqq.*, 249, 308, 362.
Orano, Francesco (auditor of the Rota), 371.
Ormaneto, Niccolò (Bishop of Padua, nuncio), 7, 44, n. 1.
Orsini, Family of the, 515.
Orsini, Flavio, Cardinal, 10, 556.
Orsini, Fulvio, 637 n. 1.
Orsini, Latino, 533.
Orsini, Lodovico, 537, 538 n. 2.
Orsini, Paolo Giordano (Duke of Bracciano), 525, 536 *seq.*, 548.
Orsini, Raimondo, 537.
Ortenburg, Joachim von, Count, 47.

Oswald, George, 84.
Otto Henry of Brunswick Harburg, 303.
Oviedo, Andrea de (Jesuit missionary), 481.

Pac (Bishop of Kiew, apostate), 410.
Pace, Gian Battista della (head of the Roman police), 537, 538.
Pahari (son of Akbar), 477.
Paleologo [Jacopo Massilara], 268.
Pallavicini, Francesco, 435.
Panigarola, Francesco (Franciscan), 570.
Paul I., Pope, 566.
Paul III., Pope, 360, 481, 499, 501, 522, 555.
Paul IV., Pope, 472 *seq.*
Paul V., Pope, 556 n. 1.
Paulus a Jésu (Franciscan missionary), 467 n. 2, 479.
Peretti, Francesco (husband of Vittoria Accoramboni), 536.
Perez, Francisco (S.J.), 466.
Peto, Luca, 549 n. 1.
Petrino (brigand), 529 n. 1.
Pflug (Bishop of Naumburg), 245.
Pfyffer, Ludwig (Swiss magistrate), 164, 167.
Philibert (Margrave of Baden-Baden), 48, 55, 150, 465.
Philip II. (King of Spain), 1 *seqq.*, 6, 8, 11–18, 23 *seq.*, 261, 307, 343, 358, 370, 377, 422, 424, 430, 460, 478, 498, 503, 511.
Philip Sigmund (Duke of Brunswick-Wolfenbüttel), 297 n. 2.
Piccolomini, Alfonso (Duke of Montemarciano, leader of bandits), 526, 533, 540.
Pilchowski, Adam (Bishop of Chelm), 405.
Pisanelli, B., 544 n.
Pius IV., Pope, 25 *seq.*, 45, 267, 434, 480, 564, 589, 594 *seq.*, 600 *seq.*, 602 *seqq.*, 606, 609.
Pius V, Pope, 25, 28, 33, 50, 61–63, 94, 120, 163, 289, 296, 304, 360 *seq.*, 383, 434, 483 *seq*, 508, 522 *seq.*, 542, 545, 564, 575, 592, 603, 609, 619, 638 *seq.*
Pius X., Pope, 616 n. 1.
Plasencia, Juan de (Franciscan missionary), 479.
Pomarancie, Niccolò dalle (painter), 563, 614, 617 n. 2, 621.
Ponzio, Flaminio (architect), 623 n. 4.
Popler, William, 435.
Porta, Beat von (Bishop of Coire), 113, 158, 165, 180, 182.
Porta, Giacomo della (architect), 561, 565, 567, 578, 580, 583 *seq.*, 592 *seq.*, 598.
Porta, Guglielmo della (sculptor), 555.
Portia, Bartolomeo (nuncio), 10, 29 n. 1, 39, 49, 66–85, 87, 89, 93, 96, 111 *seq.*, 121, 123, 125, 127–141, 143–147, 149–155, 158, 165, 187, 190, 196 n. 4, 197, 258, 271, 284, 292, 298, 300 *seqq.*, 303 n. 1, 329 *seq.*, 354 *seqq.*, 362 *seq.*
Portico, Vincenzo (nuncio, governor of Rome), 386 n. 3, 419, 537.
Possevino, Antonio (S.J.), 393, 404 n. 4, 413, 415, 423–433, 437–447, 641 *seq.*
Priuli, Lorenzo (Venetian envoy), 539, 636 n. 6.
Protasius (Japanese convert), 457, 459.
Pyringer, Wolfgang (Jesuit), 171.

Quintio, Gaspar de (O.P., Bishop of Curzola), 485.

Radziwill, George (Bishop of Wilna), Cardinal, 404, 405, 411.
Radziwill, Nicholas Christopher (Duke), 403 n. 1, 494 n. 1, 496.
Radziwill, Nicholas (Prince), 403.
Radziwill, Stanislaus, 403 n. 1.
Raesfeld, Goswin von, 527.
Raesfeld, Gottfried von (Dean of Münster), 304, 307, 321, 326 *seq.*, 330, 333 n. 1, 336, 338, 340, 346.
Raesfeld, Johann von (envoy to Rome), 328.
Ragazzoni, Giacomo, 482.
Raggio, Tommaso (S.J.), 485, 492.
Rascher, Peter (Bishop of Coire), 183.
Rasponi, Family of the, 518 n. 3, 521.
Rasser, Johann, 147 *seq.*
Recke, Henry von der (envoy from Cleves), 307 n. 5, 326, 331, 335 *seq.*
Reggio, Raffaelino da (painter), 563, 609.
Renée of Lorraine (Duchess of Bavaria), 52 *seq.*
Requesens, Luis de, 4, 22.
Rhetius, 29 n. 1.
Riario, Alessandro, Cardinal, 556.
Ribera, Giambattista (Jesuit missionary), 467.
Ricci, Matteo (Jesuit missionary), 469 *seqq.*
Ricciardini, Family of the, 521.
Rodriguez, Nuño (Jesuit missionary), 460.
Roll, Walter (governor of Uri), 167, 185.
Romano, Giacomo, 573 n. 1.
Roncalli, Cristoforo (painter), 563.
Roscius, Julius (poet), 597 n.
Rosenberg, W. von., 389 n. 2.
Rovere, Francesco Maria della (Duke of Urbino), 531.
Rozdrazewski, Hieron (Bishop of Leslau), 406 n. 2.
Rudolph II., Emperor, 8, 11 *seq.*, 49, 87, 96, 226, 228, 230, 235, 250, 252, 266–269, 273 *seqq.*, 278, 282, 301, 335 *seq.*, 337, 340, 349, 368, 377, 430, 435, 444, 446 n. 2, 488.
Ruggeri, Michele (Jesuit missionary), 468 *seq.*
Rugghesi, Fausto (architect), 584.
Rusconi, Camillo (sculptor), 637.
Rustici, Ottavio de', 537, 645.

Sabbatini, Lorenzo [Lorenzino da Bologna], painter, 560, n. 1, 563, 609 *seqq.*, 612, 615 *seq.*, 617 n. 2.
Salazar, Domingo de (O.P., Bishop of Manila), 479.
Salentin of Isenburg (Archbishop of Cologne), 189, 227, 251, 259, 312 *seq.*, 320, 324, 330, 345, 351, 361 *seqq.*
Salis, Family of, 165.
Sammachini, Orazio (painter), 611.
San Miguel, Antonio de (Franciscan missionary), 508.
Sanchez, João de (Dominican missionary), 482.
Sanchez, Pedro (Jesuit missionary), 503.
Sangallo, Antonio da (architect), 590.
Santa Croce, Ottavio di (nuncio) 183, 254.
Santa Croce, Prospero, Cardinal, 26.
Santa Maria, Lorenzo a (Franciscan missionary), 479.
Santangelo, Leonardo di (S.J.). 495 *seq.*, 498.
Santi, Pietro da (painter), 613.
Santori, Cardinal (of S. Severino), 486, 493 n. 1, 494, 572, 579, 584.
Santo Tomás, Domingo de (Dominican missionary) 505.
Sarrazin, Jean (Abbot of St. Vaast), 13.

Sassatelli, Family of the, 521 *seq.*
Sasso, Francesco (S.J.), 497.
Savelli, Family of the, 515.
Savelli, Giacomo, Cardinal, 429, 486, 576 n. 3.
Savelli, Orazio, 517.
Savelli, Sillo, 537.
Schade (syndic of Münster), 312.
Schauenberg, Hermann von (Bishop of Minden), 351.
Schaumberg, Martin von (Bishop of Eichstätt), 192 *seq.*
Schenk, Philip (Abbot of Fulda), 204.
Schenking (companion of the nuncio Portia), 82.
Schenking (major domo of Ernest of Bavaria), 326.
Scherer (Jesuit), 267.
Schewerigin, Ivan Thomas (Russian envoy in Rome), 435, 437 *seqq.*
Schlattl, Christoph (Bishop of Chiemsee), 110, 160.
Schnewly, Peter (Provost of Freiburg), 175.
Schönenberg, Johann von (Archbishop of Trêves), 275, 357, 368 *seq.*, 380.
Schorich, Georg (S.J.), 48 *seq.*, 52.
Schrader, Lorenz, 317, 326 *seq.*, 333.
Schwarzenberg, Christoph von, 43 n. 5,
Schwarzenberg, Henry Otto von, 48, 334.
Schweikart von Cronberg, Johann, 234 n. 1.
Schweikart von Helfenstein (Count), 60 n. 5.
Schwendi, Lazarus (Imperial councillor), 262.
Sebastian (King of Portugal), 473.
Sega, Filippo (Bishop of Piacenza, nuncio), 7, 377, 518 n. 3.
Segesser, Jost (captain of the Swiss Guard), 167, 169.
Selim II. (Sultan of Turkey), 483.
Sementa, Jacopo (painter), 617 n. 2.
Sequanus, Joh. Metellus, 16 n. 1.
Serbello, Marchese di, 531.
Serughi, Family of the, 521.
Sforza, Family of the, 515.
Sforza, Bona, 419 n. 2.
Sforza, Gian Galeazzo, 419.
Sforza di Santa Fiora, Alessandro, Cardinal, 10, 529 *seq.*, 532, 536, 556.
Siena, Marco da (painter), 611, 617 n. 2.
Siena, Matteo da (painter), 609.
Sigismund (heir to the Swedish throne), 432 *seq.*, 447.
Sigismund Augustus (King of Poland), 212, 385 *seq.*, 390, 417, 419, 430, 434.
Silberysen, Christoph (Abbot of Wettingen), 179.
Sirleto, Cardinal, 16 n. 1, 429, 486, 583.
Sixtus IV., Pope, 592, 601, 603, 606.
Sixtus V., Pope, 146, 231, 552, 554, 593, 597 n., 629, 638 *seq.*
Skarga, Peter (S.J.), 393, 399, 401–405, 447.
Sokolowski, Stanislaus (provost of Cracow), 400.
Solikowski, Demetrius (Bishop of Lemberg), 405.
Solms, Adolphus von (Count, canon of Cologne), 362, 365.
Sondergelteus, Olaf, 428.
Sonnius, Francis (Bishop of Antwerp), 20 n. 4.
Sozzini, Fausto, 392 n. 1.
Sozzini, Lelio, 392 n. 1.
Spannocchi, Orazio (secretary to Bolognetti), 411.
Spaur, Christoph Andreas, (Dean of Brixen, Bishop of Gurk), 73, 76 *seq.*, 83 *seq.*, 113, 643 n. 1.
Speciani, Cesare, 512.
Spetus, Celius (Roman parish-priest), 540 n. 1.
Spinola, 359.

Sporeno, Francesco (Franciscan), 127–134, 165 *seq.*, 321 n. 4.
Stazio [Statius], Achilles, 570, 582.
Stefani, Bonifazio de' (Bishop of Stagno), 484.
Stephanus, Joseph (theologian), 444 n.
Stralendorff, Leopold von, 235 *seq.*, 240, 242.
Strozzi, Pompeo, 254 n. 4, 547 n. 2, 633 n. 5.
Succi, Filippo (Ferrarese envoy) 530 n.
Sumitada (ruler of Omura) 452 *seq.*
Susio, Giov. Batt., 544 n.
Szántó, Stephan [Orator] (Jesuit), 414.

Takaaki, Daimio, 453.
Takaharu, Naito (governor of Jamagutschi), 451.
Takanobu, Matsuura, Daimio, 453.
Talpa, Antonio, 582 n. 1.
Tandorf, Jakob (Bavarian envoy), 316, 324.
Tarugi, Francesco Maria (Oratorian), 580 n. 5.
Tasso, Torquato, 362, 580.
Taverna, Lodovico (Bishop of Lodi, nuncio), 514.
Tegginger, Mark (Suffragan of Basle), 138, 139 n. 5.
Tempesta, Antonio (painter), 563, 597 n., 615.
Tetelben, Valentine von (Bishop), 287.
Thüngen, Neidhardt von (Dean of Würzburg), 220.
Thurn, Georg von, 147 n. 9.
Thyraeus (Jesuit), 214 n. 3.
Tibaldi, Domenico (architect), 628.
Tibalduccio, Marcello (brigand), 526.
Tiepolo, Paolo (Venetian envoy in Rome), 42, 514.
Toledo, Francisco de (S. J.), 429, 613 n. 8.
Toledo, Francisco de (Viceroy of Peru), 508.
Tonner, John, 266 n.
Torello, Sebastian, 571, n. 1, 573 n. 1.
Torres, Cosmo de (Jesuit missionary), 453, 456.
Torres, Rubio, Diego de (Jesuit missionary), 506.
Torrigiani, Bastiano, 569.
Trabaldese, Francesco (painter), 585.
Trattner, Johann (Abbot of St. Lamprecht), 108.
Trennbach, Urban von (Bishop of Passau), 77, 79, 88, 98, 113, 117, 160, 268 n. 8.
Trivius, Alexander, 118 *seqq.*, 288, 293 *seq.*, 320, 350 *seqq.*, 353.
Tron (Venetian envoy), 249.
Truchsess, Prince of Waldburg, 372 n. 2.
Truchsess, Gebhard (Archbishop of Cologne), 303, 330, 333, 337 *seq.*, 342, 344 *seq.*, 359, 362–379.
Truchsess, Otto (Bishop of Augsburg), Cardinal, 26–29, 33, 35, 38 *seq.*, 41, 50, 82, 123 *seqq.*, 144 n. 2, 291, 317, 363 *seq.*
Tucci, Stefano (S. J.), 638.
Turibio (Archbishop of Lima), 502 *seq.*
Turner, Robert, 84 n. 2, 193 n. 1.
Turrecremata, Cardinal, 405.

Uchanski, Jakob (Archbishop of Gnesen), 388 *seq.*, 392 *seq.*, 406.
Uchanski, Paul (Polish envoy in Rome), 395.
Udine, Giovanni da (painter), 614.
Urban VIII., Pope, 621.

Valenti, Giovanni (leader of bandits), 534.
Valenti, Romolo (governor of the Campagna), 527.
Valentino, Ascanio, 573 n. 1.
Valera, Blas (S. J.) 507.

Valeriano, Guiseppe (S.J., painter and architect), 587.
Valiero, Agostino, Cardinal, 483 n. 6.
Valignani, Alessandro (Jesuit missionary), 457–460, 467 *seq.*, 474.
Vasari, Giorgio (painter), 560 n. 1, 562, 609 *seq.*, 612, 615.
Vega, Garcilasso de la (historian), 507.
Venturelli, Family of the, 521.
Vero, Louis (Dominican missionary), 502.
Viani, Family of the, 521.
Vicente, Rodrigo (Jesuit missionary), 474.
Vignola, Giacomo (architect), 561, 565, 576 *seqq.*, 618.
Vilela, Gaspar (Jesuit missionary), 449, 453 *seqq.*
Vitelli, Vincenzo, 538 n. 2.
Volpi (Bishop of Como, nuncio), 165, 170.
Vosmeer, S., 17 n. 6.

WADA [Vatandono], 455.
Waldeck, Francis of (Bishop of Münster), 304.
Waszewicki, Stanislaus (S.J.), 420, 431 n. 4.
Wasa, Gustavus (King of Sweden), 417, 422.
Wasa, Sigismund (son of John III. of Sweden), 386.
Weber, Stephen (coadjutor of Mayence, Imperial vice-chancellor), 236.
Welser, Philippine (mother of Andrew of Austria), 286, 370.
Werro, Sebastian, 532, 591 n. 5.
Westerhagen, Henry, 238.
Westerhagen, William, 238.
Westerholt, Conrad von, 312, 314, 316, 325, 327 *seq.*, 330–334, 336 *seqq.*, 340 *seq.*
Wied, Frederick von (Archbishop of Cologne), 360.
Wied, Hermann von (Archbishop of Cologne), 360.
William of Hesse, Landgrave), 203, 209, 210 n. 1, 212 *seq.*, 226, 238 *seqq.*, 243, 250, 253, 263.
William IV. (Duke of Bavaria), 42 *seq.*, 48.
William IV. (Duke of Jülich-Cleves), 187, 285, 290, 292, 303, 306 *seqq.*, 311 *seqq.*, 315, 321 *seq.*, 324 *seq.*, 328 *seq.*, 331 *seq.*, 336, 337, 340, 343 *seq.*, 358.
William V. (Duke of Bavaria), 52-55, 156, 159 *seqq.*, 255, 260, 272 *seq.*, 275, 278, 321 n. 4, 341 n. 3, 344, 375, 377 *seqq.*
William von der Mark (leader of the Gueux), 1.
Wimpfeling (chancellor of Trêves), 354.
Winichius, Henry, 294.
Winkelmann (chancellor of Fulda), 222, 229 n. 1, 224 n. 1.
Winneburg (Imperial commissary), 338.
Winnenberg, Johann von (Baron), 362.
Wintzingerode, Barthold von, 235.
Wirsberg, Frederick von (Bishop of Würzburg), 82, 195, 197 *seqq.*, 207 n. 7.
Wolf Dietrich von Maxlrain, *see* Maxlrain.
Wujek, James (S.J.), 406.
Wurer, Balthasar (coadjutor Bishop of Constance), 154.
Würtzburg, Veit von (Bishop of Bamberg), 190 *seq.*

ZAMOISKI (Polish chancellor) 391 n. 1, 393, 399.
Zapata, Luis (Bishop of Bogotá), 502.

Zevel, Adam von (Burgomaster of Aix), 358.
Zibramonte, Aurelio (Mantuan envoy), 26 n. 3, 547 n. 1.
Zuccaro, Federico (painter), 560 n. 1, 562 *seqq.*, 613.
Zumárraga, Juan de (Archbishop of Mexico), 502.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Jesuit missionary), 505.
Zuñiga, Juan de (Spanish envoy in Rome), 419 n. 5.

3 5282 00006 3811

DATE DUE

BX955
P35
1898
vol.20

3 5282 00006 3811